

THE MODERN REVIEW

A Monthly Review and Miscellany

Edited by
Ramananda Chatterjee

Vol. XLV, Numbers 1—6
January to June, 1929

THE MODERN REVIEW OFFICE
91, Upper Circular Road,
CALCUTTA

Annual Subscription in India: Rs. 8-8, Foreign 10.

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THE MODERN REVIEW



VOL. XLV
NO. 1

JANUARY, 1929

WHOLE NO.
265

MISS KATHERINE MAYO'S "MOTHER INDIA" WEIGHED IN THE BALANCE, WHAT IS THE VERDICT?

By DR. J. T. SUNDERLAND

MISS Mayo's book has now been long enough before the public to settle in a general way the question of its worth. What are the most important testimonies and judgments that have been given to the world by the most competent scholars, critics and judges, regarding its truthfulness as a picture of India, and therefore its value?

What follows is a partial answer.

I. BOOKS ANSWERING MISS MAYO

At least seven or eight books in reply to "Mother India" have been written by competent persons, mostly by Indian scholars. Special attention is invited to the following four.

1. "A Son of Mother India Answers." By Dhan Gopal Mukerji, a well known Indian author. New York. E. P. Dutton.

2. "Father India: A Reply to Miss Mayo." By S. C. Ranga Iyer, Member of the Indian Legislative Assembly. London. Selwyn and Blount.

3. "Miss Mayo's Mother India: A Rejoinder." By K. Natarajan, Editor of *The Indian Social Reformer*. Madras, India. G. A. Natesan.

4. "Unhappy India." By the late Lajpat Rai, Editor of *The People* and former President of the Indian National Congress. Calcutta. The Banna Publishing Co.

All these books are interesting, carefully written and excellent. They answer Miss Mayo from different standpoints. The first three are small or of moderate size. The last is larger (500 pages), and it replies to "Mother India" with a thoroughness and completeness (and also with an authority) which leave little or nothing further to be desired.

II. PERIODICALS ANSWERING MISS MAYO

Nearly every monthly, weekly and daily in India has replied to "Mother India." There have also been many replies in England and America, some of them of importance. Two of much value and easily obtainable in libraries may be mentioned here.

I. "Is India Dying? A Reply to Mother India." By Rev. Alden H. Clark. In *The Atlantic Monthly* of February, 1927. Mr. Clark is an American, a graduate of Amherst College and has been a missionary in India seventeen years.

II. "An Answer to Mother India." "India's Degradation Laid to British Rule." By J. G.

Cornelius, an Indian scholar, formerly Professor of Philosophy in Lucknow University. In *Current History*, December, 1927.

It is to be hoped that everybody who has read Miss Mayo's volume will take the trouble to look up and read one or both these articles, as well as one or more of the above-mentioned books.

III. THE MOST IMPORTANT MISSIONARY BODY IN INDIA ANSWERS MISS MAYO

Soon after the appearance of "Mother India" the following public statement was issued by the Executive Committee of the National Christian Council of India, Burmah and Ceylon, which is the highest and most authoritative Christian organization in the country,—its chairman being the Metropolitan Bishop of India.

THE STATEMENT

"It has never been denied either by foreign missionaries or by Indians that grave social evils exist in India, and it is a matter of common knowledge that strenuous and organized efforts are being made by groups of Indian reformers to get rid of them. We representing a body of men and women who are in close touch with the people and are conversant with their everyday life, unhesitatingly assert that the picture of India which emerges from Miss Mayo's book is untrue to the facts and unjust to the people of India. The sweeping generalizations that are deduced from the incidents which came to the notice of the author, are entirely untrue as a description of India as a whole. We have faith in India and India's future. We have faith that India will obtain deliverance from these evils; and we earnestly desire that East and West should co-operate to this end in a spirit of love and understanding."

IV. EMINENT AMERICAN MISSIONARIES IN INDIA ANSWER MISS MAYO

The following statement regarding "Mother India," signed by seven prominent American missionaries, was published in *The Christian Century*, Chicago, February 2, 1928.

THE STATEMENT

"As Americans, we wish to express our sense of deep regret that a country-woman of ours should, after a brief stay in India, write so unfairly and offensively of this country. It is clearly apparent that Miss Mayo saw only a part of India and did not see that part in the proper perspective. In many things her accuracy as an observer will not bear scrutiny and the many highly exaggerated conclusions give a false picture of India as a whole. Generalizations that may be taken for facts by readers in America and England, are too often the statements of personal opinion based upon prejudice and partial

examination. A very offensive book could be written as well of America or of any other Western nation, and then we, of the West, would rightly protest against such unfair representation. Hinduism and social evil exist in every land and who generalize would do well to keep that in mind. As Americans who have lived in India for a number of years and have moved with all classes of people we have no hesitation in protesting vigorously against the unfairness of Miss Mayo's book. We wish to pay our tribute of love and respect to the people of India from whom we, of the West, may learn many valuable lessons. We wish to express a sense of humiliation that an American should write with such unfairness and apparent prejudice presenting India."

Fred B. Fisher, Bishop, Methodist Episcopal Church, Calcutta.

Alden H. Clark, Missionary, American Congregational Mission, Ahmednagar.

Alice B. Van Doren, Secretary, National Christian Council of India, Poona.

John J. De Boer, Principal, Voorhees College, Vellore.

Mason Olcott, President, American Arcot Mission, Vellore.

D. F. McClelland, General Secretary, Y. M. C. A., Madras.

E. Stanley Jones, Missionary, Sitapur, U. P.

V. A NOTABLE GROUP OF INDIANS IN LONDON DENOUNCE "MOTHER INDIA."

At all times there are considerable numbers of distinguished Indians, officials and others in London. When the popular excitement over Miss Mayo's book had reached its height the most widely known and influential of these issued the following public declaration:

"Our attention has been drawn to the recent publication, entitled "Mother India," by an American tourist, Miss Katherine Mayo, who paid a visit to India during the cold weather of 1925-26. It has never been our lot to read a book which indulges in such a wholesale, indiscriminate vilification of Indian civilization and Indian character.

"We concede that like other cold weather tourists Miss Mayo was entitled to form and express her own opinions. But when a traveller who spends no more than a few months in our country uses the material gleaned from hospital cases, culled from criminal trial reports, and deduced from her own observation of isolated happenings, and seeks to fortify herself with quotations divorced from context and then proceeds on such slender basis to formulate a general indictment against the character and culture of a great country like India possessed of an ancient civilization, it is time that we protested.

"She depicts the entire nation of 320 million people as physical degenerates, moral perverts and unabashed liars. If an Indian could have the temerity to pass a similar judgment on any nation of the West, after but a few months' residence in any country in Europe or America, and to indict the Western people, their civilization and character on the basis of such sensational and utterly inadequate evidence as Miss Mayo employs, he would rightly be condemned as unworthy of serious attention."

"We would not have felt called upon to take any public notice of a book of this character but when we find that the publication is receiving the serious attention of the British press to the obvious detriment of India, at this juncture we think it our duty to warn the British public."

This protest was signed by the following distinguished Indians: Sir A. C. Chatterjee, High Commissioner for India; Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, ex-Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council; Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, ex-Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bombay; Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, ex-Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bihar and Orissa; Sir M. M. Bhowanagaree; Mr. Lube, Barrister-at-Law, practicing before His Majesty's Privy Council; Mr. Kamat, Member of the Royal Commission for Agriculture; and all the Indian Members of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, namely, Sir Mohamed Rafique, Mr. S. N. Mullick and Dr. Paranjpaye.

It is difficult to see how any testimony could be more weighty or more trustworthy than one signed by these eminent men.

VI. In a Notable Public Meeting in London, Englishmen and English-women Denounce "Mother India."

A great meeting of protest against Miss Mayo's book was held in Mortimer Hall, London, on November 29, 1927, with Lady Emily Lutyens in the chair. The speakers included Lady Cynthia Mosley, Colonel Wedgwood, M. P., Miss Ellen Wilkinson, M. P., and several eminent Indian scholars and public leaders. The meeting was crowded. The meeting (with only two dissenting votes) passed strong resolutions deploring the cruel injustice of Miss Mayo's book, and declaring the true remedy for India's social evils to be complete Home Rule, like that of Canada. Among the speakers strongly supporting these resolutions were daughters of two former Viceroy's of India.

VII. An American Professor is Ashamed of Miss Mayo.

Professor Franklin Edgerton of Yale University on returning home from a protracted stay in India writes to Professor S. K. Iyengar as follows (reported in *The Hindu* of Madras, April 26, 1928):

"I am trying to do what I can to repay my great debt to you and to the many Indian friends who helped to make my stay in your interesting country so pleasant and profitable, by doing my best to present to the American people a sympathetic picture of India's great culture. I hope you and others in India will believe that there are some of

us in America who know how to appraise justly Miss Mayo's scurrilous book. We are deeply ashamed to acknowledge her as our fellow countrywoman, and we neglect no chance to deny the truth of the picture of India which she draws."

VIII. AN EMINENT AMERICAN CLERGYMAN GIVES ADVICE TO MISS MAYO

The Reverend Samuel McCrea Cavert writes in the Federal Council Bulletin of December, 1927, giving some advice to the author of "Mother India." He says:

"We would like to suggest to Miss Mayo that she write one more book, this time about America. We outline for her the following chapter headings:

"The Only Land where Lynchings Occur."
"The Land of Marital Scandal—One Divorce to Every Seven Marriages"

"The Land of the Crime Wave—Armored Motors Necessary to Transport Pay-rolls"

"The Land of Industrial Strife—Incessant Strikes and Lock-outs"

"Child Laborers—A Million and a half No Older Than Thirteen—in the Richest Land in the World."

All the facts in this new book might be impeccably correct, but would it be a picture of America?

IX. WELL-KNOWN INDIVIDUAL ENGLISHMEN ANSWER "MOTHER INDIA."

Notwithstanding the facts that Miss Mayo wrote her book to bolster up British rule, and that the imperialists and "Bourbons" of Great Britain hailed its appearance with joy, there is another side. As a matter of fact, some of the severest denunciations of the volume from any source, have come from Englishmen—Englishmen who know India much better than Miss Mayo does and who dare to speak out. A few of these are the following:

1. *Mr. Wilfred Wellock M. P.* writes in *The People*, (Lahore) of December 1, 1927:

"Mother India" is the most nauseating book I have ever read, and it will do incalculable harm to India by its influence on those whose knowledge of India is second hand."

2. *Mr. J. A. Spender*, the eminent London publicist, declares:

"It is no more possible to draw an indictment against 300 millions of people in the East than in the West, and those who try to do it should bear in mind that the East finds almost as many unmeaning and repulsive practices in the West as the West does in the East." Mr. Spender adds that before we begin to judge, we should bring into account the cumulative testimony of thousands of Europeans who have lived among Indians and have borne witness to their many and great virtues.*

*. *New York Times*, August 17, 1927.

3. *Mr. S. K. Radcliffe* (In *The New Republic*, New York, September 21, 1927):

"I lived for five years in India, occupying a position which gave me opportunities for meeting Indians of different kinds. I had many Indian friends. I saw the inside of Indian homes. I observed the laboring Indians in cities and villages. As I call up the memory of those people and scenes, and set the reality of my recollection alongside the appalling picture which Miss Mayo has drawn, I am filled with bewilderment and regret. The vast multitude of India's common people makes upon every Westerner a wonderful impression of goodness, endurance and dignity. Often the Indian woman has a hard time. But I see her, as she comes up every morning from her ceremonial bath in the river, walking noiselessly with a troop of her fellows, a figure unsurpassed in the world for beauty, and serenity, and grace.

"Many of Miss Mayo's facts cannot be challenged; and yet the picture, as she draws it, is profoundly untrue. It is a libel on a unique civilization and a people of extraordinary virtue, patience and spiritual quality."

4. *Mr. Patrick Lovatt*, the brilliant editor of *Capital*, the European weekly of Calcutta, writing under his well-known pseudonym "Ditcher," pens the following biting criticism:

"In the first place Miss Mayo's book confirms the opinion of the greatest of living essayists, that a best seller is not necessarily a book of any value; in the second place the intellectual dishonesty of the American author is appalling; and in the last place, her ghoulish propensity of frequenting hospitals to discover inhuman cruelties to indict a whole people, borders on stark pornography. The book is devoid of literary merit. It is the crudest form of American journalism. It has sold like hot cakes partly because of its morbid sensationalism, but mostly because it was an unscrupulous propaganda against the claim of India for Home Rule, published at the psychological moment."

5. *Dr. James H. Cousins*, Irish poet and author, who has had long residence and educational experience in India, writes in a prefatory note to an Essay on "The Path to Peace:"†

"The whole edifice of falsehood erroneously labelled 'Mother India' rises naturally from a foundation of race prejudice. Miss Mayo's profession of friendship to India is a thin apologia for her attempt to make a case for India's continued retention in a state of political bondage.

The fact that there are glaring evils in India needed no American for its demonstration. Indians have long been working for their removal with as much zeal as reformers in America have been working to eliminate America's 6,000 murders per annum, or as reformers in England have been trying to remove the cancer of England's venereal diseases. I know all that can be catalogued of human depravity in India, for I have worked for

twelve years in humanitarian causes in the country. But I cannot prostitute my intelligence to the irrational conclusion that because there are social evils in India, therefore the Indian people should be kept in political bondage."

6. *Major D. Graham Pole*, a Labor candidate for the British Parliament, who has much personal knowledge of India, writes in *The New Leader*, London August 19, 1927:

"Some years ago Miss Katherine Mayo visited the Philippines and wrote a book about her visit. It was called 'The Isles of Fear,' and was a defence of American Imperialism. She has now, after her visit to India, done a like service to British Imperialism, in her 'Mother India.' No wonder the book is regarded as a godsend by all British reactionaries.

"She is interested in Indian society only when it is unhealthy. To give an idea of marriage in India she has recourse to the hospitals and to the reports of medical authorities, although in the nature of things it is only exceptional cases that come under their notice. One would think from Miss Mayo's book that there is hardly a person in India who is not suffering from venereal disease—a suggestion which, Sir John Maynard writes, would be contradicted by any medical practitioner who had worked in India. To write as she does that women of child-bearing age cannot safely venture, without special protection, within reach of Indian men, is to my knowledge a gross and unfounded slander.

"If Miss Mayo came to Britain and visited the hospitals she could paint as dark a picture of British life. And what about America? What idea of American civilization and morals could be derived from that American product, the 'movies'? It is extremely ironical that at a moment when Miss Mayo's book is giving us this appalling picture of Indian civilization, the Government of India has found it necessary to introduce legislation to deal with the importation of American cinema films owing to their demoralizing influence on the Indian people.

"On political matters Miss Mayo is as unbalanced as on social matters. She had visited the Indian Legislatures and tells us that sitting through sessions, Central or Provincial, an outsider comes to feel like one observing a roomful of small and rather mischievous children who by accident have got hold of a magnificent watch. 'They fight and scramble to thrust their fingers into it, to pull off a wheel or two, to play with the mainspring; to pick out the jewels.' I have myself seen the Indian Legislatures at work, and am bound to say that they compare very favorably either with our Local Councils in England, or with our Imperial Parliament itself. The Honourable Mr. V. J. Patel, President of the Indian Legislative Assembly, has just concluded a visit to England. Much of his time has been spent in the House of Commons, and his amazement was intense at the lack of order he found there compared, with that of the Indian Assembly over which he so ably presides."

7. *Mr. Edward Thompson*, an English scholar and writer of note, the author of two books on Tagore, who has much knowledge of India, writes in the London *Nation* of June 30, 1928:

* "Father India," by C. S. Ranga Iyer, pp. 189-

† Published by Ganesh Co. Madras.

"Mr. Arnold Bennett has been quoted as declaring that Miss Mayo's book is impregnable, it is so well documented. Now, the truth is, Miss Mayo's book, whose strong point is supposed to be documentation, is *not* well documented. For example, she brings forth 'evidence' that Tagore supports child-marriage. The fact is Tagore has denounced child-marriage all his life. But her quotation is so apparently genuine that I thought she had caught him in a moment of nonsense or vexation. But Tagore in the *Manchester Guardian* has blown her 'evidence' to pieces. Gandhi, in the same paper, has blown to pieces her 'evidence' as to what he (Gandhi) had said.

"Her book starts with a howler, her imposing statement that the aodesss Kali's 'spiritual domination of the world began 5,000 years ago, and should last nearly 432 thousand years to come.' This, like so much of her information came from some ignoramus. Her history is the shoddiest second-hand stuff, picked up in table chatter; she is unfair to every field of Indian effort; she scatters statements that are palpable nonsense; she is maudlin about the Prince of Wales; she is mean in her account of what Mr. Gandhi has called a sacred episode. I hope every person who has read 'Mother India' will read Mr. Lajpat Rai's reply."

8. *Mrs. Annie Besant* writes with indignation of "Mother India." She says :

"Miss Mayo has published a wicked book, slandering the whole of the Indian people.....I have spent in India the greater part of my time since 1893, living as an Indian, welcomed in their homes as though I were one of their own people, and I have never come across the horrors she describes. The writer seems to have merely sought for filth. Does she imagine that if her presentation were an accurate picture of Hindu civilization that Hinduism could have produced a civilization in India dating from thousands of years before the Christian era? It would have been smothered in its own putrefaction."

Mrs. Besant tells us that she herself has been asked and urged to write books like this of Miss Mayo, about both England and America,—the assurance being given her that there would be a great popular demand for them. She knows both countries well, having lived more than half her life in England and having spent much more time in America than Miss Mayo has in India. By portraying all the evils in the two countries and little or none of the good could make quite as sensational and black pictures of both as Miss Mayo has drawn of India. What a temptation! How the books would sell! What a fortune the writer could acquire! Did Mrs. Besant consent? She declared that no money could induce her even to entertain the thought for a moment of writing anything so untrue, so unfair, so cruelly unjust about any nation or people on earth.

X. A GENERAL SUMMARY

In conclusion: If we attempt, as we very well may, to form an epitome or condensed digest or summary of the judgments of all the most intelligent and unbiassed and therefore most competent scholars and others—Indian, British and American—who have read "Mother India" and given to the public their verdicts regarding it, what do we find the result to be? We find it to be a striking, an almost universal, agreement on the following points, that is, in declaring the following judgments:

1. That not a little of Miss Mayo's boasted "documentation" is unreliable;

2. That many of her so-called facts are not facts at all;

3. That some of her facts given as true to-day are twenty-five or thirty years old, and although true formerly are not true now;

4. That Abbe Dubois, her most trusted authority, quoted by her more than any other, wrote a hundred years ago; and moreover, that his writings on the India of that time have been found by scholars to be distinctly less trustworthy than has often been claimed;

5. That in her reports of conversations and interviews with eminent Indians (Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi and others) Miss Mayo frequently misquotes and misrepresents them;

6. That from one or two or a very few isolated facts she is accustomed all through her volume to make sweeping and utterly unwarranted generalizations—generalizations which often do great injustice to the Indian people.

7. That the book is misleadingly named. The title "Mother India" causes readers to expect to find in its pages a spirit of kindness, appreciation and sympathy toward India. Instead of that, they find everywhere haughty and cynical criticism. Since the book is so evidently written for the purpose of reporting to the world whatever of evil, ugliness and filth the author can find in the hospitals, prisons, police courts, houses of prostitution and slums of India, in order to be honest it should bear some such title as "A Western Woman's Slumming Tour Through India;" or (as suggested by Mahatma Gandhi) "A Report on India's Drains and Sewers." Then it would not deceive.

8. That Miss Mayo almost wholly ignores the real India, the India of history, the India

of great art, great literature, great philosophers great religions, great industries, great men in every department of life and achievement, the India which for three thousand years was one of the leading and illustrious nations of the world. She is so absorbed with looking at the little, the mean, the low, the filthy, that she either cannot or will not see the high, the pure, the noble, the great. The whole spirit of her value is one of race antagonism, of arrogant assumption of the superiority of the white race over the brown and the yellow, of hate and distrust, of contempt and fear of Asia and all Asiatics. This was clearly manifest in her earlier book on the Philippines—"The Isles of Fear." It is quite as marked in her "Mother India."

9. That every chapter of the book shows the author to be an extreme imperialist, a despiser of democracy, a believer that strong nations have a right to conquer, rule and exploit those that are not able to defend themselves by arms, and therefore that Britain has a right to hold India in bondage.

The most conspicuous and outrageous slander uttered by Miss Mayo, the one that stings the Indian people most sharply and that they most resent, is her declaration—dwelt upon with fervor and seemingly with real relish, and reiterated in one form or another throughout half her chapters that the basis of practically all India's miseries, sufferings, misfortunes and evils, is her excessive, abnormal and rotten sex-life.

Her reviewers meet this slander in three ways :

1. By pointing out that Miss Mayo has no real ground whatever for her declaration. She offers no real proof. She simply finds what she looks for. Her statements are based upon unverified hearsays, and on a few isolated, abnormal cases discovered in hospitals and police courts, magnified into a sweeping generalization covering all India.

2. By assertions, on the basis of their own large knowledge, in most cases so much

larger than her own, and by testimonies from the most trustworthy authorities, that nothing of the kind is true.

And 3. By a terribly telling *tu quoque* argument or rejoinder. Mr. Lajpat Rai, Mr. Ranga Iyer and others ask Miss Mayo why she comes to India to seek out and blazon to the world sex-irregularities, sex-excesses, sex-crimes and sex-diseases, when, if she will open her eyes, she can find quite as bad or worse in America and in every prominent nation in Europe. And they fortify their statements by citing overwhelming arrays of testimonies from the highest authorities both in America and Europe. If she feels that she has a mission to expose and reform sex-conditions anywhere, why does she not first undertake the job at home, in the West, where it appears to be most needed, before going to the East, where there seems reason to believe that the need is distinctly less?

The aim of Miss Mayo's whole book, from beginning to end, is to do two things, namely, first to paint the blackest possible picture of India's social and other evils, (exaggerating at every point), and secondly, to convince her readers that these evils prove the inability of the Indian people to rule themselves and the necessity of the continuance of British rule. But her reviewers show that her argument is a *non sequitur*; it proves the *very opposite* of what she claims. If even one-half or one-quarter of the shocking things which she affirms, are true, after the British, with all power in their hands, have ruled India for more than a century and a half, such a fact is the most *damning possible indictment of British rule*. Instead of showing that the British should govern India longer, it shows that their government has been an *utter failure*, and that there is no hope for India to get rid of her social and other evils except by *getting rid of her foreign incompetent government*, and *securing a government of her own*.

DOGMAS OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY*

By PROF. S. N. DAS GUPTA

THE study of Indian Philosophy in modern times may be regarded as having a starting from Raja Ram

* Presidential address at the Philosophy section of the Lahore Oriental Conference, 1928.

Mohun Roy. He was a religious and social reformer and in his attempts to purify the current popular forms of Hinduism he turned his eyes to the Upanisads. He pointed out that the

Upanisads reveal a religion of the worship of one God, "Brahman", and in his interpretations of the Vedanta doctrine he brought out the fundamental ideas of the Upanisads and he made them a corner-stone of his religion of Brahmoism. He also initiated a programme of social reform which he regarded as being a corollary of the Upanishadic faith. But though a great thinker and scholar, his interest was chiefly religious. Later on a few other Indians, Christians such as Banerjee, Gouray and others, also studied Indian Philosophy with the object of refuting Indian thought in favour of Christianity. In the meanwhile studies of Indian Philosophy were taken up by some European Sanskrit scholars such as Colebrook, Cowell, Wilson, Duff, Davies, Balantine, Venis, Hall, Max Muller and others. Many of these scholars published numerous articles on Indian Philosophy and translated some important philosophical texts, and Max Muller's six systems of Indian Philosophy is probably the first attempt to give a brief survey of the general philosophical position of the six important systems of Philosophy. In the meanwhile Sanskrit manuscripts were being collected in several important cultural centres of India and of Europe, and Sanskrit philosophical texts were being edited and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the *Pandit* Journal of Benares, the Bombay Government Publication Department, in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Press series, the Vizianagaram Sanskrit Publication series and later on in Mysore, Travancore, Baroda, Nirnayasagar Press, the Venkateswar Press in Bombay, the Panini Office of Allahabad, the Madhavalas Book Depot of Kumbakonam, by Jivananda Vidyasagar and many others in Calcutta and in other places. The European scholars were also not idle, and the Pali Text Book Society had been gradually publishing the old Pali Texts of Buddhism and important studies of early Buddhism and we have now almost the entire Tripitaka, which were wholly lost from India, published magnificently in Roman characters. Many important Mahayana Buddhist texts were published by the Pali Text Series of Calcutta under the editorship of Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur and Dr. Vidyabhusan. Knowledge of Tibetan began to spread, both in this country and in Europe and this led to the publication of a number of Buddhist

texts which were lost in this country but were preserved in Tibetan translations. Many European scholars began to discover through their knowledge of Chinese that a large number of Buddhist texts which were lost in India in their Sanskrit originals were preserved in their Chinese translations. Texts and studies were being published from several cultural centres of England, France, Germany, Italy and Russia and in the present day we have such great scholars as Thomas, Keith, Jacobi, Stcherbatsky, Suali, Levi, not to speak of many other eminent writers, who, have done excellent work in the field of Indian Philosophy either by way of translations or by the publication of texts or studies. On the side of the publication of texts, however, India has done very much more, as may naturally be expected, than any of the Western countries. In India also much work has been done in the way of translation of Sanskrit texts into vernaculars or into English such as the translations by Dr. Ganganath Jha, Mr. Srish Chandra Basu, Pramatha Nath Tarkabhusan, and many others. Several important manuscripts on different systems of thought have also been edited in recent times.

One great difficulty that lies in the way of the study of Indian Philosophy is to be found in the fact that all the old living traditions of Indian Philosophy are now lost almost for centuries so that a study of Indian Philosophy, whether in the Panditic circles or in the Anglicised circles, is bound largely to be philological. The problems which were of vital importance to Indian Philosophy from age to age, in the solution of which they cheerfully spent all their lives, have in our present outlook and civilisation lost their value and significance. The Anglicised people who are now by far the most important in their influence are only nominally connecting themselves with the traditional faiths, but the problems of religion and philosophy which were so much valued by their ancestors, have ceased to have any charm with them. The scholars in the Panditic circles also are only carrying on their work in a stereotyped fashion not for the intrinsic interest of philosophy and religion but merely as a learned occupation or for a living. The influence of Western education on the other hand has instilled into us newer ideals of nationalism, politics

and patriotism; and newer goals and newer interests of philosophy, life, social relations, social values and religious values are now appearing before us which are submerging as it were all the older, cultural and philosophical tendencies of the country.

The best people of the country are being gradually intimately associated with the Western Philosophy, literature, thought, culture and ideals. They do not know very much of their older ideals nor are they in sympathy with them. A changed economical condition and the rising of the standard of life have increased the hard struggle for existence; and as it is gradually being found that the claims of worldly life, worldly happiness, worldly prosperity, the civilization of the masses, honour, prestige and the like, are very much more important than the older goals of emancipation and self-abnegation, it is gradually being felt that the older methods of life will no longer do for us. Modern ways of life have their superiority over the ancient ways. For it is by the former only that all kinds of material success can be attained. There is the ancient thought that spirituality consisted in the destruction of desires, in the final realisation of a passionless self, of a pure consciousness for which all worldly prosperity has to be sacrificed. The dominant thought of the West is trying to discourage all these as silly fancies and is loudly proclaiming the need for a change in the ideal. This world is practically the only world with which we are concerned, we can only improve our material facilities and mental faculties individually or jointly, and we can make life easy and comfortable, more healthy and more progressive for the whole humanity. Our ideal, therefore, should be one of scientific progress for the material good of humanity as a whole. Religion is not an end in itself but is only a means to our own well-being as members of the society. We are not anxious now for catering to the needs of an abstract perfection but for the discovery of the needs of living practically a happy and contented life of intellectual and social progress. We now perceive that only those people, who are striving their utmost for this normal and practical well-being of worldly life in those lines, that are really thriving and growing powerful, whereas those who will shut their eyes to these will gradually become feeble and feeble and may be wholly exterminated. The Western spirit has thus naturally

possessed us and we have been almost entirely cut asunder from the bonds of our old traditional life and culture, of philosophy and religion. Even the Panditic people who are still with difficulty sticking to the old views, seldom get any vital sap from their loyalty to the past, for in doing so they are themselves torn asunder from the general progressive and dominant nature of life and from the rest of the cultural humanity. In the days of yore when the older ideals of India prevailed, it was not merely the ideal of the faith of a particular section of the people but of the Indian people as a whole and of Indian culture wheresoever it radiated. Even in other countries not within the zone of influence of Indian culture the spirit of supremacy of religion and the supremacy of the after-life, was felt almost universally. The Indian ideal therefore was then in consonance with the general tone of the world-ideal as a whole.

We have now, however, a new epoch of culture, progress and ideals in which the entire civilised world is participating. Whether we will or not, we are being directed into the whirlpools of our unknown destinies of continual movement and continual change of this new age. We are thus naturally torn away from the spirit that dominated the philosophy and culture of India. It is no doubt true that here and there new thinkers are criticising the methods of this new age, but whatever may be the value of these criticisms it is difficult to find any tendency in them to lapse back into the idea of progress in the spirit of ancient Indian thought.

If we could completely transform ourselves by the newly introduced European culture our problems of life would be very much simplified. But howsoever we may be modified by Western thought we can never forget our traditional past and howsoever the foot-prints may have been obliterated, we are still intimately connected with it, and we can never wholly take ourselves away from the grip of the great ideals of our fore-fathers. We are thus in a very difficult situation; we cannot identify ourselves with our fore-fathers, nor are our problems of life the same as theirs; we can not also identify ourselves with our Western brethren nor can we look at life wholly from their point of view. Westernisation has also been effected in very different degrees and intensity, not only amongst the different

sections and communities of people but often also in the same family. It is a common fact that in the very same family some members are very strongly intoxicated with the Western view of life, whereas there are others who are as strongly loyal to the traditional faiths. Thus we cannot bind our faith to our traditional past nor can we heartily welcome the Western outlook of life. If the religious and moral problems of our fore-fathers are not our own we cannot also wholly believe ourselves to be like the Westerners having the same view of life as they have. We are thus in a state of transition where both the Indian and Western ideals are fighting for supremacy and we do not know which to choose and where to stand. Nothing is more unsuitable for the creation and development of new thought than such an unsettled state of things. The Ancients believed in the Shastric ways of life and the various problems that arose out of them, but we have moved far away from then and even those of us who have been brought up in the Panditic atmosphere, cannot be said to be strictly loyal to the older ideals.

The bed-rock of old Indian culture and civilisation which formed the basis of our philosophy is fast slipping off our feet. The rush of waters is not however equally deep everywhere, but it is fast increasing. It may be waist-deep in some places, it may be shoulder-deep in others, but yet there are places where it is already passing over our heads. It would be a day-dream to suppose that we can ever arrest this torrential flow of inundating waters from the western seas. The new science of the West, with its daily increasing inventions of machineries and crafts of ever-increasing material power and advantages, is fast demolishing the barriers and insulations of time and space and of natural obstructions. The steam engines, aeroplanes, telegraphs, wirelasses and the like are fast removing all distances in land, sea and water. Through trade and commerce the machineries of advantage and articles of luxury in all departments of life are invading our country with an ever-increasing rapidity and are making them a necessity of life with us. The newspapers are broadcasting the bigger and smaller events for the whole world and as we swallow them with our tea, we fill in our mind with foreign materials of interest and build

a mental constitution which is not so much Indian as cosmopolitan. Western thoughts, wisdom, ways and out-look of life, aspirations and interests are being shipped through their printed pages and fast assimilated by the youths of the country. Can we arrest this mighty inundation? Can we now turn to the old yogie ideal of contentment with nothing, or restrict our needs to the bare necessities of life, and drive out the present civilisation, which is always tending to increase our material wants? Can we remain contented with being only a religious and spiritual people, and cease taking interest in politics, or in the development of our industries? Can we, in brief, go back to the past? Such a supposition seems to me to be an impossible and wild dream, which only an idealist can weave in his wildest fancy. The torrents that are coming are not merely a passing inundation. They indicate a rise of water which has come to stay and increase. If we try to hold fast to our old bed-rock and turn a deaf ear to the roaring rush we are bound to be drowned and suffocated. The very instinct of life would prevent us from taking any such foolish step, and any advice that would urge us to do it is too impractical to be followed. We would rather be washed away, or clutch at a floating raft, and save ourselves than hold fast to the old bed-rock beneath the waters. Our real chance of life, therefore, is neither to hold fast to the submerged rock, nor to allow ourselves to be washed away, but to build an edifice of our own, high and secure enough to withstand the ravages of all inundations. We want to avail ourselves of all that come floating to us and enjoy them at our home. Let the waters of the Western sea come and break themselves on the walls of our fortress with their foaming billows. Our only safety is thus to be with the sea and yet above it.

Philosophy with me is not mere Logic or Metaphysics, but the entire *epitome* of life. For me it stands as the collective and integrated whole of all that we think, all that we feel and all that we prize as high and great. Philosophy that sticks merely to verbal arguments, and metaphysical dilemmas, and is not instinct with the reality of life, is no true philosophy, but a mere mockery of it. Philosophy is the formula of the entire spiritual existence of man, where by "spiritual" one understands all

that is especial to man as man. It would be wrong to restrict the meaning of the word spiritual, merely to a sense of God-intoxication or an ethical or religious inspiration. By "spiritual", therefore, as determining the meaning of philosophy, I should, therefore, like to mean the entire harmonious assemblage of the inner life of man, as all that he thinks, feels, values and wishes to create. A student of Indian Philosophy is, therefore, required not only to understand clearly in consonance with the spirit of the thinkers of the past, the details of the different strands of Indian philosophical thinking, but he must also realise their value and significance in connection with the totality of Indian culture as a whole, in the many-sided development of spiritual experience and spiritual creation. He must also realise what relation such spiritual achievements may have with the spiritual creations of our age, influenced as it is in diverse ways by world-thought as a whole. Our aims, therefore, are not merely to understand each strand of Indian philosophical thought of the past in true sympathy with the spirit of the past, but also to understand them in their mutual connection and contrast as representing the diverse phases of the development of the ancient Indian mind, and also to realise the way in which we can further advance our thoughts of the present age as a continuous prolongation of the spiritual impetus of the past into the bosom of the future. Philosophy cannot of course chalk out a path of future progress, but it must at least give us a concrete and enlightened feel of the spiritual impetus that guides and determines our progress.

The task of the proper study of Indian philosophy is indeed very great, in many ways very much greater than the study of Western philosophy. Indian philosophical systems have mostly developed side by side with one another. Most of the systems had in some form or other very early beginnings. They were not treated as mere vapourings of individual thought, but were regarded as the result of spiritual experience, which would not only give us intellectual satisfaction, but would also satisfy the highest ideals of life. Each system of thought had therefore its adherents, and these adherents of different schools criticised one another and mutually benefited themselves by reinterpreting and strengthening their positions, in the light of these hostile criticisms. This work of reinterpretation, this rise of new problems and their solutions

continued to grow for hundreds of years in an atmosphere of mutual influence and in mutual give and take in the form of commentaries and sub-commentaries and independent monographs. Difficult and abstruse as the language of these philosophical texts and commentaries is, it is rendered very much obscure and incomprehensible through the constant references, allusions and refutations of unknown views of other systems of philosophy. For understanding any particular system of thought, one is required to know the fundamental problems and difficulties of almost every other system of thought, and this often leads to a vicious circle from which it is difficult to escape. It is unfortunate also that there should not be books which would make an easy introduction to the different systems of thought which could guide anyone in his studies in any particular system of thought. However strange it might appear, I should venture to remark that Indian systems of philosophy have very seldom been studied in detail, historically and in mutual interconnections, in an unbiased manner. The study of philosophy, in the Panditic circles, has often been limited to one particular system of thought, or at best, two, for the Pundits take to philosophic studies, not often as impartial philosophers, engaged in creating new thought, but as religious adherents of particular schools, holding particular dogmas and creeds of philosophy. Their interest in systems of thought, other than those to which they are loyal, is limited very largely to the prominent defects of those systems, in contrast with which they regarded their own systems to be superior. They are not generally interested in the growth and development of any particular system as a system of philosophy and the parts that are played and the contributions that are made by other rival systems in such a development. The best of them have a sound philological training and by life-long studies of some of the prominent works of a particular philosophy, they generally master the technical terms and expressions and they are used to the scholastic disputes on particular points of philosophical dogma, but they have seldom the philosophical interest as we now understand it. As a result of that, excepting the two tiny works of *Sad-darsana-samuccaya* and *Sarva-darsana-sara-sangraha* and Madhava's *Sarva-darsana-sangraha* we have hardly any other work which deals with the different systems of Indian philosophy as a whole.

Even these works are nothing but brief sketches of different systems of philosophy without any eye to their mutual interconnection, or their historical or rational development. They do not take any notice of the literature of the systems, nor do they separate the different schools that sprang up within each system or the earlier parts from later accretions. The materials collected regarding the various systems of thought are not also often based upon a comprehensive study of the literature of the subjects, but are often directly borrowed from important compendiums. Even the best Pandits of our age follow the old traditional method, and are almost always profoundly ignorant of Buddhism and Jainism, the two great systems of thought which moulded in such an important manner the development of all Hindu philosophic thought in mediæval times, and with few exceptions, they seldom publish anything which may be said to embody the results of their study and mature thinking. Their eminence, therefore, may be said to lie only in the fact that they are masters of the philosophical style and the technical language of the literature of the particular schools of thought, of which they are adherents, or which they have studied. But this much-vaunted Panditic learning is also fast disappearing, and as far as I can judge from my personal experience of Bengal Pandits among whom I have grown up, I can say that among the younger or the middle-aged generation, one can hardly find one out of dozens of title-holders, who understands the texts, or has studied the literature of the subject. The fact that the Pandits are almost always unacquainted with any of the Western languages is another great handicap with them, as they are thereby excluded from profiting by the results of the learned researches and translations from foreign sources and also from romanised editions of Sanskrit and Pali texts, by Western scholars. The great handicap with anglicised scholars is often their inadequate knowledge of Sanskrit. The short time that they can spare for Sanskrit often renders it impossible for them to master the abstruse style and technique of Indian philosophical literature. Still, it is with them alone that our future hope of Indian philosophy lies.

If we want to construct the future philosophy on the basis of our own, we must at least thoroughly study our philosophy and know how and where it differs from

the philosophy of the West and on which particular points and aspects it has its agreements. But before any such agreements or differences may be noted, before we can understand the spirit of our philosophy, in connection with the spirit of Western philosophy, it is the great necessity of our age to make a complete study of our achievements in philosophy as faithfully as we can, in consonance with the spirit with which it was carried on and the atmosphere that it breathed. There has of late been a tendency among some Indian scholars to interpret Indian philosophy on the models of the West. Technical philosophical terms have often been carelessly used to represent Indian concepts. Many of our scholars have breathed a sigh of relief if they could by their manipulations, discover a Hegel in Sankara, or a Hume in Buddha. Much as I would like to see particular systems of Indian thought compared or contrasted with other Western systems of thought, I should very much disapprove of the idea of forcing an interpretation of Indian philosophy through the inspiration of Western thought, for purposes of fruitless identification. If similarities are to be noticed, the reviewer of philosophy must also know his system thoroughly well to appreciate the differences. A philosopher who is inspired by Western philosophy and aims at proving that Indian philosophy is only like another revised edition of Western philosophy profoundly misses his part as an interpreter of Indian thought. In a lecture at the Fifth International Congress at Naples the present writer had an opportunity of pointing out that Indian philosophy anticipates in a very large measure most of what is known as European thought. In illustrating this statement, the present writer analysed the principal features of Benedetto Croce's philosophy and showed how the most essential doctrines of this philosophy had been anticipated in the philosophy of Dharmakīrti and Dharmottara. If one goes through the elaborate commentary literature of the different systems of Indian philosophy, one is astonished to notice, how many of those philosophical and epistemological views, which pass as productions of modern philosophy, have already been worked out centuries ago by the thinkers of India. In the interests of comparative philosophy, it is indeed useful to bring out these anticipations of Western philosophy by Indian thought.* But before that can be done, it is

* M. M. Prof. S. Kuppaswami Sastri in a short

necessary that the entire philosophical and religious literature of India should be explored and the materials discovered should be properly and faithfully collected and systematised in the proper Indian setting in which they appear. The task of faithful collection and right understanding must precede that of comparison. Not every student of philosophy can be a scholar of Sanskrit who can rightly interpret Indian thought, by studying the original texts; it is therefore the clear duty of Sanskritists who understand philosophy to bring out all the materials of Indian philosophy from their inaccessible Sanskrit homes to our easy approaches of modern languages, Indian or Western. Indian philosophy ought not to remain any longer a special monopoly of a few expert Sanskritists; it ought to lay bare its treasures to all who can think, and it is in this way alone that our older philosophies can be made to work with us as a living force. The old ideal of reserving all higher knowledge for a few experts and qualified persons must have to be abandoned. The time when people took to Indian philosophy out of religious motives has almost passed away. If even now Indian philosophy is kept as a proud possession of a few expert Sanskritists, it may as well lie buried in the moth-eaten pages of palm leaves and the whole world would move on without even noticing that it has missed it. Yet it is this philosophy which may be regarded as the highest achievement of the

Brahminic civilisation of India of which we are justly proud, and on the bed-rock of which we want to rebuild our future national culture. It is true no doubt that there may be parts of it which may be regarded as decayed and dead, but it is also certainly true that there are other elements in it which are universal and deathless. It is these which, while they would link us with our past, will yet allow us to continue our onward growth of progress and to assimilate all that is good, whatever may be the sources from which we receive them.

If we try to rise above all details of philosophical dogmas, views, opinions and disputes, and try to discover some of the fundamental results of Indian philosophical culture, a number of important propositions is seen to emerge. Indian philosophy has sprung forth out of ethical, eschatological and religious needs, and with rare exceptions has always been dominated or restricted by these considerations. The Upanisads reveal two different strands of eschatological ideas, firstly, the doctrine of Devayana and Pitriyana (the views that the wise man at death passed away through the ethereal regions above and never returned back to earth, while the man of deeds, after an upward course, was again showered down to live its prescribed life on earth) and the doctrine of re-birth. Throughout the entire course of the history of Indian philosophy, no one except the Carvakas raised any dissenting voice against this theory of re-birth. We do not know how this doctrine originally crept into Indian thought, but once it was there, it was accepted almost universally without a discussion. The few arguments that are sometimes adduced in its support (e. g., in the Nyaya Sutra and the Caraka-Samhita) are trivial in their nature and may be regarded as offered in support of a faith and not as determining philosophical conclusions. The doctrine of re-birth is therefore a dogma of Indian philosophy. The Hindus believed in it; the Jatakas represent Buddha as remembering his past lives, but the Carvakas denied it. It was a philosophical dogma or creed, which might safely be regarded as unproved. We next come to the theory of Karma. This also can be traced to the Upanisads, and it is not improbable that it originated from a belief in the magical efficacy of sacrificial deeds. It is supposed to explain the inequalities of this life by the unknown actions of the past lives, but it refuses to explain any question regarding

reference that he has made to my "A History of Indian Philosophy" says: "This learned Professor of Bengal endeavours in this work to give an account of the evolution of philosophical thought, strictly in accordance with the original sources in Sanskrit and seems to hold the view that there is hardly any need for an exposition of the doctrines of Indian philosophy, for the reason that they appear to him to be essentially the same as found in European Philosophy". *The New Era*, Dec., 1928; Madras. This is, however, a gross misrepresentation of my views. Indian philosophy anticipates many problems and discussions of European philosophy; but in its history, structure, aims, ideals and concrete development as a whole, it widely differs from European philosophy. And it is exactly for this reason that I urge that Indian philosophy must first be faithfully interpreted and it is only after it has been faithfully interpreted that an attempt at a constructive comparison or construction should be made. It is because Indian philosophy is not European philosophy that the former cannot safely be reconstructed in the light of the latter. And it is only when a faithful exposition has revealed the real similarities, that these can be compared. It is regrettable that M. M. Kuppaswami Sastri should make such a gross blunder.

original inequalities of circumstances and advantages by a clever dodge that there is no beginning in the series of lives. The difficulties of the theory of Karma are further realised in other directions also. If the fruits of the Karmas of the past cannot be avoided, how can, then, any one attain emancipation which must necessarily mean cessation of Karma? In reply to such a question, other dogmas regarding the fruition of Karma are introduced, all of which may be regarded as mythical. It is also held that when true knowledge is attained, or when desires are extinguished, the bonds of Karma are burnt up. So far as I can remember, I suppose, no attempt has been made, anywhere in Indian philosophy, to prove any of these propositions regarding the operation of the laws of Karma in a serious and systematic manner. The law of Karma therefore, involves a number of unattested propositions, which have never been proved to be true, nor are capable of being proved so. This is, therefore, the second set of unproved dogmas of Indian philosophy, which has been almost universally acknowledged as true, not as a philosophical conclusion, but as an article of faith. It is only the Carvakas who dared protest against it but no one ever cared to listen to them.

We next come to the doctrine of Mukti, Moksa, Apavarga or Nihisreyasa and Nirvana. The Upanisads are full of the sages' experience of an ultimate state of bliss, which is indescribable and indefinable and from which there is no return. The taste of this great realisation seems to be the most attractive and arresting feature of the Upanisads. But it is doubtful whether the Upanisads conceived it as a supra-conscious psychical experience, or as a final state of realisation that put a stop to the cycle of rebirth. The former seems more probable. But all the systems of Hindu philosophy took it to mean the affirmation of an ultimate freedom of the self from mind and all that is mental and physical. Opinions in different systems of Hindu philosophy regarding the exact nature of this state, i. e., whether this is an inert state, or a state of pure thoughtless intelligence, or a state of intelligence which is also supreme bliss. But whatsoever may be the value of these differences, there is this general agreement that all systems of Hindu thought have before them the ultimate goal of the absolute, perfect and final freedom of the soul from

mind, and all that is mental and physical, and the ultimate cessation of the cycles of rebirth. It is not the place here to enter into any elaborate discussion regarding the exact concept and meaning of Nirvana in the different schools of Buddhism, but whatever that may be, there is no doubt that Nirvana means some kind of quiescence of finality, and the cessation of all desires, experience and the cycle of Karma. The Jainas also believed in the ultimate finality and the state of liberation of the souls in Moksa. But it does not seem that though this belief in a final and ultimate achievement, extinction or liberation was universal in all systems of Indian thought except the Carvaka no attempt seems to have been made anywhere in Indian philosophy to prove the reality of this state. In this case direct testimony from personal experience could not be available, for, he who attained salvation could not be expected to return back to normal life to record his experience. But in this case also another fiction was introduced and it was supposed that even after the attainment of the final liberation, one may with the help of another pure mind communicate his experiences for the benefit and instruction of other seekers after Moksa. This theory also has not been proved as a philosophical proposition anywhere. The doctrine of Mukti may, therefore, be regarded as another unproved dogma of Indian philosophy. The theory of rebirth, the theory of Karma and the theory of Mukti may thus be regarded as the three most important dogmas through which Indian philosophy has been made subservient to ethics and religion. The influence which these dogmas have over the moral and religious well-being of the Indian people cannot be over-estimated. Not all Indians are believers in God, not all of them believe in prayers, divine grace, or devotion as the best mode of approach to God, but all of them believe in these articles of faith. They have thus held together the entire religio-moral fabric of the Hindu-Buddhist-Jaina culture. Though they are but dogmas, yet they have fertilised Indian philosophy with life, and made its growth possible. For, Indian philosophy did not start from a sense of scientific curiosity or a spirit of scientific enquiry into the nature of truth, but from a practical religious need in the quest of the attainment of the highest spiritual good. It cannot, however, be denied that when philosophy began to grow, these

dogmas did not in any way seriously handicap its free development. But the association of these dogmas has left their permanent stamp on the genius and character of Indian philosophy in the belief that a philosophy that does not ennoble man is but an empty vapouring. Science in its theoretic aspect seeks to investigate into the nature of truth with no other motive than the discovery of new laws, new principles and new relations. But on its practical aspect it is concerned to see, how it can best employ its new discoveries to the alleviation of human sufferings and the attainment of new advantages for human well-being. Philosophy also is not merely a mental science of arguments and discussions, regarding the nature of reality and our modes of knowing it, but it must have a practical side as well. Whatever may be the result of our researches our interest in a permanent well-being of our spiritual nature never lessens its sway. This spiritual well-being was conceived in India as self-control, or control or desires on the negative side, and the philosophic wisdom which directly revealed our spiritual nature as being above all desires and cravings on the positive side. The logic which sought to connect this moral or religious dogma with philosophy, demanded that this ascent on the spiritual scale must lead us somewhere, must end somewhere and have a finality. It was probably owing to such kinds of consideration that it was conceived that there was a deep chasm between our psychological nature and our true spiritual nature. Having made this chasm, Indian philosophy has always found it extremely difficult to explain the intimate connection between the two that is revealed in common experience. Philosophers have sought to explain it through the phenomenon of error, which is sometimes made to behave psychologically and at other times ontologically. There is a lot of confusion in this concept of error or ignorance and the philosopher incapable of explaining it is content with leaving it untouched as the flourish of the irrational in experience. A necessary consequence of such a view is that ultimate spiritual attainment must mean the disruption of psychological experience. The moral conflict of the invasion of desires and their control and the strife for the ultimate spiritual attainment is the misery of all psychological experience which must abnegate itself in favour of the rise of spiritual enlighten-

ment. Superior self-control is universally believed to be near to spiritual enlightenment, but opinions differ as to whether the true knowledge of this spiritual reality being entirely different from every thing else leads to the final cessation of psychological experience or mind, or whether the control of desires ultimately produces it, or whether they do it conjointly. No philosophical arguments seem to have been adduced in favour of this bold proposition that the psychological and the spiritual lie entirely asunder and that the former is only related to the latter by a thin film of illusion or ignorance which has made it living and actual, and that the ultimate goal of all our moral and religious endeavours is to split asunder this thin film either by the complete disruption of the psychological stuff, or by negating it through true knowledge. This is then another important dogma which has been produced through the logical tendency of setting a final limit to spiritual perfection. In the West, however, the nature of the spiritual perfection is kept delightfully vague and seldom defined with logical precision, and in consequence of that, philosophy is not inconveniently saddled with an unchangeable theory of mind and spirit. That philosophy should be concerned on its practical side, through a better understanding of our own inner nature and our relations with the world and our fellow-beings, need not be contested. But whether spiritual advancement must have to be conceived as culminating in some kind of absolutism, may be open to doubt. Had philosophy started in this country out of a spirit of rationalisation and scientific enquiry, arising out of our intercourse with our fellow-beings, it would have remained content with setting a practical limit to spiritual advancement. But philosophy started in India, out of a grave subjective anxiety for attaining our highest, and the validity of such a quest was attested and backed by the supra-conscious spiritual experience, epistemological discourses and dialectical discussions, and all that we call philosophy began to grow and accumulate through the centuries of their development, but they never contested the original dogmas which justified their practical significance. It is a fundamental characteristic of Indian philosophy, that it not only tries to take its stand on reasoned and rational discourses, but it also wishes to profit by the results of the mystic and supra-conscious experiences

of the sages. Indeed, one is often astonished to see in it a deep vein of anti-logical ideals, values and experiences that hold and support its logical frame. The experiences of the Yogins and the rapturous utterances of the Upanisads are incontestable. Philosophy, in its logical venture, has no right to come to conclusions which are contradicted by intuitional experiences. Mere logical consistency cannot guarantee truth, nor can it hold up a scheme which will be acceptable to us and which would satisfy the complex demands of our nature. But Indian philosophy not only admitted the claims of this supra-conscious experience in philosophy, but also accorded a superior validity to it. In one sense, it had its superior claims in this that it could only dawn as the result of superior self-control. But its superiority cannot be logically proved, and hence any proposition that affirms it, can only be taken as a dogma. In this connection, it is not out of place to refer to another dogma, that found currency with all systems of Hindu philosophy, viz., the dogma of the incontestable validity of scriptural authority : in some systems it is held that though the validity of the scriptures is incontestable, yet they are to be interpreted in such a way that they may not contradict the testimony of perception and inference. Other systems hold more extreme views and urge that since scriptural testimony has a superior validity, even the testimony of perception and inference should have to be modified in accordance with the testimony of the scriptures. Sankara urges that since no finality can be arrived at by logical reasons, which behave differently in different hands, one must always depend on the scriptures for the final ascertainment of truth.

These are thus some of the important dogmas that have largely modified the direction of the purely philosophical and logical part of Indian philosophy. From behind these dogmas, one great truth emerges, viz., that philosophy owes its origin to the deep-seated human longing after some transcendent finality, and that philosophy must be expected to satisfy this longing by ennobling and elevating humanity to its high, moral and spiritual destiny. This ultimate optimism may in some sense be regarded as a bed-rock of Indian philosophical culture. All these dogmas have sprung out of the necessity of this optimistic nature of the Indian temperament. But how far these dogmas may be regarded as indispensable corollaries is open to doubt. In India the Mukti theory was also challenged by the devotional ideal of the Vaisnavas and the older colourless ideal state of perfection involving the disruption of mind was replaced by an ideal of pure devotional enjoyment of the Vaisnavas and the altruistic goal of the Mahayana Buddhists. The time has now come when keeping a steady eye on our fundamental optimism, we should examine how far the old accepted dogmas need hold their sway over us. Philosophy cannot dispense with dogmas altogether, any more than science can dispense with unproved hypothesis. But if philosophy is to have any life, the older dogmas have to be criticised, modified, or dispensed with in the light of our new knowledge, and change of out-look. Philosophy which remains for ever encaged within its old bars, may well be taken as dead. It is, therefore, the imperative duty of Indian philosophy to rejuvenate and revitalise itself by a critical reformation of the fundamental postulates that have so long been guiding its destiny.

SIDELIGHTS ON THE SIMON COMMISSION

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

COMING events cast their shadows before and the event which will be the ultimate outcome of the Royal Commission presided over by Sir John Simon is casting a very sinister shadow before it. The Commission has been conceived and constituted

in contemptuous disregard of the claims of India and yet desperate devices have been resorted to in order to lend colour to an impression that the Commission is accepted and approved by Indian public opinion.

If there had been the slightest intention

on the part of the British Ministry or the Government of India to enlist the goodwill of India in favour of the Royal Commission they would have arranged for the participation of Indian political leaders in the labours of the Commission on terms of equality. We have had many Commissions, Royal and other, in India, though their labours and reports have not materially affected the state of things in this country. The country is familiar with the tinkering done by Commissions and no one puts much faith in them. The Simon Commission, however, has to deal with very vital issues; the Time-spirit is stirring strongly the depths of the consciousness of the Indian people, and there was not the remotest likelihood of the silent acquiescence of the people of India in the extraordinary constitution of the Commission. The immediate result of the announcement of the names of the members of the Commission was the alienation of a large number of sober Indians, who had so far hesitated to identify themselves with the bolder and more outspoken section of the community. The Simon Commission served as an amalgam to unite parties that had hitherto held aloof from one another.

As no Indian had been appointed a member of the Commission the Government of India proceeded to nominate a number of members from the various Legislative Councils of India to be co-opted with the Royal Commission. The Indian Legislative Assembly had refused to have anything to do with the Royal Commission, or to nominate any members to take part in its deliberations, but this did not prevent some members from accepting the very doubtful honour of nomination by the Government. The Provincial Legislative Councils did not follow the lead of the Legislative Assembly and fell in with the suggestion of the Government and nominated the desired number of members to sit on the Commission. The members of the Central Assembly accompany the Commission throughout the tour while those nominated from the Provincial Councils are not required outside their own Provinces. These members as well as those from the Central Legislature do not have equality of status with the Royal Commission. They have the right to examine witnesses and they will meet the Royal Commissioners in conference, but they will have no part in drafting the Report, nor will they be permitted to sign it or to append minutes of

dissent. The only use made of them will be to proclaim that the Report of the Commission reflects the views of all the Legislative bodies in India so that it will not be open to the representatives of Indian opinion to declare that the country dissociates itself from the conclusions of the Commission.

This being the palpable if not the declared object of Government it became necessary for the people of India to repudiate emphatically the assumption that the Commission even with its appendages from the Indian Legislatures was in any way acceptable to the country. Some of our countrymen, whose opinions are entitled to respect, have suggested that the Commission should be ignored and no demonstrations of disapproval are necessary. They forget that such a course would have furnished a ready handle to the Government to announce to the whole world that the Commission has the warm approval of the people of India. There is a section of the Press in this country, and it is much the most noisy section, which wags its tail behind the heels of the Government and yelps furiously at the nationalists of India. It would have lost no time in interpreting the silence of the country as a sign of general approval of the Commission. The wires of publicity organisations are pulled and controlled by agencies hostile to Indian aspirations. As it is, all demonstrations of public feeling in India are systematically minimised and belittled by both the Government and the publicity agencies. To have maintained silence in the face of the attempts to invest the Commission with a fictitious representative character would have been a grave tactical blunder.

It must not be overlooked that the awakening in India is real and is rapidly spreading to all classes of the population. The outburst of public feeling against a non-Indian Commission to deal with the future of the national constitution of India naturally found vent in forms of disapproval recognised throughout the world. There is the well-known precedent of the boycott of the Milner Commission in Egypt. The women of Egypt thrust aside the *purdah* and took as effective a part in the boycott as the men. The result was that Lord Milner went to Egypt and returned to England without a page of recorded evidence. Such unanimity of purpose and solidarity of popular opinion have yet to be attained in India. The day that India presents a front as united as

Egypt her demand for her rightful place among the nations of the world will become irresistible. Meanwhile, the declaration of a boycott against the Simon Commission brought into prominent play the exhibition and use of the force upon which the Government always relies for the suppression of peaceful but unwelcome demonstrations. On the day the members of the Simon Commission first landed in India a *hartal* was observed in many cities in India, including Calcutta. On that day the police, particularly European policemen, wantonly assaulted many inoffensive and peaceful people on the streets and even trespassed into private houses and assaulted the inmates. A *hartal* is purely an Indian institution and to be complete a city must present the appearance of a city of the dead. The streets and markets must be deserted, all places of business must be closed, and the inhabitants of the city should remain indoors. This is not done nowadays and people are found loitering in the streets. This gives the police an opportunity to chase the crowds and lay about their batons and *lathas*. A real *hartal* would find the police chasing their own shadows in the streets.

The use of black flags, uncomplimentary mottoes, the marching in procession, the shouts expressive of disapprobation, is the European form of a boycott, and this has also come in evidence in connection with the Simon Commission. The processions are perfectly orderly and peaceful and the fact that they are led by well-known men incapable of violence is a guarantee of the peaceful character of these demonstrations. But that did not prevent the police from assaulting Lala Lajpat Rai and several other leading persons, some of whom are members of the Punjab Legislative Council, at Lahore, or Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and several others at Lucknow. The inquiry into the conduct of the police was entrusted to an officer before whom the injured persons refused to appear, so that the report is merely the version of the police. At Lucknow there was no inquiry at all. In every instance, the processionists were unarmed and did not carry even a walking stick; the police are always armed and are spoiling to maintain law and order by the free use of their weapons. In these circumstances, it is a very large demand on human credulity to ask the public to believe that the provocation comes from the unarmed populace.

The explosion of a bomb on a railway train on the Great Indian Peninsular Railway has started a theory that the bomb was intended to wreck the special train conveying the Royal Commissioners. This has yet to be proved, while the fact is undeniable that at Lahore a bomb was thrown on two occasions on the last day of the Ramila and several persons were killed and injured but the highly efficient and much belauded police have failed to find any clue to the bombthrowers. Lala Lajpat Rai and others were assaulted at a considerable distance from the Lahore railway station, and on the first day that Pandit Jawaharlal and several others were assaulted at Lucknow the members of the Commission had not even arrived in that city! Yet the assaults are in a manner justified on the ground that the police had bombs on the brain.

Receptions are arranged for the Commissioners wherever they go. No one takes any exception to the official reception, but can anyone call the presence of a dozen hangers-on of the Government a public reception? If it is contended that there is a large body of opinion in favour of the Royal Commission and its local entourage, why are not counter-demonstrations got up to neutralise the effect of the boycott processions? It would be a sight for the gods to see the Rajas and the Nawabs and the faithful henchmen of officials parading the streets with golden banners and flags bearing such charming legends as "Long live the Simon Commission!" "Confusion to the boycotters!"

It would have been superfluous to point out that the country, though it is unreservedly opposed to the Commission, has no personal feeling against Sir John Simon if he had kept his personality, like Caesar's wife, above suspicion. When thousands of voices shout, "Go back, Simon!" it is evident they would have done the same if any other man had been appointed president of the Commission. In spite of Sir John Simon's great ability he has not been able to maintain an attitude of complete detachment. It should not be his concern to make out that the Commission is carrying the country with it in its inquiry. He is not responsible for the composition of the Commission; he knows that the Central Indian Legislature has no statutory part in the Commission, and the men who are content to play second fiddle do not represent the Indian Legislative Assembly; the nominees from the Provincial Councils are of no

account. But Sir John Simon has been fussing and gushing over them till his other name has become Sir Blarney Gushington. It may be that the Chairman of the Royal Commission, with the cold mind of popular disfavour beating against him, is anxious for a little sympathy, but he overlooks the fact that he lays himself open to suspicion by his effusive tokens of goodwill towards the recruits from the Councils, who form no part of the real Commission.

In more ways than one this Commission has been an eye-opener. India has no real representation upon it; the evidence that is being led before it has no connection with the true national party of India; the official evidence may be easily discounted as of no practical value to the future of the country. The Indian members of Executive Councils and ministers have so far been chosen from that particular section of the community which avoids friction and always pulls with the Government. They have not been able to exercise any appreciable influence upon the policy of the Government, and their evidence, though recorded in camera, can scarcely be distinguishable from that of the European officials of Government. So little is the confidence inspired by the Commission that the rapidly growing party which stands for Indian nationalism has held aloof from it. There can be no substantial achievement by any Commission without the co-operation of this party, but the very constitution of this Commission precludes all possibility of such co-operation. It must not be supposed for a moment that any reforms, real or

shadowy, have ever been conceded at the initiative of the Government here or the Ministry in England. The pressure has always come from India itself and it must become more imperative and more difficult of resistance with the progress of time. Did it ever occur to Sir John Simon and his colleagues that while the European officials appearing before them were stoutly opposed to the transfer of law and order, which means the police, to ministers, the representatives of law and order were busy assaulting the men to whose efforts the country owes even the semblance of reforms? The India of the future does not belong to the complacent individuals who sit with the Royal Commissioners and meet them at the railway stations and garden parties, but those who stay away and are the targets of police truncheons and *lathis*. Sir John Simon and his British colleagues have been going about the country a great deal, seeing villages and historical monuments. Have they ever thought of paying a visit to the session of the Indian National Congress in Calcutta and taking a stroll round Deshbandhu Nagar? That would give them some idea of the growing national organisation in India. That would enable them to realise that the real issue lies between the forces focussed at the Congress and the might of England, and the real struggle is a moral and not a physical one. It is a conflict of wills and all history bears testimony to the unchallengeable fact that the national will of a people demanding its rights must prevail in the end.

RAMMOHUN ROY'S POLITICAL MISSION TO ENGLAND

(Based on unpublished State Records)

By BRAJENDRANATH BANERJI

ONE of the principal objects which led Rammohun to visit England was to press certain pecuniary claims of the Emperor of Delhi. Abu-nasar Muin-ud-din Akbar was then the nominal Padishah of Delhi. This powerless monarch considered himself unjustly treated by the new English masters of India. The treaty between his father, Shah Alam II,

and Lord Wellesley had provided for the assignment of certain *mahals* to the west of the Jamuna for the support of the Delhi royal family, their management being vested in Col. Ochterlony, the then Resident at Delhi (May 1805). Although the entire revenues were to be placed at the royal disposal, a minimum of monthly stipends for the King

and the royal household was specified which amount was to be paid monthly from the Public Treasury "whether the whole of the amount is or is not collected from the Khalsah lands." The collections from the assigned territory improved materially, but no revision was made of the fixed minimum royal stipend to correspond to the increased revenue of the Crownlands. Repeated representations to the local Government on the subject having failed, the aggrieved Mughal sovereign finally decided to depute an Agent to England to urge his claims personally at the head-quarters.

Rammohun Roy was chosen for the task, and the King invested him with the title of *Rajah*, in consideration of the respectability attached to the office of his envoy (*Elchi*). Rammohun thought it wise to get the bestowal of this title approved by the Paramount Power, which, however, would neither recognize his appointment as envoy from the Delhi King to the Court of Great Britain, nor acquiesce in the King's grant of a title to him.

Anxious to secure an early passage to England, Rammohun became afraid lest the Indian Government should refuse him a passport. So, he cunningly disarmed official hostility by representing to the Governor-General that, on various considerations, he had decided to proceed to England *as a private individual*, divesting himself of all public character. Rammohun, then aged about 56, sailed from Calcutta on 15th November 1830 by the *Albion*, bound for Liverpool, and reached England on the 8th April following.

The mission from the King of Delhi was the foremost thought of his mind. Although he had left Calcutta as a private individual, he avowed himself in England as the accredited Agent of the King of Delhi. He carried with him a letter from his master to His Majesty, George the Fourth, which he had composed in English and Persian.* But before presenting this letter, Rammohun made an appeal to the Court of Directors and submitted to them a printed pamphlet on the Delhi King's claims, which he had prepared for greater facility of perusal and information regarding the circumstances of the case.

On 25th June 1831 he addressed the

following letter to the Chairman and the Deputy Chairman of the East India Company, informing them of his object in visiting England :—

"I have the honour to acquaint you that one of the principal objects of my visiting England is to lay before the British authorities, if found necessary, a representation with which I am charged from His Majesty the King of Delhi, and more especially a letter from His Majesty to the King of England, which letter it will be my duty to take an early opportunity of presenting in the event of the appeal which I am induced in the first instance to make to the Hon'ble Court of Directors not being attended with success,

"I would beg to state on the present occasion that I possess full and unlimited powers from His Majesty to negotiate and agree to a final settlement of what the King considers to be his fair and equitable claims on the Hon'ble East India Company. The circumstances connected with the appeal are stated in a pamphlet printed for greater facility of perusal and reference, a copy of which I now beg to submit herewith, and I may add that with the exception of one copy that I have placed in the hands of the Secretary of the Hon'ble Court, and another submitted to my confidential friend Mr. Brown Roberts, no other copy, to the best of my belief, has gone out of my possession.

"I mention this fact because I am anxious to bring the whole matter quietly and unostentatiously before the Hon'ble Court of Directors, with confident expectation that they will early take the whole of His Majesty's case into consideration, and at once do His Majesty that justice to which His Majesty considers himself fairly entitled.

"The whole revenues of the Crownlands which, under the agreement of 1805, the King deemed expressly conceded to him, have been not only in a great part withheld, but in fact denied. His Majesty's allowances have been limited far below what was expressly guaranteed by the Treaty sanctioned by the Hon'ble Court of Directors and the British Parliament; and it is impossible His Majesty can find means out of the limited income fixed for him to support that moderate scale of dignity which is due to the representative of the powerless, but nevertheless illustrious House of Taimur, and to maintain the numerous members of the different branches of that House.

"As from the printed statement you will perceive that this claim regarding His Majesty's stipend was brought before and decided upon by Lord Amherst's Government, the present local Government of India could not reverse the decision passed by their predecessors.

"It is my duty therefore to press upon the immediate attention of the Hon'ble Court the extreme anxiety which I feel faithfully to execute the trust reposed in me by His Majesty.

"I am prepared to satisfy them that the ample powers which I possess are sufficient to bring the matter to a final conclusion. I am confident from the well-known character of the Hon'ble Court that they will not withhold their sanction from what shall, upon a full and deliberate consideration of the whole of the circumstances, appear to be just, reasonable and equitable towards His Majesty the King of Delhi."

* This document is printed in my *Rammohun Roy's Mission to England*, pp. 51-65.

He again wrote to them on 6th September 1831, chiefly with the object of proving that he was the accredited Agent of the Delhi King, as will be seen from the letter quoted below :—

"In continuation of my former address, I beg leave to request your attention to the following circumstances in order to show that after the decision of the Bengal Government, His Majesty the King of Delhi had no course left but that of deputing an Agent on his behalf to bring his claims to the notice of the authorities in England.

"I beg in the first place to bring to your notice the Minute of the Government of Lord Minto, dated 17th June 1809, showing that on being informed that the revenue of the Crownlands had considerably increased, His Majesty had applied to Government for an increase in the stipend, and that the local Government did make a trifling increase, stating however at the same time that 'it is not therefore to be supposed that His Majesty will be entirely satisfied with the extent of augmentation now proposed.' Secondly, I beg to quote Mr. Ross, Agent of the Governor-General at Delhi, who states in his official letter dated 25th February 1823 that 'During the time I was at Delhi the King repeatedly intimated to me his desire that I would take into consideration the subject of the royal stipends, giving me to understand that he expected an augmentation of them proportionate to the increased revenue of the territory which was assigned, in 1805 for the support of the royal household.' Thirdly, I shall only add that His Majesty appealed to Lord Amherst himself when Governor-General of India, on his visit to Delhi, whose Government finally passed a decision against His Majesty's claims in 1827-28, as shown by the Despatch from the Government of Bengal to the address of the Hon'ble Court of Directors, dated 3rd February, 1828. Therefore nothing remained for His Majesty after this but an appeal to the authorities in England.

"I further beg leave to request your attention to the following extract of a Despatch from the local Government of Bengal to the address of the Hon'ble Court of Directors, dated 22nd May 1829, which shows that the local Government had ascertained in the most effectual manner the fact of my being the accredited Agent of His Majesty the King of Delhi to conduct his affairs in England. It is as follows :— 'We have the honour to submit for your information copy of a letter and enclosure from Rammohun Roy, a Native inhabitant of Calcutta of distinguished literary repute, announcing his intention of proceeding to England in the capacity of Agent to the King of Delhi, and as the bearer of a letter from His Majesty to the Sovereign, complaining of the violation by the Hon'ble Company of their engagements with the late Shah Alam. On the receipt of this communication, we directed the Resident at Delhi to intimate to His Majesty the surprise with which we had perused it, and more especially our astonishment at the unmeasured and unfounded accusation which it advances against the Hon'ble Company of having violated its engagements with the royal family. We further desired Sir Edward Colebrooke to ascertain from the King whether he acknowledged Rammohun

Roy as his Agent. Your Hon'ble Court will find in the Resident's reply, a copy of which I submitted, both the King of Delhi's distinct recognition of Rammohun Roy as his Agent, and his explanation of the grounds on which he has thought proper to adopt the extraordinary procedure of deputing that individual to England.'

"I beg to appeal to your own judgment whether any measure could have been adopted or any language could have been employed more explicitly and emphatically to authenticate the fact that I am deputed by His Majesty the King of Delhi, as his Agent, to appeal to and treat with the authorities in England for the fulfilment of the agreement entered into with him by the British Government.

"I beg leave also to quote here the resolution of the Government of Bengal in the 9th Article of the King's additional requests in 1827, which is as follows :— 'The British Government does not recognize the right of the throne of Delhi to confer honorary distinctions on any but the Royal Servants.'

"The facts stated in the preceding paragraphs require no additional corroboration, and I have therefore only further to beg your attention to the records of your Hon'ble Court."

While in England, Rammohun got into touch with Sir Charles Grant, the President of the Board of Control, whose function it was to supervise the proceedings of the E. I. Co. in all matters of administration and to approve its Despatches to India. Grant appears to have been very favourably impressed by Rammohun, and it was he that introduced the Rajah to King William IV on 7th September 1831. The Court of Directors referred back the papers relating to the Delhi King's claims to the Board of Control and were willing to increase the King's stipend to 15 lakhs, but to do so only through the medium of the local Government, and not by means of a direct communication from them to the Rajah. Rammohun, who felt himself disappointed at this attempt to ignore his character as envoy altogether, now wrote the following letter to Sir Charles Grant officially :—

"I have been informed that the Court of Directors, after more than a month's consideration on the King of Delhi's claims, have, instead of communicating the result to me, as you expected, referred back the papers to your Board.

"They are willing, it appears, to make an increase in the King's income but wish to do so by a recommendation to the local authorities—that it may be granted as a *boon* not as a right—lest if it were known to have been done as a matter of justice, other persons who may have suffered injustice from their servants, might be encouraged to come forward for redress.

"I beg to appeal to yourself whether you found me at all unreasonable in this matter, whether I was not disposed to yield to your suggestions to obviate any further trouble.

"I addressed an appeal to His Britannic Majesty's Government in behalf of fallen Royalty, and His

Majesty's Government being actuated by justice has listened to the appeal. Therefore, whatsoever is done as a matter of justice, by the express authority of your Board, not contingent on the local authority which has already prejudged the case, will be satisfactory to me.

"Any just man feels desirous to be informed whether the powers intrusted to his servants, particularly those in a remote country, have been properly exercised, and to prove that when any injustice has been done by them he is anxious to afford redress—a course which is calculated to discourage future injustice. But with regard to the Court of Directors I am sorry to find that in my humble opinion the case is quite the reverse. In the meantime I am here so situated as to be responsible not only to the King of Delhi but to the whole body of my countrymen for my exertions in his behalf and for their welfare.

"In order to obviate the excuses of the Directors that the King of Delhi should have first referred the case to the local Government and that I was unaccustomed, I wrote the accompanying letter to them, a copy of which I beg to submit to your consideration." (11 October, 1831). *

This was followed by another letter to

the Board in support of the statement which Rammohun had made regarding the territory assigned to the Delhi Royal family for their maintenance:—

"For further illustration of my statement that the assignment of territory to His Majesty (the King of Delhi) was embodied at the time in the Regulations of Government (in India) which stand in the place of Acts of Parliament in this country, I have the pleasure to send you the accompanying volume of the Regulations of the local Government containing the articles referred to, marked with pencil and beg your attention to them.

"If convenient, you will have the goodness to bring them to the notice of the Head of your Department and oblige"

P. S. As to the quotation, I beg to refer you to page 3 of the Brief Statement consisting of 4 pages and to pages 9 and 10, Par. 5 & 6 of the printed Pamphlet on the subject.

Reg. XI. 1804. Sec. 4

Reg. VI. 1805. Sec. 3

Reg. X. 1807. Sec. 1.†

* Rammohun Roy to the Right Hon'ble Charles Grant, etc. etc., dated 48 Bedford Square, 11th October, 1831.

† Rammohun Roy to Hyde Villiers, Esq. (Secretary, Board of Control), dated 48 Bedford Square, Oct. 21st, 1831.

THE ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY

(Chidambaram, South India)

By V. SRINIVASAN

ONE more University Act has been placed on the statute books of India, and next July will begin to function the Annamalai University in the Presidency of Madras.

For the first time in the history of India, is the name of a University associated with the name of an individual and rightly so, for the University is a *fait accompli* due to the generosity of Sir S. R. Mm. Annamalai Cheltiar who in addition to making over to the University his present college at Chidambaram worth over 15 lakhs has offered an endowment fund of 20 lakhs—the biggest single benefaction for education in this country. The Ministry of Education in Madras must be congratulated on its placing on a statutory basis its initial grant of twenty-seven lakhs to the capital fund and seven and a half lakhs to the building and

equipment fund, besides an annual recurring grant of one and a half lakhs.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE UNIVERSITY

The University is to be a *unitary, teaching and strictly residential* one "in which teaching, study, research and an active social life will be pursued in an atmosphere congenial to their growth along sound lines and in which the training given to students would be of primary importance and the examinations which test this training of only subsidiary importance."

Regarding the subjects to be studied in the University, in addition to the usual faculties of Arts and Science, there are to be a faculty of oriental studies for 'the study of Tamil, Sanskrit, Indian History and other subjects particularly connected with India,' and a Faculty of Technology, provision being

made for professional studies also. It is to be highly regretted that the Legislative Council of Madras should have thrown out the suggestion that 'commerce' should be included as one of the branches of learning to be studied in the University. And the irony is all the greater since the University is the outcome of the generous heart and purse of a great banker and merchant-prince. It must not also be forgotten that the 'Faculty of Technology' was added to the other faculties, in the last stages of the Bill in the Legislature and accepted by the Government in a half-hearted manner. If, as was stated by the Finance member of the Government of Madras, the University is essentially one 'for the development of pure humanities and professional studies,' there is every danger of this University manufacturing the same type of graduates as the parent University of Madras but for (a) the contemplated specialisation in oriental studies and (b) the residential and teaching character of the University.

The former is sought to be emphasised by giving representation in the Senate of the University to (a) the teachers of the existing Sanskrit colleges in the Tamil area (b) the teachers of the existing Tamil colleges in the Tamil area (c) the premier academy of Tamil—the Madura Tamil Sangam (d) the premier Adi-Dravida Cultural Association—Sri Nandanar Kalvi Khazhagam and (e) the premier Muslim Educational Association of South India.

The latter is clearly emphasised by the provision that the jurisdiction of the University will not extend beyond a radius of 10 miles from the convocation hall (though this will not apply to institutions imparting instruction in agriculture and other technical studies), and the other provisions regarding residence of students and teachers, &c. The seat of the University is such that it has every facility to develop into a University town. Chidambaram, at whose extensive outskirts the existing college is and the future University is to be housed, is a small municipality with a population of just over twenty-two thousand, occupying the fortieth place among the Municipalities of the Madras Presidency, and so not possessing the disadvantages of the crowded life of the great college centres in South India.

BENEFACTIONS AND RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION

The University is to be *non-denominational*, "Membership of the University is not to be

denied to any person, student or teacher on the sole ground of sex, race, creed or class' (clause 5). The exception made to this "except where in respect of any particular benefaction accepted by the University such test is made a condition thereof" is rather unhappy. As a great educationist pointed out during the discussion of the Bill, "the encouragement of benefactions founded on religious tests is an anomaly and an anachronism." It is rather strange that while the Act includes such a clause, the provision in the original bill "that nothing in this section shall be deemed to prevent religious instruction being given in the manner prescribed by the statutes to those not unwilling to receive it" should be removed in the Act. All cannot agree with the Minister of Excise in Madras, in thinking that the provision was redundant as there was nothing in the Act to prevent religious education being given. The authorities must see that the education imparted does not tend to be 'soulless'—the present system of education in India in general has justly been described as 'soulless'—and the only way of doing it would be to provide religious instruction in as many religions as possible with the due safeguard of a conscience clause. It is not quite safe to leave, in a residential university, religious teaching to private bodies out of class hours. The undenominational character of the university will not be taken away by such a provision. It is one thing to impose a religious test for enjoying or taking advantage of some privilege and another thing to impart religious instruction to those of its alumni willing to receive it.

MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

This University, situated as it is in the Tamil country, would naturally draw students from only Tamil Districts and it would have been in consonance with modern tendencies if those responsible for the Act had added a provision that the medium of instruction of all non-language subjects would be wholly Tamil within a prescribed period of years.

THE OFFICERS OF THE UNIVERSITY

They are (1) The Chancellor (who is the Governor of Madras), (2) The Pro-Chancellor (who is the 'Founder'—Sir S.R. Mm. Annamalai Chettiar, or, after his death, a member of his family), (3) The Vice-chancellor (to be nominated by the Governor-Chancellor from a panel of three names suggested by the

founder—a very reactionary procedure, the Senate's right to elect the executive head of the University being taken away from it), (4) The Registrar (to be nominated by a Board of Selection including the founder) (5) The Deans (elected by the faculties from the heads of the department of studies).

THE AUTHORITIES OF THE UNIVERSITY

(a) *The Senate.*

There are to be thirty-one ex-officio members, eight members nominated by the Chancellor (of whom three shall represent backward and minority communities), four nominated by the Founder, twelve elected by the graduates of the new University, and for a period of ten years by the graduates of the Madras University in the Tamil area, four elected by the academic council to represent the interests of the teachers of the University, one elected by the district board and municipalities of the District of South Arcot (where the university is located), five elected to represent cultural associations in the Tamil country (See paragraph above). The two chief chambers of commerce are given one representative each—why we do not understand, especially as commerce has not been included as one of the subjects of study. It is equally not clear why the Madras Landholders' Association should be allowed to return one member to the Senate, while no representation is given to the teachers in secondary schools in the district of the Tamil area or the accredited association of teachers in South India, the South Indian Teachers' Association. The elective element ought to be larger.

The Senate is the supreme governing body of the University, and its resolutions, the annual report, the annual accounts and the financial estimates shall be binding on the Syndicate.

(b) *The Syndicate* consists of the Vice-Chancellor, the Director of Public Instruction, Madras, the Deans, two members nominated by the founder, two members nominated by the Chancellor, two members elected by the Senate and, one member elected by the academic council. It is the administrative body charged with the work of seeing that the affairs of the University are carried on properly.

(c) *The Academic Council* will be roughly sixty strong (consisting mostly of professors and readers of the university—of whom ten shall be elected by the university teachers other than Professors or Readers (of whom at least five shall be among themselves—to provide for the representation of expert teachers outside their own circle). The Senate sends five

members to this council. This body advises the Syndicate on all academic matters, and makes regulations in respect of courses of study, discipline, etc.

(d) *The Faculties* } The constitution is
(e) *The Boards of* } left to be prescribed
 Studies. } by statutes.

(f) *The Finance Committee* will consist of (1) The Secretary to the Madras Government in the Department of Finance, (2) the Vice-chancellor, (3) one member elected by the Senate, (4) the Founder. This committee will scrutinize the financial estimates prepared by the Syndicate. The estimates as modified by the committee will be placed before the Senate. But any reduction in the income or alteration of expenditure is to be placed before this committee for its re-consideration, and if this committee does not agree with the Senate the matter is to be placed before the Chancellor for final decision. Though the Act limits the life of this committee to ten years and though it is argued that thereby the University will "obtain expert financial guidance and avoid unnecessary and improper expenditure on schemes which afterwards prove to be failures," the establishment of this committee is striking a blow at the supremacy of the Senate. There is no need for this safeguard, especially as the Syndicate will consist, among others, of the Director of Public Instruction and four members nominated by the Governor, who may, if the Governor so desires, be financial experts.

AUTONOMY OF THE UNIVERSITY

A spirit of distrust in the New University pervades not only the provision for the Finance Committee but also clause 6 of the Act where it is said that the University "may with the previous sanction of the Governor-General-in-Council recognise examinations of other Universities or bodies as suitable for admission to this University." This clause takes away the autonomous character of the University, and may act prejudicially to the cause of learning and cultural unity. For example, a student of the Cairo University desirous of taking up a course in South Indian Saiva Philosophy in this University might be denied admission here, because the relations between the Governments of India and Egypt might not be cordial! Similarly with students of other 'unofficial' seats of learning, like the Gurukula at Hardwar, National

University founded by Mahatma Gandhi, and Viswabharati.

THE FOUNDER'S EXTRAORDINARY POWERS

While all honour is due to the founder Sir S. R. Mm. Annamalai Chettiar for his giving the wherewithal of the New University and none would grudge him the Pro-Chancellorship of the University, power of nominating members to the Senate and the Syndicate and right to sit in the Board for selection of teachers and in the Finance Committee, it is not desirable that he should be empowered, as is done in the Act, to call for papers from the Vice-chancellor and demand re-consideration of subjects by the authorities. Equally undesirable is the power given to him to nominate a panel of three men for the Vice-chancellorship. Sir Annamalai, every one knows, would never misuse his powers. But the same cannot be said with certainty of his descendants; the exercise of

such powers may cause friction in actual working.

CONCLUSION

A teaching and residential University is a new experiment in South India, and on its success will depend the foundation of more Universities of the type, not only in the Tamil Land but also in the Andhra and Kerala countries. Great responsibility, therefore, devolves on those entrusted with its administration and specially the teachers of the University, who should be 'first-rate' men and women. It is the fervent prayer of all that the new University may be so administered as to say, in the words of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, "to their men of letters, 'you must be leaders of men' as to their men of science, 'you must be men of affairs too'", and be a standing monument to the generosity and public spirit of Sir Annamalai.

MY REMINISCENCES OF LALA LAJPAT RAI

By MAJOR B. D. BASU, I.M.S. (Retired)

LALA Lajpat Rai did not by birth belong to the Punjab proper, that is, the land watered by the five rivers over which Maharaja Ranjit Singh ruled and which was annexed by the "Scotch-laird of the Cock Pen" a decade after the death of "the great Lion of the Punjab." Perhaps he would not have come to fame had there been any college nearer his home than Lahore. The part of the province from which he hailed was nearer Delhi than Lahore. Up till 1877 there was a college in the capital of the Moghuls, which was claimed as his "Alma Mater" by the Kashmiri Pandit Mohan Lal, who attained some notoriety for being a tool in the hands of McNaughten, Conolly and other unscrupulous Europeans for performing the dirty work of Occidental diplomacy in Kabul in the early forties of the last century; by Mir Samat Ali, well-known for his work on "The Shikhs and the Afghans" published some eighty years ago on the eve of the Punjab Wars; and by Master Ramchandra, who distinguished himself by his well-known

mathematical work on "Maxima and Minima." In the year when Her Majesty Queen Victoria assumed the title of the "Empress of India" and which event was celebrated with great pomp at Delhi, that city witnessed the abolition of its well-known college. So the Province of the Punjab, as then constituted, had only one college left at Lahore at that time for the higher education of several millions of its inhabitants.

Lajpat Rai, after passing his entrance examination, came to Lahore and joined the Lahore Government College early in 1881. His father, Munshi Radha Kishen, was an admirer, if not an actual follower, of (Sir) Syed Ahmad Khan of Aligarh, who was tauntingly called "Nature-i" by orthodox Mussalmans;—the Syed's faith bore some resemblance to that of the "Brahmo Samaj", of which Pandit Shiv Narain Agnihotri, now known as Deva Guru, was then the most prominent leader in the Punjab. Lajpat Rai was a very frequent visitor to the Pandit's house, where he made the acquaintance

of my brother, Sris Chandra Basu, who, after passing the B. A. Examination held in January 1881, joined the editorial staff of the *Tribune*, which made its appearance as a weekly in February of that year. My brother was a very distinguished student of the Lahore Government College and was looked upon as a leader of the student community, who made his house their 'rendezvous.' Lajpat Rai was amongst them. My brother's house was the centre of nationalism of those days in the city of Lahore. It is necessary here to mention that but for the exertions of my brother the *Tribune* would not have seen the light of day. In July of 1880 my brother, accompanied by some of his class-fellows, interviewed Sardar Dyal Singh Majithia, the well-known Sikh nobleman of the Punjab, and persuaded him to start an English weekly.

My brother threw himself actively into the agitation for mending or ending the Punjab University College as then controlled by Doctor G. W. Leitner. That educational institution would have proved a curse to the people of the Punjab, for it was designed to hold them in bondage and keep them submissive. My brother as well as some other educated men looked through the design and tried their best to frustrate Leitner's plot. Happily they succeeded in transforming the Punjab University College into the Punjab University as it is at present.

My brother's influence was among the forces which inclined Lajpat Rai in his youth towards nationalism. When my brother composed Indian National Songs and Lyrics, which first made their appearance in the *Arya* of Lahore, Lajpat Rai recited some of them in public meetings of the Lahore Arya Samaj.

Lajpat Rai was an Agarwal Baniya by caste and brought one of his castemen and townsmen by name Nathu Ram Nand to Lahore, who was provided with a job by my brother. Nathu Ram could write graceful Urdu and, under the auspices of my brother, started a monthly named "Swane Umri" or Biography. In this monthly were serially published the Lives of Raja Rammohun Roy, of Muhammad, of Theodore Parker and of a few others. In writing these biographies he was greatly helped by my brother.

Lajpat Rai, as said before, was a 'sympathiser' of the Brahmo Samaj. But the eccentricities of Pandit Agnihotri made him cut off his connection with it and join the

Arya Samaj. Nathu Ram Nand and Lajpat Rai lived together in a small house in Lahore where I frequently went to see them.

In 1883, after my brother had appeared in the Law examination of the Allahabad High Court, he started the Indian National Society, for which Nathu Ram Nand composed several National Songs in Urdu and published the collection of the Indian National Songs of my brother. Lajpat Rai's ardent Nationalism may be correctly said to have begun with the establishment of the Indian National Society, but the society became extinct after my brother left Lahore. Towards the end of October 1883, Swami Dayanand Saraswati breathed his last. A condolence meeting held in the Lahore Arya Samaj was mainly addressed by Lala Lajpat Rai. He read a paper giving a biographical account of the great founder of the Arya Samaj. The reading of the paper occupied him two hours. He was greatly applauded for the admirable manner in which he had written and read the paper. From that date till 30th October 1928, for a space of 45 years, he was a prominent figure in Indian political movements. After passing the Law examination in 1884 he left Lahore to practise his profession elsewhere. A few years afterwards I left Lahore and had no opportunity to meet him till November 1897, when I was serving on the Punjab Frontier and visited Lahore on casual leave. Hearing that Lala Lajpat Rai was lying ill I went to see him and found him suffering from continued fever of a low type. The nature of the fever was not properly diagnosed. Some of his medical attendants suspected it to be a case of tuberculosis. After I left Lahore I learnt that the fever had left him. The last time I met Lala Lajpat Rai was at Allahabad in March 1908. It was some months after his release from deportation and he was greatly "lionised" by the Allahabad public. Rai Bahadur Lala Baijnath was then serving at Allahabad, and invited Lala Lajpat Rai and myself to a dinner one night. We dined together and conversed freely on different topics for more than a couple of hours.

I had no other occasion to meet him; but when he started the "People", he wrote to me a letter to contribute to its columns. It is not my practice to write to the dailies or weeklies and so I could not accede to his request.

As an orator in Hindi and Urdu Pandit Shiv Narain Agnihotri had hardly any rival

extremely baffling to one accustomed to "one fixed price" in the United States. Nevertheless, I like the little Italian streets with their many-balconied walls. They are picturesque and team with the motleyest life.

The pedestrians in the boulevards are well dressed. The Italian girls, noted for their langorous black eyes and sensuous lips, have a flare for fine clothes. They are powdered and rouged, and wear as short skirts as do American girls, and smoke as coquettishly as do the English or the French. Yet the Italian girls are not having a very good luck, "if you know what I mean." Since the late War for Democracy, there are two or three marriageable girls to every man in Italy. The present Fascist government, anxious to have women bear and rear loyal Fascists, has imposed a bachelor tax and is granting a bonus to heads of families with many children. Even these measures have not tended to enliven the dull Italian marriage market, and the "bachelor" girls with all their pulchritude can still be described as "ladies in waiting."

If there is one trait which is universally characteristic of the Italians, it is their love for music. I was impressed by the immense crowds which nightly throng the public squares to hear bands and orchestras. Men bring along their families and sit for hours listening to music. I had never seen such a passion for music anywhere else in the world.

It is customary to speak of Florence as "the fairest city of the earth." Its palaces, churches, and art galleries which have been enriched by the works of Giotto, Ghiberti, Donatello, Michel Angelo, Botticelli, Andrea del Sarto, and Fra Angelico, deserve all the praise and admiration which have been lavished upon them. A visitor is also thrilled to recall that here, in this "City of Flowers," he is treading the soil trod by Dante, Boccaccio, Petrarch, Savonarola, and Galileo. Florence is a lovely city. But to me, Venice, "The Queen of the Adriatic", is the most enchanting place in Italy. The Church of St. Mark, the Grand Canal, the Rialto Bridge, the Church of Santa Maria della Salute, the Doge's Palace, and the Bridge of Sighs connecting the Doge's Palace with the political prisons and dungeons, I shall never forget. I was always glad I entered Venice in a moon-light night, and that first gondola ride in the Venetian canals seemed to intro-

duce me to an ineffable dreamland. The little winding streets and the innumerable canals with their painted gondolas—what a witchery they weave! I only wished to God that the ugly steamers, which now serve as street cars, were all wrecked and sent to the bottom of the sea. They are so hopelessly out of place in the picture. Venice has an incomparable magic all its own. "From one end of the Grand Canal to the other," says a handbook on Venice, "palaces, houses, public buildings and churches rise up out of the water, every building having a history, legend or romance attached to it, while in the numerous museums for which Venice is noted there are superb collections of masterpieces of the best Italian painters." Venice is delightful. Some of the most pleasant moments of my life in Europe had been there. If there is a spot anywhere in the world, outside the land of my birth, to which I can invite my soul it is the immortal Venice.

Sometimes it is a question in my mind if the native Italians appreciate and enjoy their beauty spots as much as do the foreigners. Let me give an instance. One fine morning while on our way to the Rialto, we fell in with a Venetian woman.

"I am tired of Venice," said the wrinkled up little woman. "The canal water smells so bad!"

"Aren't you a Venetian?"

"I was born here, but I am sure of one thing; I am not going to let myself die here."

"Why not?"

"I want to die on firm land where my body will remain put in the grave. When the water rises in the canal, the body may be washed away in the sea. Wouldn't that be dreadful?"

The woman was visibly pale with fear. Even the charms of Venice could not shake her free from the thoughts of the day of Resurrection. Then she remarked once more: "The stink of the canal water is something awful." And to suit her words to action, she held her nose with her fingers.

Italy must be reckoned among the most priest-ridden superstitious countries of Europe. Proofs of this fact came to my notice time and time again. In the Cathedral of San Januarius, Naples, we were told that the blood of the ancient Saint Januarius is still preserved in a jar. This blood, if one can credit what one is told, performs a miracle:

liquifies each year on the twentieth of September. The Neapolitans believe that when the blood of the Saint melts it means prosperity and when it does not, it implies adversity for Naples.

In St. Sebastian Church, Rome, you are shown a marble slab on which Christ was supposed to *have* stood when he met Peter fleeing from Rome. The deep prints of feet on the hard stone are actually believed to be those of Christ! When I come across evidence of such a stupid superstition, I cannot help thinking the words of the late William Archer: "Christianity is a religion of ignorance and darkness."

At the Vatican there is an immense bronze statue of Saint Peter. All Catholics entering the Vatican make it a point to kiss the toes of Peter because he claims to have the keys of Heaven. The result of this incessant kissing business has told disastrously on Peter's toes, which are now all but worn out! As I stood near the statue, I saw an endless stream of women, children, and old-womanish old men stop before the image of Peter and mumble prayers. I noticed a baby being held up to suck the stub of Peter's big toe. Peter is the most successful saint to my knowledge; but, oh! why punish an innocent child to lick his toes? Is there no law in Europe against cruelty to children?

Ninety-five per cent of the Italians regard the Roman Catholic church as divinely inspired, and the Pope as their divinely authorized teacher. The church imposes on the people's ignorance a blanket authority which they dare not question. To challenge the church or the "infallible" pontiff is to defy the will of God. His Holiness the Pope, who asserts to be the successor of Peter, informs his worshippers that he has the power to send their souls to "the burning pit," and they do not see that he has no more power to send them there than a mouse-coloured mule.

Catholics hold that they have the truth. So they have—up to a certain point. But the truth cannot be the monopoly of any one sect. The truth is too majestic and too big for that. Ignoring this fact, the Catholic priests play upon primitive emotions and conscious ignorance of their flock.

While the priests rule by assumptions, Mussolini, the chief of Fascism, rules by secret societies. There is no freedom of speech and opinion in Italy. If you do not like Mussolini, you must either keep your mouth shut or get out of the country. There

is no possibility of an anti-Fascist to speak out his mind. He lives in an atmosphere of suspicion and silence. Nobody knows when one may be arrested and thrown in jail. Prisons are full to overflowing. Moreover, Mussolini has established dreaded Siberias in the Mediterranean. There is intentional ignorance everywhere among Mussolini's countrymen. They are too afraid to find out the truth, which is difficult and dangerous. The long-suffering people are thoroughly cowed down. Thomas Jefferson, the author of the American Declaration of Independence, was right when he said that every priest-ridden country without exception has lost its liberty.

Signor Benito Mussolini wears laurel leaves round his head and takes Napoleonic attitudes, and his admirers have told me that all is superlatively well with Italy. That I doubt. Beneath the appearance of prosperity there is a great deal of suffering. And it is the workers who suffer most under "the new order". Some of the labouring men we met told us that unemployment is widespread, that wages are low and are constantly undergoing further cuts. "You must make these sacrifices for your country," they have been warned, "and keep quiet."

The Fascist regime is one of repression. Censorship, ignorance, suspicion, and political abuses have made the people afraid even to think about liberty. Long before we landed in Italy, we had an instance of the moral cowardice which now prevails in Italy.

In the Italian boat we went from India to Italy, we had as one of the passengers, Dr. Zacharias, editor of the Catholic *Weekly* (Bombay). Dr. Zacharias had consented to give a talk on "India To-day". The notices of the lecture were posted on the bulletin boards, and all other arrangements completed. Then an hour before the meeting, the Captain who was a Fascist sent word that no lecture would be permitted on board the ship which may be considered in any way political.

The Italian government is despotic, aggressive, imperialistic, and militaristic. Count Keyserling in his new book, *Europe*, speaks of the Fascisti as being more primitive, more near to the savage than their predecessors. Liberalism, it seems to me, may be unsuited to the Italian temperament; but that does not prove the failure of liberalism in the rest of the world. Indeed, the world is beginning to realize what a menace Fascist Italy is.

The Italian situation bristles with dangers.

Yet there has been many an obscene tribute of applause to Mussolini. He may have mastered his fellow-countrymen, but economic realities are about to master him. The much advertised prosperity of Italy is a padded legend, a mocking fiction. My respect does

not go out to Il Duce. The Italian currency but for American credits would pancake in value. So long as Dictator Mussolini can obtain American financial support, he is safe. Nevertheless, things cannot endure like this. Where is Italy headed for?

ENGLAND TO CHOOSE

By B. B. M.

1. India is of the Indians. It is their country. They have the first and inalienable right to fashion their future in the way they feel just and correct. England can guide but only by friendly advice. She cannot either force her ideas or thwart the Indian even when the former feels that the latter is wrong in pursuing his own ideas. India has a right to muddle and profit even by failure. What right has England to interfere? As a friend an Englishman can certainly be listened to, but only when the attitude is unmistakable and the heart beats true.

2. England and India must make up their mind as to what their mutual relationship should be. The position should be clearly and unequivocally grasped. I, as an Indian, fully and sincerely believe that India's legitimate goal is a "Free and Independent India" in friendly alliance with Great Britain, if the latter agrees to such alliance. Both the countries stand to gain immensely by such combination. Both of them stand to suffer by disruption. If, however, disruption comes, England, with her limited natural resources, with her vulnerable position in international politics in Europe, with hordes of enemies about which she has created all round the world, will be in a far greater danger than India. India's position on all these points is infinitely better. It is England and not India that will have to face more certain ruin if England and India have to fall out and end this connection by a bitter struggle. Government by compulsion for long being impossible, it is to the interest of England to work and work hard for goodwill. "Free India" in alliance with Great Britain may be compromised for India as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth, provided it is really

so and not a make-believe. It must be a tentative stage—the future of which only the future can determine. If India can really find a place of absolute equality, I am sure she will only be too glad to accept and cement the position; but the Empire so long had meant to her "helotry" within and abroad. She is determined to scrap the halter.

3. Mutual recrimination leads nowhere and if friendship is to be the goal, it must be eschewed. The pedestal of superiority must be pulled down—if England is to be India's friend, she must be prepared to serve and not to dictate. It is certain that sensitive, responsive and generous India can be more than a friend in return. If there be any truth in the religion, in the culture, in the civilisation, in the political and administrative systems which she claims to be superior, England should be prepared to let them demonstrate their value in free and open competition of comradeship and equality and not in jealously guarded, vigorously preserved ring-fences of privileged authorities under the eye of a prejudiced and interested jury. There is too much of self-importance, too much of the air of superiority, too much of aloofness, too great a bumptiousness and too great a tendency to look for needless in some one else's eyes ignoring the moles in one's own in his dealings with Indians to make the Englishman a lovable and an attractive friend. If India is to grow—and grow she must—she cannot be in that perpetual inferiority complex which the entire administrative machinery puts her to. Love and sympathy can win, hatred and threats never. Is England so much behind in her intellectual and moral evolution as not to comprehend this?

The Englishman hardly realises the extent

of bitterness that exists today against him and which is growing by leaps and bounds. Let the Englishman overhear any random group of elderly, or middle-aged or young people anywhere. It is a mistake to suppose that the attitude is confined to a minority of literate classes. Even if it were so, it would be dangerous enough, for, the literate classes were expected to be the firmest link in Indo-British connection. What will result when literacy spreads? I would wish the Englishmen to manage to overhear the talks of their servants, the talks of any group of common people in the village when the Government or the Englishman is the subject matter of the conversation. Has Bardoli no lesson to teach? Is even the Presidency College incident without its significance? Is the Englishman sure that he is living in an atmosphere of friendship and goodwill? If more direct demonstration and mathematical accuracy be desired, let an Englishman and an Indian stand as candidates for election by the people for the headship of a District or for once let the Governorship of Bengal be thrown open to election and let the best Englishman stand as a rival candidate to an Indian on adult suffrage or universal suffrage. Bitterness when it grows hardly contents itself with an attitude of passivity. It seeks expression in deeds. Any pretext, any opportunity brings the issue to a head. The ground is being prepared by the desperate strain of modern life and by the effect of modern economic forces. Is the policy of drift moral or even prudent? The administration is powerless. The *sine quo non* of efficient administration must be knowledge and love. The Englishman has neither the one nor the other and the Indians know it. The Indian is thoroughly convinced today—and every Indian can cite numerous instances of one's personal experience in support of his conviction—that an Englishman is an out and out anti-Indian—the intensity of antipathy varying in degree with individuals. There may be exceptions but exceptions do not count.

4. India is too self-conscious to be hood-winked, too anxious for serving the best interests of her people to be put off by platitudes and make-believes, she has got too great a faith in her destiny now to be repressed. It is for England to make up her mind. Would she assist bitterness to be aggravated till she develops India to be her greatest enemy in the East or would she

allow India to look to her as her greatest friend in the world?

The choice is England's. India has made her choice. She must be free—aided by England if she will but in spite of England if she will not. It is England which is on trial—on her statesmen rests the decision which will determine the future of England no less or possibly much more than that of India.

5. India realises her difficulties—difficulties not all of her own creation nor inherent in her constitution. An accident and an unnatural political cataclysm have worked havoc in her evolution. What should have been left to be determined by a free play of nature has been jibbed. That freedom has been cribbed, cabined, twisted, sterilised and uprooted. The administration, the civilisation and the political form thrust on her brought in not fulfilment but destruction, largely if not wholly. They put the man in a state of perpetual inaction and subordination. They dwarfed his stature. They robbed him of his self-respect. They converted a nation hoary with civilisation to a race of errand boys. One of the finest temples of God has been desecrated. India today lies dissected ruthlessly and long denied a free play of her natural powers. Her powers as a result are almost paralysed. It is true that forces are at work to rouse her for a long and strenuous struggle—the current of these forces is running deep and swift. But a bloody struggle may be too exhausting for her and she can ill spare that blood. She would be well-advised to have the helping hand of a friend. She must, however, be assured that it is a friend's hand. She was cheated long. She is naturally extremely suspicious. India has seen too much of one expression of the Englishman's character to hope that he might have another and a truer one. It is again for England to prove it—to undo the mischief that the Englishman has done in India. But England must thoroughly search her own heart and reassure herself that she comes as a watchful friend to see India in her resurrection and to offer the offerings of a friend. If she feels that she is not strong enough for that—if she dreads that the venom of imperialism lies too deep to be avoided—it is better for her, more moral and more prudent, that she completely withdraws herself. India is prepared for chaos and anarchy, for even chaos and anarchy mean life; and this order, this peace is sepulchral silence

not death-like but certain death. If she has to choose only between the two she will choose the former.

6. Lastly, England will be very much mistaken in the present circumstances to trust to doles. Doles do not impress. They do not elevate; they do not inspire. They do not inspire that emotion for an ideal, that enthusiasm for a fuller life which is essential to stir up the best in man and the best must be stirred up if the situation is to be saved. What is needed is a just recognition of her just right. Doles will end in wranglings. They will embitter—they will intensify and not pacify the anti-British feelings. Try doles—it will be one of the surest ways to make a bitter India.

Sophistry and insincerity not merely are not good as principles but they are not good even as policies. They deceive none but those who resort to them. India is of the Indians—it is their country. It is for them to determine her evolution in any way they choose. No cant, no talks can alter the situation. The man or the nation who attempts to cheat the reality of this truth cheats itself or himself and will rue, and rue bitterly, the attempt. To disarm a race and shut up every chance of acquiring any experience and then to call it incapable of self-defence is cowardice. To shut out the children of the soil from every but the most subordinate position in the administration of the country and then say that they have developed no capacity for administration is dishonesty. To shut up a person who loves his country and call upon individuals to love the King is stupidity. To deny responsibility and then to call people irresponsible is meanness. To adopt every device that develops Communalism and Parochialism and stirs up the worst passions of individuals and of groups and then to assume an attitude of injured innocence disappointed at the lack of solidarity is worse than Machiavellism. These are not the ways of friendship or of love. They are not the methods of justice and fair play. England must have to be sincerely at grips with truth. Would she dare? Let her choose.

7. "India must be bled", so spoke a whilom Premier of Great Britain. "To make promises to the ear and break them to the heart" was what an Ex-Viceroy found to have been the policy of England towards India. Sir W. Joynson-Hicks of the British Cabinet, with a frankness for which he

deserves credit, scotched the conception that anything but the interests of Lancashire determined Great Britain's Indian policy, while the ethics of human conduct was laid down by the present Secretary of State for India in his Rectorial speech, "The motive of self-interest was, is, and must always be the main spring of human action." Now this is the psychology of the powers that be which controls India's destiny. Turn to India and see the effect,—the lowest percentage of literacy in the world, the highest death-rate, the poorest country yet of one of the largest natural resources—call them the effects of efficiency and altruism, but the world will judge!

Now, what is the remedy? India opposed by England will find her task difficult. India unaided by England will find progress slow. England without India will find her work in India almost impossible—and outside India her position reduced. India and England together will make progress that will astonish humanity.

Could India forget the past in the idealism of the future? It is a challenge to her age-long teachings for tolerance to let bygones be bygones. Would India accept the challenge? Possibly she would.

Could England forget her past, break through this intolerable miasma of noxious exhalations of the politician's breath and make a stirring surrender to her best ideals? It is a challenge to her courage, her culture and to her righteousness. Would England dare to accept it? It is for her to decide. She could have a friend or a foe, love or hatred, sincere goodwill or unending bitterness for the mere asking. The choice is England's. Let her choose.

The Dominion is certainly lost. Regain it if England will by love, lose it if she wants by the sword. Let her remember her own poet,

"The despot's fate is the same today
That it was in the days gone-by,
Against all wrong and injustice done
A rigid account is set;
For the God who reigned in Babylon
Is the God who is reigning yet.

If anything has to be in abundance it must be love and not hatred. Kindness, justice and adherence to truth are as sure to foster the one as rudeness, injustice and falsehood will ensure the other. It is not whether a Kingdom of Earth is to be eschewed for a Kingdom of Heaven that England is being called upon to decide. It

is between a kingdom of hell, full of hatred, bitterness, injustice, unfairness, sophistry and falsehood and a fairer kingdom of goodwill and friendship, of mutual well-being and of equal justice, of frankness and of truth that she is required to make a choice.

Would she dare to tell the tempter, "Get thee behind me, Satan" or would she welcome his hand? It is a decision that will determine England's fate and India's future. The choice is pre-eminently England's to-day. Let her choose.

THE GARDEN CREEPER

By SAMYUKTA DEVI

(12)

IT was Sunday. In the afternoon, while everybody else was resting, Jyoti and Mukti sat on two packing boxes in the kitchen verandah, tasting home-made preserves and talking away for all they were worth. The sun shone hot on the rest of the verandah; only in this corner, by the side of a gunny screen, was there a bit of shade. Even here the heat was intolerable. For reasons known only to themselves, the two friends had chosen this place to gossip in, leaving all the cool, secluded rooms of the house, where electric fans would have kept the heat out.

Mukti carried an exercise book, full of corrections in red ink and a Rowe's Hints. She kept one finger inserted in the book, to mark a certain place. Their tongues were busy, tasting the preserves and pickles, and talking.

In childhood these two had been great friends. But now that they had grown up and Mukti had been away so long in the boarding school, they had become a bit estranged. They had seen very little of each other all these years. Jyoti went to see her sometimes, but there was very little opportunity for long talks. But now Mukti had become quite free. So to-day she sat talking on and on, as if to make up for lost time. They stood on no ceremony with each other, having been almost brought up together.

Mukti had finished her Test Examination, about two weeks ago, and the results were not out yet. So she felt quite at ease and not at all anxious about her studies. Shiveswar had told her not to drop her studies altogether, and, as a mark of filial obedience, Mukti went about carrying a book all the

time, though she seldom opened it. Her grandmother had sent her to give some preserves to Jyoti and Mukti had sat down to make good use of the opportunity.

"I say," said Mukti, "don't your professors ever ask you any questions? Ours pester us to death."

"Ask questions, indeed!" said Jyoti, with a superior air. "They would never dare. We all look too wise for it."

Mukti struck at his hand with her book. "Oh indeed?" she said. "So you are out, fishing for compliments again? But however long you try you won't succeed. I won't tell you what the girls said that day in the Botanical Gardens. Why don't you talk about your college? Who stands first in your class?"

Jyoti brought his lips close to Mukti's ear and whispered, "Don't you know? That perfect Adonis, your ideal young man Dhiren. But I am sorry to say, there are only four subjects in which he is interested, viz., Chemistry, Physics, Cycling and Boxing. Then there are Night Schools for workmen to claim his spare attention. He is nothing but a savage, that chap. He should have been born a century ago."

"But I don't think he is wrong at all," said Mukti. "Do you mean to say, that in order to be modern, one should quote Ibsen and Maeterlinck all the time and gaze at the stars, instead of towards good old mother earth?"

"Oh, I am sorry," said Jyoti, "I didn't know your views about him. Friday happens to be your birthday, does not it? Why don't you invite your hero and get better acquainted?"

"Don't be silly," scolded Mukti. "Why should I invite a person, I don't know at

all? If you want to treat him, do it at some hotel."

Mukti's grandmother had been busy scraping cocoanuts in the kitchen, all these while. From that place she could easily overhear the edifying conversation of her grand-daughter and Jyoti. She did not like it much. The girl was grown up and should not be allowed to mix so freely with that boy. But she did not want another quarrel with her son. So she had decided to be more diplomatic this time. Since the boy had settled here for good, she did not want to rake up that old contention again. The old bearer Krishna had left long ago. None of the old servants, who knew about Jyoti's advent here and his poor parentage, happened to be working in the house still. So the boy could be easily passed off as some distant relative or something like that. He looked a gentleman all right, though he might not be a high-caste Brahmin. But that was of no account, as nobody was going to take him for a son-in-law. Mokshada Devi had given it out to her friends that Jyoti was the orphan son of a poor relation. As Shiveswar was a very kind man, he had practically adopted the boy. She herself kept her distance carefully, but her old antagonism and aversion had vanished. So Jyoti felt much more at home now.

The mention of Mukti's birthday suddenly made the old lady very much conscious that Mukti was no longer a child. Why, she must be quite sixteen. Bless her, it seemed only the other day that her mother left her a wailing infant, and closed her eyes for ever. Since then, Mukti had grown up in her grandmother's arms. But she must be given in marriage now. Her father paid no attention whatever to family affairs. But he must be made to do so.

"Where is your father, Mukti?" asked the old lady, suddenly appearing on the verandah.

Mukti was busy quarrelling with Jyoti. Jyoti was trying to prove that Mukti was really very eager to invite Dhiren to her birthday party, and she was indignantly denying this allegation. Her grandmother's question did not find a ready listener. "I don't know," said she, and went on talking to Jyoti.

Mokshada knew very well that Mukti did not know and was not at all anxious to know where her father was just then. But she

wanted to put a stop to their conversation, so again she interrupted with, "But you have got to know. Go and find him. I want him on important business."

So Mukti had to get up reluctantly and go in search of her father. Jyoti picked up her exercise book and departed for his own room.

Shiveswar was unearthed at last, from amidst a pile of books and papers, and he accompanied Mukti to his mother. Mukti went and stood leaning against her grandmother's shoulder like a little girl. As Shiveswar took his seat, his mother patted Mukti's hair, saying, "Look at the child. She is shooting up like a young tree. She is actually as tall as I am."

Shiveswar smiled, "At sixteen you too must have been quite as tall," he said.

"My case was different," his mother said. "It would not have mattered if I had been as tall as a maypole. But your daughter is unmarried."

Mukti laughed and ran to her father. He embraced her with one hand and said, "Still, she cannot remain a dwarf for that reason. At sixteen a girl should look sixteen, whether married or unmarried."

"Don't talk nonsense," said his mother exasperated. "A girl should not be allowed to reach the age of sixteen, unmarried."

"Well, mother," said Shiveswar, "since she was born sixteen years ago, she must be sixteen, whether we allow it or not. But what did you want me for?"

"For talking over these things," said Mokshada. "I want you to think about Mukti's marriage. She is getting too old. I have one or two bridegrooms in mind. One is the nephew of Hari Gosain, you know. He has passed the M. A. They are rather orthodox people. But the family is quite good. Why don't you look them up some time? If you don't like him, there is another boy, you will certainly like him. He is a son of the house of our local Zamindar. He is named Dhiren, is very handsome. He is quite modern, does not care anything about caste, religion or orthodoxy. He does not put on the sacred thread even. You will like him. He studies in one of the colleges here and will soon be a graduate."

Which Dhiren was it? Mukti wondered and ran away. "I shall see about it," Shiveswar told his mother, and went off to his work.

Mokshada felt very little confidence in.

her son's ability to look after anything and sat down to evolve a plan out of her own brain.

Friday arrived soon enough. It was Mukti's birthday. From the morning she was busy putting the house in order, getting in supplies for the evening party. The dust and the cobweb, hitherto sheltering behind pictures in the corners and roofs of the rooms and on the furniture, were mercilessly routed out by Mukti and her servants lest these should put her to shame before the guests. Mukti looked a sight! Her hair knotted tightly on the top of her head, dressed in a soiled white saree, her face and arms covered with dust and grime and a broomstick in her hand. Nobody would have known her for Miss Mukti Ganguli, the modern and cultured daughter of the famous Shiveswar Ganguli. Jyoti nearly had a fit when she first appeared before him in this guise. He followed Mukti about asking incessantly, whether the party was to be a fancy dress one or she was to change before the guests arrived. Not receiving any adequate reply, he went away at last to do some marketing.

As evening approached, Mukti's appearance changed as if by magic. The piece of red silk, bought at school, had been made into a beautiful blouse. Though she had pretended to be too old to wear it then, she did not object at all now. Her father had got a new Dacca saree, bordered and embroidered with red, which graced her slender frame now. Shiveswar had wanted her to have a dress of pale pink crepe de Chine, but his daughter, though modern to her finger tips, had orthodox tastes in matters of dress. So he had to give in and buy these red things. He had got her high-heeled shoes, silk stockings and a pair of slender gold bangles. But Mukti turned her pretty nose at these and Shiveswar promptly sent them back. Shiveswar's will had hitherto been the law in this house, but this slip of a girl set it at naught quite calmly and acted according to her own sweet will. To the surprise of all Shiveswar did not show fight, but gave in at once. Mukti had a pair of old-fashioned gold wristlets made specially for her, and highly pleased her grandmother by painting her feet red with lac. This upset Shiveswar a bit, as he hated this practice. She had done her hair in the modern fashion and put sandalpaste as well as a small vermilion mark on her forehead.

She looked very sweet in this dress, though it was a mixture of modern and ancient fashions.

The guests had not yet begun to arrive. Everything else had been finished, except arranging the refreshments on different plates. Mokshada had taken charge of that, and was busy with these. One of the maids was helping her. Mukti flitted in and out of the rooms like a gay butterfly. She seemed to be waiting for something, without which nothing seemed complete. She felt afraid, lest the guests should come in, before she got, what she wanted. She was not fully conscious of these feelings, but her flushed face and her eager manners made her look like a picture of waiting done by a deft artist.

As Mukti stood looking out of the window, some one on a bicycle was seen rapidly approaching the house. She spotted him at once, and a smile of joy made her look still more radiant. In a minute, Jyoti had reached the drive and sprung down from the cycle. These two always spoke jestingly to each other, but somehow today Mukti did not feel inclined for banter. Still as it would look awkward, if she remained silent, she had to say something.

"Can you tell me," she said, "why your very sight is enough to make me laugh? I will have to take you ceremonially as my Dekhan-hasi."*

Jyoti smiled and took out a huge bunch of lovely flowers, from under his chaddar, where he had hitherto kept it hidden. This he placed in Mukti's hands, and looked her full in the face. "Very well," he said; "but don't you to forget it. You have taken me as your Dekhan-hasi on your birthday. None else may have a share of your smiles henceforth."

Mukti had never heard him talking like this. She felt a bit shy and bewildered and started to go inside with the flowers.

Mukti was too busy enjoying her life to take it seriously. She never thought deeply and seriously about anything or anybody, herself not excepted. But to-day Jyoti's words touched some unknown depths in her heart, she could not forget them easily. She did not understand them very clearly, still she felt their meaning somehow.

Jyoti had left the place as soon as

* A friend whose appearance makes one smile with joy.

Mukti turned away with the flowers. But hearing footsteps behind her, Mukti thought he had come back to say something afresh. She felt sure it was none of her friends, because they would never dream of coming in so silently. The room would have resounded with laughter and the sound of talking by this time. So, feeling sure that it was Jyoti, she turned round with bantering words on her lips. But instead of Jyoti, she found Dhiren.

Mukti blushed scarlet. They had been talking too much about Dhiren these few days, and Jyoti had made many insinuations. And perhaps grandmother, too, had been talking about this very Dhiren that day, when she discussed Mukti's marriage with Shiveswar.

Anyway, it would never do to run away like a silly school girl, now that she stood face to face with him. So with the best grace, she could, Mukti advanced to welcome him. Dhiren had noticed her previous discomfiture and wondered what had caused it. Mukti was not an orthodox Hindu damsel who fainted at the sight of outsiders. She was surely quite accustomed to meet and talk with men who were not related to her. So what made her blush? And how pretty she looked, thought Dhiren.

He was not at all accustomed to the society of ladies, as his friend Jyoti was. His books were his only friends. So he felt very awkward, being thrown before this young lady. And he too blushed, if a young man could blush.

But he had to say something, to explain his evidently unexpected presence. So he took out a letter from his pocket, and said, "I have come to see grandmother, she has invited me to tea this evening."

Mukti was surprised. This was a new move on the part of her grandmother. However, she welcomed the guest, saying, "It's very kind of you to come. Grandmother is in her room, let's go there."

Mukti advanced and Dhiren followed her meekly. He was feeling even more awkward than before, and fervently praying for the appearance of Jyoti. He did not know what to say to this charming girl. She must be thinking him an awful ass.

But he never knew what she thought of him and in a minute they stood before Mokshada's room. The old lady was busy arranging the sweets and fruits on different plates and the sound of footsteps and the

fragrance of flowers and high-class perfume made her aware that Mukti was coming. She thought the girl was alone and so spoke out her thoughts aloud. "Hallo, bride", she exclaimed jestingly, "Have your guests arrived. I have written to the bridegroom—"

Mukti felt hot all over with embarrassment. She understood that her grandmother was unaware of Dhiren's presence. So she interrupted her from the outside, exclaiming, "Grandma, here is some one to see you."

The old lady came out and, seeing Dhiren, cried out with pleasure, "Come in, my dear boy, come in. You are no outsider. Why do you feel so shy? To-day happens to be Mukti's birthday. So we have invited a few friends to celebrate it."

As Dhiren did not know Mukti at all, he did not see why he should be invited to her birthday party. He wondered, too, who the bridegroom, of whom Mokshada was talking, could be. He sat down in the seat, indicated by Mokshada, and began to answer her questions. Mukti ran to inform Jyoti. "Go and see, your Dhiren has come."

Jyoti looked up, surprised, "Who invited him?" he asked. "You, I suppose?"

"What a clever boy you are," said Mukti laughing, "Who else could it be? Don't you know that I am a great admirer of his?"

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It was the end of February, but the heat was already intense. Mukti sat in her room, abusing the weather to her heart's content. All the doors and windows were closed and an electric fan whirled over her head. But still she felt very hot. The temperature outside was nothing compared to that of her temper and this made her still more impatient.

The reason was not far to seek. This morning as Jyoti was going to his college, Mukti had asked him to come back a bit early. On being asked the reason, she had said that she wanted to go to the cinema and had already asked her father to lend her his car for the evening.

But the ungallant boor had positively refused. "Don't pester me all the time," he cried. "Do you think I have nothing else to do, except dance attendance on you? I have got another engagement."

Mukti walked out in offended dignity. How dared he speak like that? Since Mukti came home, Jyoti had taken her out in the evening barely four times. Of these, too,

twice he had done so of his own accord. Not only had not Mukti asked him but she had positively refused to go at first and Jyoti had to coax her a good deal. And now he dared to accuse her! As if Mukti could not do without his company. Most of the days of her life had been passed without that companionship, so she could afford to do without it for the rest of her days. She was not a weak-minded silly girl, and she was above asking favours from anybody. Jyoti, on the other hand, was always thrusting his company on her.

All these thoughts helped to harden Mukti's heart as she entered her bedroom. But as she sat down with a book, tears filled her eyes again.

Though this family did not boast of many members, still it took a very long time to finish the breakfast. Everyone ate when he or she pleased. Jyoti had to attend college so he breakfasted at nine. The rice and curries would come to him fresh from the oven, burning hot. He managed to swallow them with the aid of water and depart. Shiveswar breakfasted so late that the meal might have been called his dinner. Mokshada being a widow, took her one meal as late as possible. As for Mukti, she always tried to do without breakfast, but always had to swallow it and a quantity of scolding besides.

So when Mukti heard footsteps outside, she knew that her grandmother was coming to ask about that detested meal. She wiped her eyes and began to study hard.

As Mokshada entered, Mukti cried out sharply, "Cannot you rest without disturbing my studies?"

"If I don't disturb you," her grandmother said with a laugh, "You will starve to death within a week."

Mukti began to weep to the amazement of her grandmother. "You all come and disturb my studies", she sobbed, "and father comes and scolds me for being inattentive. Go away, I won't take any breakfast."

"What a cry-baby you are," said her grandmother. "What did I say, that you go on like this? I wonder how you lived in a boarding house so long."

She coaxed down Mukti somehow. But even after breakfast, her temper showed no sign of calming down. She took down all her books from the shelves and scattered them all around her. She went on changing one book for another every five minutes and seemed wholly immersed in her studies.

At short intervals she would get up and peer through the shutters down on the road below. The sun still glared angrily in the heavens. She waited impatiently for the evening.

Evening came in due time and Mukti got up and opened her windows wide. A cool soothing breeze blew in. She stood enjoying it by the side of the window.

The Oriya gardener came out, after enjoying his midday sleep. He tied his towel tightly round his waist and taking up the watering can began to water the plants. Mukti knew from this that it must be quite four o'clock, otherwise the Oriya would not have moved an inch out of his room.

Suddenly a tinkling sound smote her ears. Mukti turned sharply towards the gate. Yes, there he was. The great Jyotirmoy Roy was coming in. Mukti moved away quickly, else the vain fool would think that she had been standing there waiting for a glimpse of him. Surely, young men were the vainest and at the same time the silliest creatures on earth.

Jyoti carried in his cycle and put it in its place. Then he sprang up the stairs in a minute, and throwing down his books, rushed to Mukti's room.

But the door was inhospitably closed. He rapped on it sharply, crying out, "Mukti, get ready quick. I have told the driver to get the car. I will be ready within five minutes. Since it takes you two hours to dress up, why don't you begin in time?"

An ominous silence greeted him. He waited for a minute or two, then called again, "I say, Mukti!"

A very calm and serene voice, from within, asked, "Do you want anything?"

"That's good," he cried in anger. "Didn't you say, you wanted to go for a drive?"

The door opened and out came Mukti, with a book in her hand. "But it was not settled, was it? Father has gone out long ago. Who is to take me now?"

Jyoti had come cycling in this furious heat, and his temper, too had got rather hot. "Then, if you wanted to go with your father," he said angrily, "you need not have given me so much trouble. I came all this way, in this blistering sun. Girls don't know how to keep their words."

Mukti lost control of her temper completely. She threw away the book and caught hold of the door in her excitement. "And you are very good, you men," she cried. "You know how to keep your words. How dare

you say, that I gave you trouble? When I went to you in the morning, did not you refuse positively to go out in the evening? Who asked you to come? I am not going out. Go away."

The door was shut with a furious bang. Joyti felt too angry to speak, and went off to his room.

The sun began to look like a huge disc of fire and at last set in a sea of shimmering blue. Mukti sat in her room with her back to the door. She was beginning to feel ashamed of herself. Poor Jyoti had come as soon as he could in this heat, and she had treated him so roughly. It was very heartless of her. But Jyoti had started all this trouble. He need not have been so rude in the morning. She felt tempted, in the intensity of her repentance, to go and call Jyoti, and then offended dignity would come and stand in the way. Since the fault was Jyoti's, he ought to come first.

Fate was kind and Mukti had her wish. Mukti had left the door open and Jyoti came in with silent footsteps. He took her by the shoulders and shook her playfully. "Now get up, Miss Spitfire," he cried. "It is very

late, as it is. But we shall be in time for the 6-30 show."

Mukti was ready enough to capitulate, still she made a last show of resistance. "You need not make so great a sacrifice for me," she said. "Go and mind your own business. You may rest assured, that I won't trouble you for a single moment again."

The words were dignified no doubt, but the tears in the eyes of the fair speaker and the pretty pout of her red lips, impaired their dignity somehow.

Jyoti came in front and held up her face with both hands. "Come on, there's a dear," he said. "I admit that the fault is mine. Put on that deep blue sari, you wore the other day. Some of my classmates are going to the show to-day. I want to show them that a modern educated girl can also be very pretty."

Mukti had to get up now, the temptation being irresistible. She opened her wardrobe in search of the sari in question. Jyoti went out with a smile of success on his lips.

(To be Continued.)

OLD COINS AND HOW THEY HELP HISTORY

By N. K. BHATTASALI

BARTER was the order of the good old days. You have a number of kine and I have a quantity of paddy. I want a cow and you are in want of paddy. We both agree to resort to a simple plan. A quantity of paddy is considered to be equivalent to a cow. I take your cow and let you have the quantity of paddy. The transaction is settled to our mutual satisfaction.

This good old rule and simple plan could not however, last long. Man began to progress in civilisation. Society formed and states arose. Commerce spread and overstepped the limits of village transactions. Things began to be exchanged, which grew at a distance from the common medium of exchange. The precious metals, by their utility and their property of resisting

corrosion and wear and tear came in handy, and thus arose the system of coinage.

In the beginning, in India, coinage appears entirely to have been the concern of merchant guilds. These guilds issued flat bits of silver more often rectangular than round of the average weight of 32 *ratīs* or 56 grains and stamped with various symbols like the sun, the moon, a tree, an animal, a *stupa*, etc. These passed as currencies throughout the length and breadth of India. A number of them have been found in Bengal. There are some samples of these coins in the Dacca museum, two of which were found in the Burdwan district.

These coins remained the currency of India for many centuries and they

remained current even as late as the 3rd century A. D., long before which regular coinage had become current in India. These Puranas were so popular that the great Maurya emperors, Chandra-Gupta and Asoka, who are accused of imitating Persian and Greek architecture and sculpture, never thought of indulging in their imitative propensities further by issuing regular imperial coins in imitation of their neighbours. Kautilya, in his Arthashastra, speaks of a superintendent of the manufacture of coins and of punishment for the makers of counterfeit coins. But evidently this imperial manufacture also followed the line of the coinage of the merchant guilds. The relics of the Maurya empire in the shape of Asoka's pillars and inscriptions lie scattered throughout India, but not a single coin has yet been found which can be distinguished as an issue of the Mauryas.

Soon after the fall of the empire of the Mauryas, there was a scramble for the Punjab and the north-western portions of their empire by the Greek states that had sprung up on its border. After the death of Alexander the Great, his general Seleucus formed a very considerable kingdom with his eastern territories and it was called the Kingdom of Syria. Its eastern frontiers extended upto India. It is well known how Seleucus had to cede the country nearabout the present Afghanistan to Chandra-Gupta Maurya.

Between the years 250-248 B. C. the Syrian Kingdom suffered a split. Two Syrian chiefs revolted and formed independent kingdoms in Parthia and Bactria. The fourth Bactrian king, Demetrius extended his territories, on the fall of the Maurya Empire, up to the eastern limits of the Punjab and thus became King of a part of India. But the Parthian King Eukratides fell upon Demetrius and compelled him to fall back on the Punjab depriving him of his western territories.

We need not follow in detail the varying fortunes of these two Greek houses or of the Saka or Pahlava line of kings who supplanted them. It is enough for our present purpose to state that these Kings introduced into India a varied coinage, mostly in copper in which their names and busts, as well as the figures of the gods they worshipped, were regularly and artistically put in. This practice was followed by the Kushana Emperors from whom it was taken up by the great Gupta Emperors and continued by Harshavardhana.

In the later Hindu coins, the practice of putting in the king's bust fell into disuse and these coins mostly contained the name of the king in bold characters on one side, and a figure of the god or goddess he worshipped on the other. Some of the silver coins, of these kings contain dates of their minting.

The Muhammadan coins, with the exception of some early coins, which had to be minted in imitation of the Hindu currency obtaining, and of some coins minted by Jehangir, depict no figures on them. They, however, are very important for the purposes of history, as they almost invariably give the year of minting and the name of the mint.

Ancient Indian history, as is well known, has been pieced together by the industry of a noble band of scholars from a patient study of inscriptions and other sources. For the last hundred years and more these scholars have been patiently deciphering inscriptions written in obscure characters and utilising their contents in building up a whole story of the past of India. In old days, when one built a temple or did some work of public utility, it was the custom to put on that work, at a conspicuous place a tablet inscribed with a narration of the donor's merits and lineage. Sometimes they were dated in one of the eras current in India and the name of the king and his regnal year in which the work was completed was also given. Sometimes the king himself was the donor, and he thus came to record his lineage and the noble deeds performed by him and his ancestors. It is easy to understand how a proper decipherment of these records are of the highest importance for the reconstruction of the lost history of a country. But naturally, these records cannot exist in any very great number nor cover the whole period of history. Herein comes the importance of old coins. If kings reigned, a temple or tank made by him or in his reign may or may not survive and be discovered. But his coins surely circulated throughout the country over which he ruled. Coins are contemporary records, though on a very miniature scale. But all the same, they are contemporary epigraphs and as such, materials of history of first rate importance.

First, they are of supreme importance for Chronology and even for proving the existence of a king. As already noted, inscriptions often fail us, because they are so few. There are many kings whose inscriptions have not come to light. But coins fail us seldom,

because the life of civilised society at large would be at a stand-still without coins. They circulated throughout the country and penetrated its farthest corners. They got lost and were thus buried under earth. The miser hoarded up his little wealth in coins and buried it underground unknown even to his wife and children. He went on pilgrimage or to trade and returned no more. All his wealth was thus consigned to the care of the all-preserving mother earth. The king is forgotten, the miser is forgotten, but mother-earth guards their secrets. Some of us may some day be fortunate enough to recover this secret by stray digging and if we do not hurry to melt down the precious relics at the village gold-smith's shop and if the coins fortunately find their way to a numismatist, behold—the king comes out from the oblivion of centuries to occupy his proper place in history!

Suppose, by some cataclysm, all records of Queen Victoria's reign are lost. All the books and papers which so elaborately record the events of her glorious reign are destroyed or fall a prey to natural decay. The good old custom of furnishing building and works of public utility with inscribed tablets recording the name of the reigning sovereign and the year of his reign has fallen into disuse. Historians in 2925 A. D. will grope in vain in the dark and eagerly scour the records of foreign travellers to obtain a correct chronology of Queen Victoria's reign! If any of us have been hoarding up money for two generations and are unfortunate enough to bury it underground and forget to tell our son the whereabouts of the buried treasure, the true chronology of the reign of Queen Victoria is thereby ensured and will emerge safe in the hands of the numismatists of 2925 A. D., if they happen to come by our two generations' savings. Unfortunately, Government is too sure of its paper-records nowadays and does not care to record the names of the mints which turn out coins. I am afraid, the Government is, without suspecting it, paving the way for a furious controversy in 2925 A. D., among the archaeologists of that period as to whether the Bengal Presidency was really included in the Queen's dominions or not.

In a country, where there is no history, the importance of the chronological information furnished by numismatics can easily be understood. Where a correct chronology is known from other sources, the coins have, of

course, only a corroborative value. But they become our only source of information where epigraphs and other sources fail us. I can give you a list of a number of kings who have been rescued from oblivion and placed in their true position in chronology solely with the aid of old coins. "Since the important discovery in 1824 by Colonel Tod, that Greek coins had once been struck in India, the names of thirty-three Greek and twenty-six Indo-Scythian or Saka, and Indo-Parthian or Pahlava princes, ruling territories round the Indian frontier, have gradually been recovered from coin legends and not more than half-a-dozen of these are known from other sources. Even the names of the later Kushana kings were first deciphered from their coins. Thus coins alone have been responsible for the recovery of a whole period of Indian History." (Coins of India, by C. J. Brown, p. 22-23.)

Old coins, in the second place, are often our only guide in determining the extent of a king's dominions, or in checking a statement of their extent found in some other record. The Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra-Gupta tells us that he conquered the whole of Northern India from the Punjab to Samatata, which I have proved elsewhere to be the tract east of the old Brahmaputra. Do coins corroborate his claims? Yes, they do. A gold coin of Chandra-Gupta II and another of his grandson, Skanda-Gupta were both found at Kotalipara in the Faridpur district and many coins like these have been found in this place. Unfortunately it is extremely difficult to recover these coins which are mostly found by stray digging. It was Mr. J. T. Rankin, the late commissioner the Dacca Division who recovered these coins and placed them in the Dacca Museum. I know of two other coins of Skanda-Gupta found from this site. One is with Babu Ramesh Chandra Sen, Head Clerk, Madaripur Municipality and the other is with Mr. Stapleton. Coins of the Gupta emperors have also been found throughout Northern India, from the borders of the Punjab eastward. Hence, it is possible to support the claims of Samudra-Gupta with the aid of his coins and those of his successors. After Skanda-Gupta the Gupta empire began to decline. This is very faithfully reflected in the limited circulation of the coins of Skanda-Gupta's successors. The fact that the coins of some of the last kings of the Gupta line circulated exclu-

sively in Eastern India—and that, also, in meagre numbers—testify to the limited extent of their power and territories.

In the third place, old coins faithfully record the religion of the reigning sovereign, and hence, also of the period, to a considerable extent. One side of the pre-Muhammadan coins, as already noted, is stamped with the figure of a god or a goddess. This is almost always the case with the gold coins of the pre-Muhammadan dynasties. Kanishka's successive veneration for the Iranian and the Brahmanical gods and his final adoption of Buddhism is known from the coins, which faithfully depict his changing religious moods. The adoption of the Brahmanical religion by some Greeks is not only proved by the record on the famous pillar of Besnagar, but the coins of some of the potentates of Greek origin also faithfully portray the fact. The whole history of the religious beliefs of the Gupta Emperors can be reconstructed from a study of their coins. It is a delight to behold the beautiful miniatures of Kumara (Karttikeya) on the coins of Kumara Gupta.

There are many other ways in which coins are of help in reconstructing lost history. The abundance of the gold coins of Samudra-Gupta, Chandra-Gupta II, and Kumara-Gupta faithfully reflect the great prosperity of the Gupta Empire during these three glorious reigns. The decrease in the number of gold coins and of coins in general of their successors faithfully reflect the decay of the Gupta Empire. The debasement of some of the gold coins of Skanda-Gupta tells us with mute eloquence that the glorious Gupta Empire had fallen on evil days.

The rapid decay of the Gupta power and influence is faithfully portrayed in the paucity of the coins of Skanda-Gupta's successors. This paucity is so marked that Budha-Gupta, who is known from inscriptions to have been still ruling over the major parts of the Gupta Empire, is represented by only two silver coins! As already noted, the coins unmistakably show that the Guptas were, during their last days, compelled to fall back on the eastern part of their once-vast territories and the appearance at this time of coins of kings who did not belong to the Gupta line show that the ancient line of Samudra-Gupta has ceased to reign.

I shall now give you some concrete instances how it has been possible to solve

problems of history and reconstruct lost chronology with the help of coins.

In 1908, a copper-plate grant was discovered at the village of Ghugrahati, under the Kotahpara police station of the Faridpur district.

It purported to be executed in the reign of one Samachara Deva, who was designated as *Maharajadhiraja*. The script of the plate showed that it was a very early one, much earlier than the oldest plate of the Palas. The form of the inscription was different from those of later plates and Mr. R. D. Banerjee who first published a rough reading of the plate had no hesitation in declaring it to be a forgery. Dr. Bloch, at that time Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey also upheld this opinion and ridiculed the idea of a king bearing such a name as Samachara. In 1910, however, Mr. Pargiter published three other plates of a similar nature, but executed in the reigns of two more hitherto unknown Maharajadhirajas. The plea of the strangeness of the draft can no longer be maintained and Mr. Banerjee was constrained to pronounce all these four plates as forgeries. Mr. Pargiter replied with an able article defending the genuineness of all these four plates and published a revised reading of the Ghugrahati plate, and so this controversy went on.

Some years afterwards, five more plates of similar draft and dated in the reigns of Gupta Emperors like Kumara-Gupta and Budha Gupta were discovered from Dinajpur and their publication by Prof. Radhagovinda Basak gave a death-blow to Mr. Banerjee's theory of forgery. Even then, Mr. Banerjee gave no indication that he was now convinced of the unsoundness of his theory. In the *Dacca Review* for 1920, I published a revised reading of the Ghugrahati plate and solved most of the problems left unsolved by Mr. Pargiter. But it was a couple of gold coins that came in handy for the final blow.

One of these coins was found more than half-a-century ago at Mahammadpur in the Jessore district, about 30 miles north-west of Ghugrahati. It is not known where the other coin was found. Both of them are now in the Indian Museum. Ever since they were found, scholars have been trying to read the legends on them, but never with conclusive success. Dr. Vincent A. Smith in his *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, published in 1905, described both these coins as "uncertain." He read the name of

the king on one of the coins as *Yamadha* but correctly surmised that the form of the letters showed that the coin belonged to the close of the sixth century A. D. Mr. Allen, in his Catalogue of Gupta coins in the British Museum dealt with these two coins again. He agreed with Dr. Smith as regards the age of the coins, but he also could not propose a definite reading for the King's name. He suggested *Sahacha*, *Sama-cha*, or *Yamacha* on one coin and *Yamacha* on the other. Once again the coins came in for discussion, and this time through Mr. R. D. Banerjee himself. He read the king's names on both the coins as *Yama*.

Now, if one looks at the plate of Samachara Deva and notes carefully how his name is written on it and then examines the two coins he will have no difficulty in seeing that the king's name on the plate as well as on the coins is the same—i.e. Samachara, with a slight interchange in the method of making the superscript *a* (†). You will wonder why this simple coincidence did not strike any scholar before; I can only say that such is the case,—that the course of true research, like another famous course, 'did never run smooth!' When in my article in the Dacca Review, I pointed out that these two coins must be ascribed to Samachara Deva of the Ghugrahati plate, and they furnish us with proofs, hitherto wanting, of his existence and reign and of the genuineness of the Ghugrahati plate, all scholars, without a single dissentient accepted the identification. Mr. Banerjee also now agrees that these two coins are of Samachara Deva, that he lived and reigned; but, as you will find from the latest edition of his History of Bengal, he still contends that the coins may be genuine but the Ghugrahati plate is still a forgery!

I shall give you another example from nearer home and show how old coins can be useful even in unfolding the past history of a locality with which many of you are undoubtedly familiar. I refer to Sabhar, a place about 15 miles west of the city of Dacca. Sabhar contains many old ruins including the site of a small fort and a palace, which are associated with the memory of one Harishchandra. Much has been written on Sabhar, which will be found in the old numbers of the Pratibha and the Dacca Review. These are mostly concerned with topography and legendary history. Babu Bijay Chandra Ray wrote in the Pratibha after a

careful inspection of the ruins that they appeared to him to be much older than the Sena ruins at Rampal in the Parganas of Vikrampur in the Dacca district. The absence of stone in any form in the ruins of Sabhar and the presence of terracotta stamped with the figures of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas gave indication of a fairly early age for these ruins. But no definite date could be ascribed to them in the absence of reliable evidence. The publication by myself of a Math-inscription of Mahendra, son of Harishchandra, from a manuscript copy of the same preserved in the house of the late Kaviraj Amritananda Gupta of Matha gave an impetus to the discussion. But no satisfactory conclusion could be arrived at regarding the date of the inscription, even if it were taken to be genuine.

The coins found at Sabhar, became then our only source for determining the date of the ruins. In the ruins of Sabhar are constantly found coins in base gold, which imitate the Gupta gold coins in technique but which are of very inferior execution. Some of these coins are known to have been found along with the gold coins of Samachara and Sasanka whose dates are known to be respectively the end of the 6th century A. D., and the first quarter of the 7th century A. D. Without entering into minute discussions, which I have published in my article in the Dacca Review and in a recent number of the Numismatic Supplement to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, it can, I believe, be easily comprehended that the ruins at Sabhar must date from about 600 A. D., on the testimony of the find of these coins. The Dacca Museum obtained eight coins of this class, from Sabhar and once you realise how difficult it is to obtain these coins, you will admit that it is a very considerable number to turn up from a limited area. If some old men of Sabhar are to be believed, these coins were found in plenty in the ruins of Sabhar and melted down.

I shall now give you some instances from the Muhammadan period of Indian History. It is generally believed that the meagreness of contemporary sources of history disappears as soon as we land on the Muhammadan period and thenceforth westward no more in need of assistance from coins. It is to a great extent true, as far as the Mughal period of Indian history is concerned. But the history of the rule of the Sultans of Dehli was for the first time placed

on a sound chronological footing by Thomas in his—"Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi" which drew upon coins and inscription as well as contemporary histories. The assistance of coins is still more valuable in the case of provinces like Bengal which remained under Delhi only for a period and then were formed into independent kingdoms. As long as the connection with Delhi was maintained, the imperial historians found place for stray references to the provinces in their histories. These notices are naturally very meagre, for, they relate to a far-off province and they stand in very great need of being supplemented from the evidence of coins. But coins, as materials of history and chronology became indispensable as soon as the link with Delhi was severed and the imperial historians ceased to refer to the provinces. This is especially the case with Bengal, where no contemporary history of the independent Sultans appears to have survived. Abul Fazl and Ferishta give the barest outlines of the history of the independent Sultans and even this outline is vitiated by a grossly wrong chronology in places. Ghulam Hussain in his *Riyaz-us-Salatin* only copied these records with amplification based on local hearsay and the result has been that his chronology also is very faulty. It was the labour of Thomas, so ably supplemented by that of Blochmann that for the first time gave a more or less correct chronology of the independent Sultans of Bengal.

But even these two great pioneers fell into error sometimes. I believe, most of us are familiar with the name of Sultan Ghiyasuddin, the story of whose encounter with the Kazi who summoned him to stand a trial at his court has found its way even in school books. The chronology of the reign of this famous Sultan, however, was not accurately known. Thomas, and following him, Blochmann concluded that Ghiyasuddin ceased to reign in 799 Hijri which is equivalent to 1396 A. D. Blochmann found a number of coins of Ghiyasuddin that were clearly dated in 812 A.H. But he took them to be posthumous issues as coins of the intermediate years were not known. When the Catalogue of Bengal Coins in the Indian Museum was compiled, the compiler accepted the theory of Blochmann and finished Ghiyasuddin's reign in 799 A.H. Many years later, Mr. R. D. Banerjee also followed the same theory and accepted the same terminal year for

the reign of Ghiyasuddin. The whole is an amazing story of how even expert scholars sometimes follow without scrutiny an erroneous theory. The story has been told in detail in my "Coins and Chronology of the Early Independent Sultans of Bengal." I need only state briefly that in 1918, a remarkable find of 342 coins of 11 successive kings of this period was placed in my hands by the Collector of Dacca for description and decipherment. There were 72 coins of Ghiyasuddin in this find and I deciphered several coins of his, which were dated in the years between 799 A.H. and 813 A.H. The conclusion was irresistible that Ghiyasuddin had reigned up to 813 A.H. i. e., 14 years longer than the period ascribed to him. The idea then occurred to me that possibly coins like these are to be found in the collection of the Indian Museum also. I, thereupon, went to Calcutta and examined the collection of Ghiyasuddin's coins in the Indian Museum. My surmise proved to be correct: there were a number of coins there dated in the years between 799 A.H. and 812 A.H. and they had all been misread by the compiler of the Bengal section of the Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum.

To cite another example, Raja Ganesh is a strange personality in this dark period of the history of Bengal. For however short a period, he caused a break in the line of the Mahammedan sovereigns of Bengal. But no coin of this powerful king was hitherto known. The confused chronology of this period made Blochmann place Raja Ganesh in the years during which coins are found issued in the name of Bayazid Shah. Blochmann naturally therefore thought that Ganesh for one reason or other, did not issue coins in his own name, but did so in the name of a puppet called Bayazid Shah. In my book above referred to I have been able to show by a study of the coins of the new find, that there was no break in the Muhammadan line of kings up to 817 A.H. and that Bayazid Shah whatever may be his political status, actually lived and reigned up to 816 A.H. and left a son Firoz Shah by name, whose coins are dated in 817 A. H. It may be said in passing that, previously, Firoz Shah had no place in history. No history mentions him and no coins or inscriptions of his were previously known. I had the good fortune to come by his coins for the first time. Coins, thus helped not only to add a new name to the

list of the kings of Bengal, but to place him in his exact position in history.

In 1912, however, a number of coins were found stamped in Bengali characters and giving the name of the king as Danujamarddana Deva. Some coins of Danujamarddana were found even much earlier than 1912, but they had failed to attract any notice. The find placed in my hands by the Collector of Dacca also contained three coins of Danujamarddana. Who was this Danujamarddana whose coins showed the dates of 1339 and 1340 Saka and were minted at the mints of Chittagong, Sonargaon and Pandua, and thus, showed him to be the undisputed master of Bengal in those years? It may be mentioned that the years 1339 Saka and 1340 Saka are roughly equivalent to the Hijri years 819 and 820. Brisk writings appeared in the Bengali journals and Mr. Banerjee also wrote an article on them in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India 1911-12. All the writers took Danujamarddana to be a successful rival of Raja Ganesh.

The history of this period is full of strange events and is recorded in the *Riyaz-us-Salatin* in detail. We have no reason to doubt the accuracy of the general outline of the record in the *Riyaz*. It says that soon after the death of Bayazid Shah, Raja Ganesh became king and occupied the whole of Bengal. At that time there was a powerful saint at Pandua whose name was Nurkutab Alam. When he found that a Hindu had seized the Mussalman throne of Bengal, he invited Ibrahim Shah of Jaunpur to invade Bengal, Ibrahim Shah marched upon Bengal and thus threatened, Ganesh went to Sheikh Nurkutab Alam and besought his favour. The Sheikh consented to request Ibrahim Shah to return if Ganesh

turned a Muhammadan. Ganesh allowed his son to turn a Muhammadan and placed him on the throne of Bengal under the name of Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah. Ibrahim Shah, however, died shortly afterwards. Ganesh, thereupon, reconverted his son, and resumed the throne himself. On the death of Ganesh, however, his son Jadu again turned a Muhammadan and succeeded to his father's throne under his previous title of Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah.

If we now turn to the coins, we will find the following record :—

- 817 H. A number of coins of Bayazid Shah
- 817 H. A few coins of Firoz Shah
- 818 H. A large number of coins of Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah
- 819 H. Only one Coin of Jalaluddin.
- 819 H. Some Coins of Danujamarddana.
- 820 H. Some Coins of Danujamarddana
- 821 H. Some Coins of one Mahendra Deva.
- 821 H. A large number of coins of Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah, and onwards.

It is not the place to go into details, which I have given elsewhere,* when we remember that there is no place for Raja Ganesh in the chronology of Bengal before 817 A. H. and that his period of reign must lie on either side of 818 A. H. when Jalaluddin's coins first appear, it becomes clear to us that we have at last found the coins of Raja Ganesh who was king of Bengal in 1339 and 1340 Saka and minted coins under the imposing name of Danujamarddana Deva.

* Vide—my "Coins and Chronology of the Early Independent Sultans of Bengal",—Heffer and Sons, Cambridge.

PAN-ASIANISM, ASIAN INDEPENDENCE AND WORLD PEACE

By TARAKNATH DAS, M. A., PH. D.

THE Asian States were once the most formidable and progressive in the world. Students of history know the great significance of the Chinese, Indian and Persian Empires of the past. It was only a few centuries ago, that the Turks were at the gates of Vienna, Spain was a Moorish domain and the Greeks, the Italians and the Christian

peoples of the Balkans courted Turkish support through marriage relations and alliances. The Asian States did not lose their dominant position suddenly. It took centuries for the European nations to achieve the paramount position, through their expansion in Asia, Africa and America. By the beginning of the nineteenth century there

was not a State in Asia which enjoyed full sovereignty.

For more than a century the Asian peoples have been passing through a very subtle and significant revolution. This is the revolution of re-assertion of sovereignty of the Asian States. The political history of all Asia, during the nineteenth century, can be described as defeated efforts of the Asian peoples for the assertion of their independence. The history of Asia from this point of view is yet to be written by sympathetic and realistic scholars. The peoples of Asia did not achieve the end, because of civil wars amongst them, and also because the idea of freedom and "the will to be free" was not strong enough, and the preparation for action was not sufficiently complete to overcome the obstacles of the dominant Western Powers. Today all the Asian peoples feel their own weakness and realize the necessity of some form of concerted action to attain the goal of securing their freedom. This is the true underlying cause of the movement of Pan-Asianism. The movement of Pan-Asianism is bound to be a vital factor towards the accomplishment of Asian Independence; and without Asian Independence any programme for World Peace is a mere mockery.

The idea of holding of Pan-Asian Conference will be hailed by many Asians for sentimental reasons; others will champion the idea to express their bitter hatred towards the European peoples and European civilization in general. Asian radicals, who class themselves as communists or socialists or internationalists, will condemn the idea of holding a Pan-Asian Congress, because it will be against their principle and it would be against the conception of solidarity of the working people of the world and the doctrine of class struggle. Sentimentalism, race-hatred and "professional internationalism" should have no place in a conference which proposes to discuss economic and political questions of Asia. On the other hand, *Nationalism* should be the basis of all discussions, because national, cultural, economic and political problems of various Asian nations make up the whole of Asian problems. Many Asian radicals now-a-days follow the "catchwords and phrases" of European Labour Imperialists. They wish to discourage the spread of Asian Nationalism. To them I have to say that as full development of individuals is essential to the cause of social progress, so sound nationalism is an

indispensable requisite for inter-national co-operation and friendship. In this connection I wish to quote a few words of a Japanese scholar of international repute :—

"When socialists in Europe and America pledge themselves to internationalism, they are thinking only of Europe and America, forgetting that across the oceans teeming millions are crying for larger fields of activity. When the trade unionists of Europe and America speak for brotherhood of workers, they are only thinking of their own race."

To be concrete, let me emphasise the fact that it is the labour-leaders of America, Canada, Australia, South Africa and Great Britain who are advocates of "white-manism" at any cost and "exclusion of the Asiatics". It is the labour leaders of Australia and South Africa who are champions of White Australia and White South Africa policy; and they are consistently persecuting the people of Asia in every possible way. Let no Asian forget the duplicity of the labour-leaders of Great Britain who were as imperialistic in their dealings with Egypt, India and other subjugated peoples; and only the other day the British labour-leaders like Thomas and others supported the British war measures against China. If the working people of Britain were really opposed to war-like demonstration against China, it would not have been possible for the British Government to adopt the measure against Chinese sovereignty.

Nationalism is the dominant impulse that is throbbing in the bosom of every Asian who has any self-respect for himself and devotion to his own kin. This spirit of nationalism has been roused through the experience of humiliation and outrages that have been imposed upon them by the Imperialism of the West. The spirit of nationalism in the Orient should not be confused with the spirit of chauvinism or jingoism, because the nationalist movements in the Orient, particularly in India, are not aiming at national expansion at the cost of others. On the contrary, they are actuated by the ideal of recovery of their national integrity and sovereignty. The spirit of the nationalist movement in China and India are often very wrongly characterised by some western observers and scholars as "anti-British and anti-European", promoted by innate hatred of the Orient towards the Occident. But the real ideal, which is surging in the Asian peoples, particularly in the Indian youth, is not the urge for power and world domination, it is not a deep-rooted

hatred against the British or Europeans in general, but it is a sincere desire to remove the limitations that are standing in the way of achieving larger life, true liberty and happiness for the people of the Orient.

The seed of Pan-Asianism was sown in India by the Indian patriots who felt that their people were oppressed by European tyrants, and they needed external moral support to further the cause of freedom of India. This feeling was not articulate until very recently. It may be said that Swami Vivekananda was possibly one of the few Indians who during the end of the nineteenth century realised the tremendous importance of re-assertion of India, through closer co-operation with Japan and China. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore gave a forceful expression to this possibility in one of his interviews in Japan several years ago. His thesis was based upon the fact that culturally all the nations—Japan, China, Siam, Burma and India—have a common heritage and ideals to unify them for a common goal, without much difficulty. Since then many Indians have thought of Asiatic unity and the Pan-Asian movement in the field of practical world politics. It may not be out of place to mention that it was an Indian political exile who was responsible for the first organization of a Pan-Asian Society in Shanghai, more than ten years ago; and he was assailed by many western journalists in such journals as the *Far Eastern Review* of Shanghai. Among the modern political leaders of India, the late Chitta Ranjan Das, as the President of the All-India National Congress, stressed publicly the need of an Asiatic Federation, for the security and liberty of the Asian peoples. Since this pronouncement of the late C. R. Das., co-operation among the Asian peoples for their freedom and welfare has become one of the principal planks of the Indian nationalist movement.

The late Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the father of the Chinese Republic, was a Pan-Asian. It was in Japan that he worked for Chinese freedom, and he knew the value of the aid received by him from the Japanese leaders. He always sympathised with the Japanese people, and even advocated sino-Japanese alliance. Dr. Sun had a genuine sympathy for Japan's over-population and lack of raw materials, and thought that China could afford to go a long way to help Japan in this respect, if Japan would help in such matters as the revision of unequal treaties.

From my personal knowledge, I can say that Dr. Sun had in his mind something like an economic alliance and political co-operation between the two nations. To attain this end, he was prepared to make due concessions even on the Manchurian question. Such readjustment and such understanding, Dr. Sun believed to be the first requisite of an Independent Asia and therefore of World Peace. In an interview with me in 1917 Dr. Sun disclosed very frankly that the cause of Indian independence was nearest to his heart, because he realised that without Indian freedom, there cannot be Asian independence.

All far-sighted Turkish statesmen feel for the cause of Asian independence. The so-called pan-Islamism, is another name for pan-Asianism. *No Turkish statesman of any consequence is a religious fanatic, and he realises that pan-Asianism and pan-Islamism or pan-Turanianism are political necessities for the preservation of the Turkish State.* In 1916, during the course of an intimate interview with me, the late Djamal Pasha, the then Minister of the Navy and the Commander-in-Chief of the Turkish Army in Palestine and Arabia, expressed his views unmistakably in favour of Asian independence. It was the time when there was some talk about peace between the Entente powers and the Central powers. I asked his views on the subject and he replied, "I hope to live to see the glorious day of the liberation of India. Without Indian independence there can never be security for Turkey; and without Indian independence there cannot be any basis for free Asia."

The Japanese attitude towards the question of Asian independence and pan-Asianism has been most forcefully and artistically expressed by the late M. Okakura in his "*Ideals of the East*". From the late Emperor Meiji down to every really responsible statesman of Japan, all leading Japanese cherished the idea of Asian Independence. Today there is no better man in the whole of Asia than the great Samurai and patriot-saint of Japan M. Toyama, who has dedicated his life to the cause of Asian independence, and whose life has inspired thousands of the young Japanese to his ideal of service to the great cause.

However, there is a great deal of misunderstanding about the Japanese policy towards Asia, among the Asiatic peoples, particularly among the Chinese, Korean and Indian radicals and liberals. This is due to the fact that Japan fought China and later on annexed Korea. Further misunderstanding was bred,

because of the Japanese Twenty-one Demands on China, during the World War and also because of Japanese efforts to secure the resources of Shantung, through an agreement with Great Britain, France, Russia, Italy and also the Lansing-Ishii Agreement; and the Japanese support to the British in quelling the outbreak of the Indian soldiers at Singapore, during the World War. These actions—unwise actions—on the part of the Japanese have absolutely overshadowed Japan's other motives and beclouded the minds of many Asian radicals.

All impartial historians agree that the Sino-Japanese War was not the result only of Japanese folly, on the contrary, China was just as much responsible for it, as was Japan. After the Sino-Japanese War, Japanese statesmen did their best to bring about a Sino-Japanese Alliance to check European aggression in the Far East; but Chinese diplomacy was then guided by the late Li Hung Chang, who contracted a secret treaty in the form of a Russo-Chinese Alliance against Japan. China had to pay heavily for it, because although Japan was ousted from the Asian continent through the intervention of France, Russia and Germany in favour of China, all important European powers took slices of Chinese territory and extended their "spheres of influence. *Afraid of losing their hold on Chinese trade and politics, British and American Governments co-operated in formulating the so-called Open Door policy, which was supported by Japan. But it was Japan who made the Open Door policy a reality and saved China from being partitioned by European nations by defeating Russia in the Russo-Japanese War.*

Many Chinese and Indian scholars sentimentally blame Japan for making the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. They forget to take into account the actual situation of world politics of the time in the Far East. At that time China was impotent and even working against Japan in co-operation with Russia. Korea was in a helpless condition, where Russia was anxious to establish her sway. The real character of Indian slavery was exhibited by the Indians fighting as hirelings for the British all over the world and particularly in China during the Boxer trouble. The German Emperor, with an evil motive against the possible Sino-Japanese combination and awakening of Asia, was spreading the doctrine of anti-Asianism under the guise of a propaganda against the "Yellow Peril." France and Russia were in alliance, and Russia was

tacitly supported by Germany in her adventure of eastward expansion. Japan knew well of the price she had to pay after the victory of the Sino-Japanese War, only because she was then isolated in world politics. Japan had to get into some formidable alliance, and, happily for Japan and all Asia, the British were afraid of their position in the Far East and felt the need of an ally and sought friendly co-operation with Japan. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance was morally supported by America. But it was Japan who paid in blood to defeat Russia in the Asian continent and thus saved China from being partitioned.

It is fully recognized by western scholars, and personages like the Poet Rabindranath Tagore in India, but often ignored by the so-called patriotic Indian and Chinese youths that spiritually and politically the Japanese victory over Russia was the first successful effort to check European aggression in Asia; and thus this success of Japan over Russia opened up a new vision for all Asia, it gave a new consciousness for the possibility of Asian assertion in world politics.

Japan later on annexed Korea. Japan is blamed for this act of aggression and imperialism. All such acts are undoubtedly morally indefensible. But the anti-Japanese propagandists and short-sighted Asian historians forget that it would have been impossible for Japan to annex Korea, if in Korea and China anti-Japanese parties were not working so vigorously. Japan realized that if ever Korea and China conspired against her with any of the European Powers, Japan would be in a very difficult situation. In fact, there was anti-Japanese intrigue in both Korea and China, and Japan annexed Korea, *through international sanction and consent* and this annexation has provided her with a foot-hold in Asia which checks European, particularly Russian expansion to the Pacific. If Japan had not taken this step, then certainly there would have been Russian encroachment in Korea which would not have been for the best interest of Asia.

Korea should have her freedom, and it should be considered as an important factor for the consolidation of the Far Eastern nations in a concert; but Japan cannot be asked to make an idealistic display of humanitarianism in international politics, by granting Korean independence when the Korean policy has been to ally with Japan's actual or potential enemies. Korea's loss of independence is a matter of regret for all who love

the ideal of national independence, but it must not be forgotten that for the larger issue of Asian independence through the policy of elimination of European encroachment in the Far East, Japan could not have adopted any other policy, under the then existing circumstances, than to annex Korea. By the Russo-Japanese War, Japan checked the Russian march towards Korea and Manchuria; and to preserve this gain she had to take over Korea under her rule. Japan and Korea should come to an understanding on the basis of co-operation and freedom for the Korean people, so that there will be the reign of harmony between Korea and Japan, to work out the programme of Asian Independence.

Japan entered the World War on behalf of Great Britain, not only to fulfil her obligations under the Anglo-Japanese Alliance but also because Germany did not want to renounce Shantung without fighting. So far as I can understand, Japan's foreign policy in the Far East can be summed up as "elimination of the European Powers by any means, and consolidation of Asian Powers through Japanese strength and leadership". During the World War, Japan eliminated Germany from the Pacific and Chinese soil. Japan took the leadership in conquering Shantung, because the Japanese diplomats knew well that if Japan did not occupy Shantung, then Great Britain, during the course of the World War, would have occupied Shantung by using Indian and Australian forces; and in that case she (Great Britain) would have made Shantung a British "preserve" as has been done with Palestine. There is no doubt that Japan used harsh methods towards China; but as Japan has already returned Shantung to China, Chinese statesmen should be considerate to Japan.

Much has been written on the question of the Japanese Twenty-one Demands. It is generally asserted that the real motive of Japan's demands was to reduce China to slavery. The western scholars who pose to be pro-Chinese against Japan forget that it was the western nations who imposed extra-territoriality and subjected China to eternal humiliation. They also forget that Japan, in face of the opposition of China, Great Britain, the United States of America and other Powers could never make China her vassal. These scholars always talk about the Twenty-one Demands, but often forget

that the most objectionable Group V was abandoned by Japan. Presenting the Twenty-one Demands was a bad policy, so far as Japan is concerned, and Japan has paid a heavy price for this bungling diplomacy. To me it is clear that the real motive at back of the Twenty-one Demands lies in Group IV of the Demands, according to which Japan and China were to co-operate and see that no Chinese territory, seaport or islands be sold, leased or ceded to any Power. Thus the real motive was to have a legal sanction that there will be no further European encroachment on China. This motive becomes more clearly apparent in Japan's efforts to secure a military agreement between China and Japan for mutual security. Japan's policy towards China has not been faultless, neither was China's policy towards Japan above criticism. But the mistakes of the past should be a lesson to both the nations, in formulating their foreign policy on the basis of Sino-Japanese friendship, to further the cause of Asian independence.

Whatever might have been the motive of some of the Japanese statesmen on isolated occasions, Japanese diplomacy under Viscount Komura, on his return from the United States, after the signing of the Treaty of Portsmouth, took a distinct turn in the form of "Japan's destiny is in Asia, and while she must not antagonise Western Powers and seek their co-operation, her ultimate safety lies in co-operation with the rest of the Orient." This policy of Komura might have been ignored by some Japanese opportunist statesmen, but on the whole it has received whole-hearted support from far-sighted statesmen. Since the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, after the Washington Conference, the above *Komura Doctrine of Japanese statesmanship* has received full recognition. It might be said that the *Komura Doctrine* is the corner stone of Japanese diplomacy since the Washington Conference.

It is evident that since the Washington Conference, Japan has definitely adopted a pro-Chinese policy in every vital question. In the League of Nations, Japan has consistently supported China's claim, in such matters as China's right to have a seat in the Council of the League and in the Opium Conference etc. Japan has exhibited her willingness in every possible way, to aid China to secure her tariff autonomy and to

do away with extra-territoriality. Japan is not pursuing "gun-boat diplomacy" in China, as some of China's professed friends are doing today. It is a matter of great pleasure that all thoughtful Japanese and Chinese are concerned in promoting Sino-Japanese friendship; and they have begun to recognise that a Sino-Japanese conflict or enmity will be detrimental to the cause of Chinese and Japanese independence and security, a blow to the fulfilment of the idea of Asian independence and World Peace.

Japan's achievement in the field of international relations, industrial and economic development inspires a new confidence in the possibility of the achievement by other Asian peoples. Japan has achieved a permanent position for herself amongst the great Powers of the world. We are also indebted to Japanese statesmen and scholars for giving all Asia the political slogans which can be made very effective... "Asia for the Asiatics" and the "Asiatic Monroe Doctrine." I have sometimes read adverse criticism of the Asiatic Monroe Doctrine. It has been often suggested that Asia for the Asiatics means Asia for the Japanese; and the Asiatic Monroe Doctrine means Japanese hegemony over all Asia. It is a matter of great pity that some of the Asian youths and so-called scholars are engaged in spreading suspicion against Japan, among the Asian peoples. So far as I know, Japanese statesmen fully realise that to bring about a condition by which America and Europe will be prevented from keeping Asia in subjection, Japan must have the co-operation of all Asia. Those who tolerate and advocate the Monroe Doctrine for America, cannot have any reason to oppose the idea of enforcing a Monroe Doctrine for Asia under Japanese leadership.

Furthermore all Asia and even the whole of humanity is indebted to Japanese statesmanship, for Japan's demand, during the Versailles Conference, that there should be racial equality. The ideal of racial equality is the greatest spiritual contribution to the cause of Asian unity and future better understanding between the East and the West. Japan's ideal of racial equality for all the peoples of the world was advocated by the late Marquis Okuma, Baron Makino and others. In China statesmen like Dr. Wellington Koo, and others who although differing with Japan in the Versailles Conference staunchly supported the Japanese proposal of racial equality. To my mind, there is not the least doubt

that Japanese statesmen, for their own self-interest of preserving the national security of Japan, are working for the cause of Asian independence, through Asian co-operation and unity. But no one can expect that Japan should rashly undertake the mission of protecting Asia from Western aggression, when other nations of the Orient are not even ready to stop their own civil wars and petty quarrels.

Here let us also acknowledge that, in the past, Japanese methods of action might not have been to inspire full confidence in the heart of other Asian peoples. But I hope that the mistakes of the past have provided a lesson for Japan's future policy towards the people of the Orient. I wish to draw the attention of all sincere friends of the cause of Asian independence, that though they should criticise the mistakes of our co-workers, their criticism must not be of a destructive character. Thus it is essential that Asian leaders of other lands, instead of being anti-Japanese and thus conspiring against Japan with some European Powers, should frankly discuss with the Japanese statesmen and scholars and give them friendly advice and direction for following the method which will be most effective to promote cordial understanding between Japan and other Asian peoples. The attitude of the Japanese leaders in dealing with China and other nations should be the same.

With the awakening of Asia in the twentieth century, the Asian peoples have tried to put their own houses in order. This necessitated revolutions in their home lands. The twentieth century can be well termed as the age of revolutionary changes, and the most far-reaching of all changes are the revolutions in Asian lands. Before the World War, Asia had her Persian Revolution, Chinese Revolution, Turkish Revolution and the revolutionary changes in India, Afghanistan and Siam. These changes in Asia have affected the lives of more than 900,000,000 of the World's population, and have produced significant effects in Africa as well. Revolutions in Asian lands are of greater significance than the German Revolution, Austrian Revolution and the Russian Revolution, which are effects of the World War and bloody revolutions. The revolutions in Asian lands have been more or less bloodless revolutions." However the most interesting fact is that the European revolutions received support of the western people, whereas in the

case of revolutions in Asian countries European nations tried to "fish in troubled water" and checked the march of human progress, in order to attain their selfish ends. To check the Persian Revolution, the liberal Sir Edward Grey conspired with the Tsar's Government to partition Persia, and thousands of Persian nationalists were massacred because they wanted to do their share to keep their country free and independent. When the Chinese revolutionaries overthrew the Manchu dynasty and established a Republic, Great Britain virtually annexed Tibet, and Russia took control over Mongolia. When the young Turks tried to establish a democratic and progressive Government after the Turkish revolution, Austria with the consent of all the signatory Powers of the Treaty of Berlin annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Italy annexed Tripoli and the Turkish counter-revolutionists were aided by various Powers in various ways.

Today the majority of the people of Asia are directly or indirectly suffering from the domination of the Western Powers. This condition has been brought about by the aggressive spirit of imperialism. *However it must not be forgotten that Civil Wars and Asian people serving as mercenaries of the Western Powers have made it possible for them to establish their supremacy in Asia.*

When we discuss this special feature of the present situation in Asia and the cause of the present enslaved condition of the people of Asia, we find that the people of India and particularly the Indian princes of the past and present are largely to blame for the present condition. Indian princes indulged in civil wars of all kinds and took aid of foreigners who in turn imposed all kinds of limitations on their sovereignty.

It is the Indian soldiers who, as mere mercenaries fought for the East India Company and other foreign concerns and powers, even against their own people. It is a historical fact that through the control of India's trade, man-power, resources and strategic position, Great Britain has succeeded, during the last three centuries to expand in all Southern Asia, Africa and Australia. India is the key-stone of the arch of the British Empire today. The great misery of China and the subjugation of various Asiatic peoples, even those of Egypt, have been brought about by the Indian soldiers and by using Indian resources. Even today we find Indian mercenaries are being

used by the British to thwart China's assertion of full sovereignty.

It is possibly the greatest misfortune for the people of India, as well as all Asia, that the people of India are not in a position to mend the wrong they have done to other nations and they are not able to assert their own freedom which simple self-respect demands. It is a pity that among the people of India, politicians are quarrelling today on merely religious questions and petty questions of tactics. The Moslem leaders of India think and say that "We are Moslems first and Indian afterwards" and thus refuse to co-operate with the Hindus. Among the Hindus, the greatest curse of sectarianism and caste system keeps them divided and impotent. This deplorable condition of India, which is not only a draw-back to the progress of the movement for Indian freedom, but an obstacle to Asian independence, can only be remedied through world-vision and statesman-like actions on the part of Indian leaders—irrespective of religious affiliations—supported by Asian statesmen.

The holding of a Pan-Asiatic Conference in China is certainly a revolutionary departure for the disorganised, meek Asiatics. But none should expect that the ideal of the conference will be achieved in the very near future. It takes at least a generation, at times centuries, for the masses of people to grasp and act upon a new idea. The more unpopular and daring is the idea, the longer it is necessary, to be accepted by the people in general. This is invariably the case, because on the whole, human nature is more conservative than progressive; and the masses, fearful of evil consequences, dare not take to a path of adventure, while the majority of the privileged class do not wish to take a new path which, although it may be beneficial to the people at large, may result in immediate loss of their own power, privilege and prestige.

At the basis of all social and political changes or revolutions are the changes in ideas or revaluation of values, involving the necessary changes in the attitude of the people, transforming slowly but surely the trend of thought of the masses of a society or a nation. Mazzini, the republican patriot of Italy, one of the greatest thinkers of the nineteenth century, rightly summed up the process of revolution when he characterised that an idea of reformation or revolution first manifests itself in the mind of one man, and when it is appreciated by another or a group, it

has touched the key-note of success and with the progressive acceptance of the idea by the masses it marches towards its fulfilment.

The originator of a revolutionary idea (all scientific progress is based upon some revolutionary idea) is an intellectual giant, a dauntless seeker after truth endowed with large vision; and his few immediate followers are pioneers—intellectual aristocrats. In the field of religious revolution, the originator of a revolutionary idea, becomes a Prophet and his followers as saints or specially chosen ones. This is the case with all great religions and minor religious sects. The march of a revolutionary idea is in geometrical progression. It starts with a small number of intelligentsia of a society and flows towards the vast number who accept the revolution—as a matter of fact or follow it without any special thought, but as a matter of mob-psychology or "riding on the band wagon". Whenever uncontrolled masses come to the top of a revolutionary change, fanaticism instead of discretion and toleration becomes the leading principles of action. It is also true that in such emergencies, often, some opportunist leaders, under the pretext of preserving and upholding a sacred principle, put in reality to secure their own power and privileges through the support of the masses, advocate fanatical doctrines, which lead to violence and oppression which the unthinking masses blindly carry out.

The work before all Asian men and women who have any self-respect, is to bring about Asian unity, leading to Asian freedom, which is a requisite for better understanding between the East and West. This great task can never be accomplished within short time; but it is necessary that beginning is made with a definite object. I plead with all earnestness that the methods to be adopted to gain this end, must not be erratic outbursts, but the path of slow and deliberate progress.

To promote cultural understanding between the Asian peoples much can be done; and there are many ways to accomplish the end. A few concrete suggestions can be presented in the form of (a) exchange of professors among the Asian universities (b) exchange of students among Asian colleges and universities (c) organizing travels for educational purposes in various countries (d) formation of Pan-Asian associations in all Asian countries for the purpose of studying vital problems. In this connection it may be said that some of

the methods adopted by the English-speaking Unions and the Rhodes Trust, to bring about closer relation between the British Empire and the United States should be closely followed.

To promote economic co-operation between various Asian nations (a) it is essential that the idea of reciprocity in commerce should be furthered through the National Chambers of Commerce of various Asian countries and by all Asian statesmen. (b) All Asian states should co-operate to eliminate the possibility of European exploitation of Asia at the cost of the Asian peoples. The best example of the existing tragic situation is China's lack of economic autonomy imposed upon her by the Western Powers. All Asia should aid China to make herself free from economic bondage. (c) It is also very desirable that commercial organisations composed of nationals of various Asian states should be organised so that they will be forced to co-operate, because of the common personal economic interest involved in such an enterprise.

To check any further weakening of Asian States, it is imperative that (a) Civil Wars between political parties in any Asian country and between various Asian states must stop (b) No Asian state should be a party in aiding any western Power, fighting an Asian nation or keeping Asian people in subjection. Asian peoples should realise that the present subjection of Asian countries by western nations is due to civil wars and through the support of some of the Asian states given to European Powers against other countries. (c) All Asian states should extend moral support to one another in all diplomatic questions, involving common interest, such as the problem of racial equality, immigration, etc. (d) An educational campaign should be started in all Asian countries so that the people in general will oppose all plans which will involve use of Asian man power, economic resources and strategic positions against any Asian people. (e) All Asian states should co-operate with those Western Powers which favour Asian Independence and equal treatment of the Asian people.

In conclusion, let me emphasise the point that the movement of Pan-Asianism is no menace to World Peace. It does not threaten any of the European or American or African states, but it is a movement for the recovery of sovereign rights of the peoples of Asia. World peace with justice and liberty cannot

be furthered without Asian Independence. Thus all efforts towards the achievement of Asian Independence, through the instrumentality of a Pan-Asian movement are valuable assets towards the cause of world peace. (August, 26, 1927.

THE OLDEST BRAHMANICAL TEMPLES

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THERE are numerous references to Hindu or Brahmanical temples in our sacred literature and in ancient inscriptions but the oldest Hindu or Brahmanical temples which have survived up to our times belong to the Gupta period (319-550 A.D.) There is considerable misunderstanding amongst scholars about the true temple type of the Gupta period. These misunderstandings are due entirely to our faulty knowledge of the subject. It has been assumed by earlier writers on the subject that the Gupta temple possessed a spire of *Sikhara* though no such temple has been discovered which can be ascribed to the Gupta period with certainty. The most conspicuous examples of a temple faultily ascribed to the Gupta period is the

bodhi temple. Cunningham's own discoveries proved that this temple was much later in date than the ancient stone railing which surrounds it. The inscription on the stone slab which covers the altar at the back of the temple under the *Figal* tree (*Vijayakara*) belongs to the 2nd century A. D. Later on the late Dr. V. A. Smith proposed to assign the temple to the Gupta period. After examining the entire structure of the temple both inside and outside I could find no traces of Gupta art in any part of it. But on the other hand all other temples, whether Buddhist or Hindu, which can be definitely assigned to the Gupta period on the ground of epigraphy, always show the use of distinctive *motifs* of the Gupta period, e. g., the main shrine and the Gupta monasteries at Sarnath, the Hindu temple at Mundesvari near Patna in the Arrah district, the temple of Siva at Bhumra in the Nagod State, the temple of Parvati at Nachna-Kuthara in the Ajaygarh State and that at Deogadh in the Jhansi district. The original outline of the Mahabodhi temple was of a different shape which was changed when it was encased in fresh masonry at the time of its repairs from 1880 to 1892. The original slim outline of the *Sikhara* can still be seen in the photographs taken by Mr. H. W. B. Garrick before repairs, one of which is reproduced in Cunningham's *Mahabodhi*.* The absence of Gupta decorative *motifs* along with the outline of the original spire of the Mahabodhi temple prove that it cannot be earlier than the 8th century A. D. There are two other temples of the same type and probably of the same date in South Bihar, one of which is in better



Back view of the Sanctum, showing ashlar masonry, temple of Siva at Bhumra

great temple at Bodhgaya better known as the temple of Mahabodhi and the brick temple at Bhikargaon in the Cawnpur District. From the time of Sir Alexander Cunningham various dates had been ascribed to the Maha-

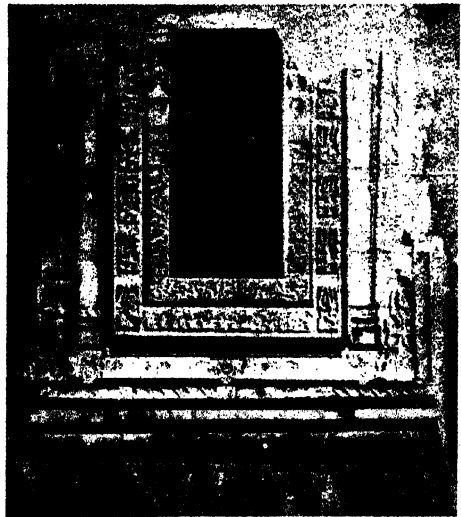
* Mahabodhi, pl.

preservation than the Mahabodhi temple. These are the Siva temple at Konch near Tikari in the Gaya district and the ruined Buddhist temple excavated and partly destroyed by the late Mr. A. M. Broadly, I. C. S., at Bargaon or Nalanda in the Patna district. The Bargaon temple has not been re-excavated yet when most of the remaining mounds have been explored. As at Bodhgaya so at Konch the *motifs* employed show that the temple can not be earlier than the 8th century A. D. According to an inscription discovered on the doorjamb of the Nalanda temple it was re-built in the 11th year of the reign of Mahipala I of Bengal i. e., towards the close of the 10th century A. D.

The only authority in favour of the proposed assignment of the Mahabodhi temple to the Gupta period is the statement of the Chinese authority that "Near the Bodhi tree was the Mahabodhi Vihara, built by a king of Ceylon".* But such inscriptions on fragments of sculpture which mention Ceylonese belong to the Gupta period and are absolutely different in style, both of art and architecture from those employed in the present temple. The Ceylonese Vihara must have become ruined in the 8th century or slightly, before that date and the present temple erected during the domination of the Palas of Bengal. Many people believe that the present Mahabodhi temple was standing when Yuan Chwang visited the place in the earlier part of the 7th century A. D. as the height and dimensions agree with those given by him.† It is impossible even to imagine on grounds stated above that the present Mahabodhi temple was built before the 8th century A. D.

I must turn to a class of writers whose writings are now obsolete like those of Fergusson or those who play on Indian popular sentiments only and can never adduce any proof for their theories or statements e. g., Mr. E. B. Havell. Writing so late as 1917, Mr. E. B. Havell proves his total ignorance of Gupta temples and their architecture. He contributed a very short note on "The Gupta style of architecture and the origin of the Sikhara" to the Bhandarkar

Commemoration volume. It is almost impossible to find out from this note what Mr. Havell considers to be the Gupta style proper in architecture. He refers the reader to his book on "The Ancient and Mediaeval Architecture of India," where his stock-in-trade consists of his usual meaningless diatribes against Cunningham or Fergusson. He states "If anything can be safely asserted about the temples which the Guptas built and of those which are characteristic of the period it is that they would be dedicated to Vishnu, the Ishta Deva of the Gupta dynasty." But no structure actually built by any emperor of the Imperial Gupta dynasty has been discovered as yet. So one must proceed with



Doorway of the lower sanctum, Early Gupta Temple at Nachna Kutjara, Ajaygadh State

such data as can be ascribed on epigraphic grounds to belong to the Gupta period and not on stylistic or sentimental grounds. But here Mr. Havell's equipment fell short of his needs and therefore he ends his statement with another diatribe. "But in General Cunningham's analysis of the characteristics of the "Gupta style," the first and principal item is "flat roofs without spires of any kind," i. e. the instances cited are Siva temples ! Further comment is needless.* It never occurred to him that temples dedicated to Siva and Vishnu have never been different in style

* Takakusu, I-Tsing quoting Charvannes, *Memoirs*, pp. 84 : P. XXXII and Note 2.

† Croomaraswami *History of Art in India and Indoesia*, p. 81. Havell thinks that the Mahabodhi temple was built in the 1st century B. C.—*A Study of Indo-Aryan civilisation* p. 100.

* *Ibid*, page 232



General view of the Sanctum, temple of Siva at Bhumra, Nagod district, Aaghelkhand Agency, Central India

right upto the eighteenth century, whether in Northern or Southern India. Of Havell's senseless theory about "Vishnu (not Vaishnava) temples Siva (not Saiva) temples I shall have to speak in a subsequent article.

We must now return to the enumeration of real temples of the early Gupta period. The time has now come when it is possible to distinguish between early Gupta and post Gupta temples. In these two categories we should mention the following temples:—

1. The temple of Siva at Bhumra on a plateau in the Nagod State, about six miles from Unchehra railway station on the Jubbulpur Itarsi section of the G. I. P. railway, discovered by the writer in 1920.

2. The earlier temple of Siva at Nachna-Kuthara in the Ajaygadh State about ten miles from Bhumra, discovered by Cunningham and described by the writer in 1919.

3. The temple called "Lad Khan's temple" at Aihole in the Bijapur district of the Bombay presidency, built in the early Gupta style.

4. The later Gupta temple at Deogadh in the Jhansi district generally mistaken to be an early Gupta structure.

5. The small shrine at Sankargadh in the

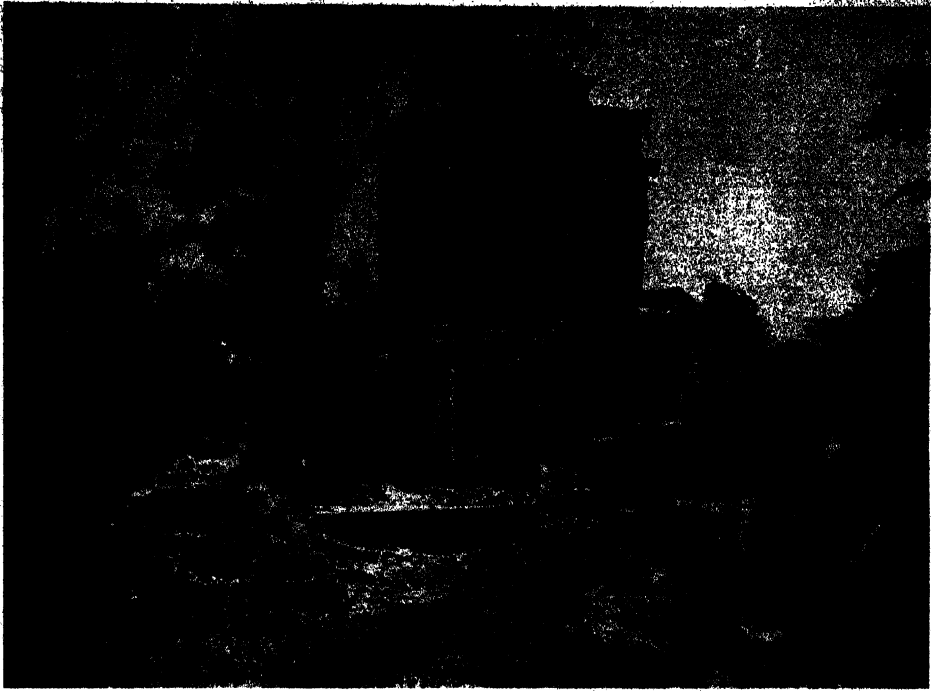
Nagod State discovered by the writer in 1920.

6. The post-Gupta temple at Nachna Kuthara in the Ajaygadh State discovered by Cunningham and described by the writer in 1919.

7. The post-Gupta temple at Mundesvari near Bhabua in the Arrah district.

Though no large inscriptions have been discovered in the temples at Deogadh, Bhumra, and Nachna-Kuthara the dates of these three temples can be accurately deduced from short inscriptions and mason's marks. From these data we can safely deduce that the flat-roofed temples of Bhumra and Nachna-Kuthara belong to the early Gupta period which ended in the middle of the 6th century A. D. I must now proceed to a consideration of these two temples before I take up the other structures which belong to the Later Gupta and the post-Gupta periods.

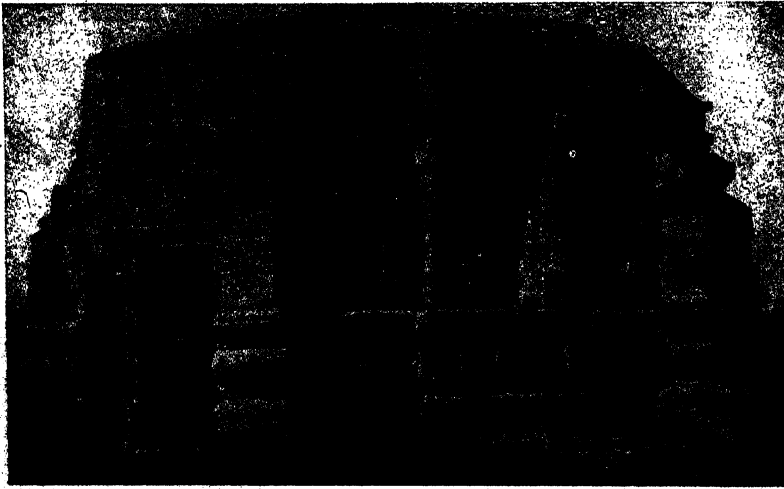
In the case of both of these temples we find that the architect was more concerned to provide a covered path of circum-ambulation (*Pradakshina patha*) as at Elephanta than with a *Sikhara*. In fact, though there is a small chamber above the main shrine in the case of the earlier temple at Nachna-Kuthara, there is no indication of any *Sikhara* in the



The Early Gupta Temple at Nachna Kuthara, Ajaygadh State, (Facade)

case of both of these structures. In both cases the flat-roof of the sanctum indicates that there was no *Sikhara*. The earlier temple at Nachna-Kuthara proves by the existence of the upper chamber that there was no *Sikhara* intended to be built over this shrine. These temples prove that the origin of these *Sikharas* or spire, in Indian temple architecture is much later than the period of the domination of the early Gupta emperors in Northern India. From the style as well as mason's marks the temple of Siva at Bhumra is the earlier of these two temples. The remains of this temple were excavated by the writer in 1920-21. The entire shrine is 35 feet square. In front of this square area was the plinth of the *Mandapa* or Porch measuring 29 ft. 10 in. by 13 ft. There is a flight of steps in front of this Porch on each side of which were discovered the plinths of two small shrines measuring 8 ft. 2 in. by 5 ft. 8 in.. In the centre of the square portion of the plinth is the sanctum or *Garbha-griha* 15 ft. 6 in. square, built of finely dressed red sandstone without any mortar and roofed with long flat slabs. The rest of the space in the square area

which enclosed the sanctum was a covered path of circum-ambulation as can be proved from the analogy of the similar chamber at Nachna-Kuthara, which is lighted by one or two pierced stone-windows on each side. The earlier temple at Nachna-Kuthara is practically of the same size as that at Bhumra. The sanctum in this case measures 15ft.—6in. on the outside and 8ft. inside. The large chamber or the path of circum-ambulation here is 33ft. square on the outside and 16ft. in the interior. The *Mandapa* in the Nachna-Kuthara temple measures 26ft. by 12ft. The steps at Nachna-Kuthara measure 18ft. by 10ft. while those at Bhumra are 11ft.—3in. by 8ft.—5in. The masonry in the case of both temples is exactly similar. The difference between these two temples lie in the extremely artistic decorations of the Bhumra temple compared with which that at Nachna-Kuthara was much simpler. While the chambers of circum-ambulations, and the Porch of the Bhumra temple are in ruins the entire structure in the earlier temple at Nachna-Kuthara is in a comparatively better state of preservation. There is another point



The great temple of Mundesvari, Bhabua Sub-Division district Arrah or Shahabad Front and side

of difference between these two temples. While there is no sign of any structure over the sanctum at Bhumra there is a square flat-roofed chamber over that in the earlier temple at Nachna-Kuthara. In this respect the latter resembles the so-called temple of Lad-Khan at Aihole. Coomaraswamy places this temple without sufficient reason in *circa* 450 A. D. Beyond the resemblance with the earlier temple at Nachna-Kuthara in having a small square cell above the sanctum and a covered path of circum-ambulation around the former lighted by long pierced screens of stones there is no other reason to place the date of the erection of this temple earlier than the time of Kirtivarman I of Badami i. e., the first half of the 6th century A. D.

The early Gupta type of temple was, therefore, a flat-roofed shrine with a covered path for circum-ambulation, having an open Porch in front decorated with pure Gupta motifs. It is not possible for us to determine how this type came to be copied in the 6th century A. D., at Badami, but the design survived in the Malabar country up to the 15th century. On the Malabar Coast, in the modern districts of South Kanara and North Kanara a square shrine surrounded by one or more covered paths of circum-ambulation have been discovered in large number. In the case of all of these temples there is no *Sikhara* but the excessive

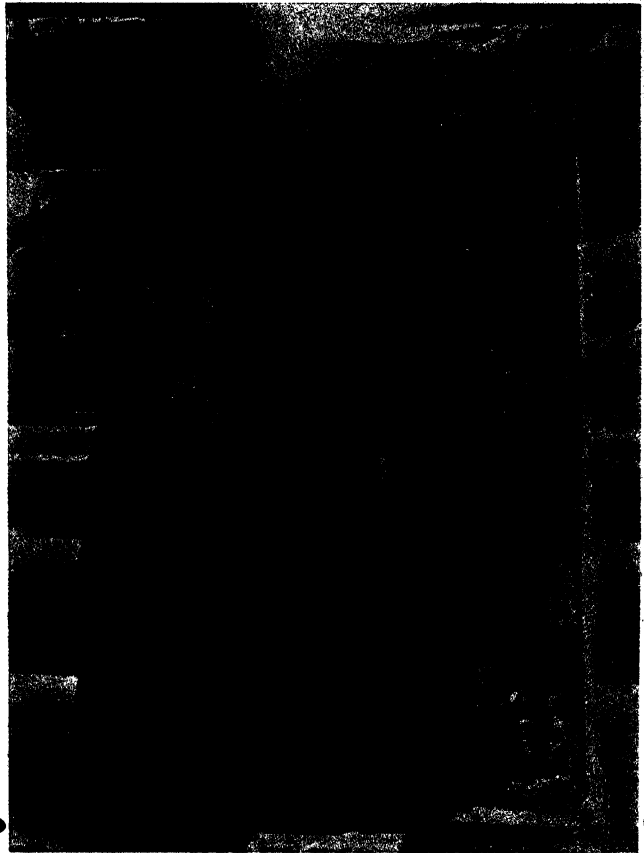
rainfall of the locality demanded that the roofs should not be flat. Hence the roofs of the *Sancta* as well as the single or double path of circum-ambulation are made of stone slabs but sloping like those of modern tiled huts. This particular type of temple begins at Mudabidri* near Mangalore in the South Kanara district of the Madras Presidency and ends at Gersoppa and Bhatkal in the North Kanara district of the Madras Presidency. This type of temples resemble the Early Gupta type in many particulars; e. g., the want of a *Sikhara*, one or more covered paths of circum-ambulation, a small open porch in the centre of the facade and want of ornamentation in the exterior. These temples in the North and South Kanara districts are Hindu and Jain. The Jain temples are called *Bastis* and some of them are very big establishments. The general decline of Jainism along the Malabar Coast has caused the desertion of many of these *Bastis* but due to the munificence of the Vijayanagar emperors and the chiefs of Sunda the majority of Hindu temples are in good condition. I shall take only one example, the great Jain *Basti* at Bhatkal, which was described by me for the first time. In this case the roof of the sanctum, path of circum-ambulation and porch are sloping and constructed of long slabs of stones laid on

* *Loc. cit.* pl. XXX.

stone beams on the overlapping principle. The exterior is severely bare and the interior covered with a wonderful type of South Indian decorative *motif*, which is quite distinct from the Hampi or Vijayanagara type. Standing close to the temple is a stone lamp-post almost as high as the roof of the sanctum. The sloping stone slab roofs decreased gradually in height; the roof of the sanctum is the highest, next to it comes that of the first path of circum-ambulation, then comes the second path, the roof of which is still lower, lowest of all is the roof of the porch. The temples of the north and the south Kanara districts are built on piles and there is room under each and every one of them for the passage of the flood water. It is impossible at the present day to find out how the early Gupta Temple type travelled as far as Kanara and lingered there till the 15th or the 16th century A.D. Some links have been left between the temples of Bhumra and Nachna-Kuthara and those in the two Kanara districts in certain eleventh and twelfth century temples at Khajuraho in the Chhatarpur State of the Bundekhand Political Agency of Central India and at Aihole and Pattadkal in the Bijapur District of the Bombay Presidency, where in spite of the addition of the *Sikhara* room has been left for circum-ambulation outside the sanctum or the *Garbha-griha* which is roofed over. At Khajuraho the path is very narrow where it exists but non-existent in other cases. In temple no. 9 at Aihole, two temples at Mahakutesvara etc., there is a covered path of circum-ambulation in existence along with the early low *Sikhara*.

Of the two Early Gupta temples, that at Nachna-Kuthara is in a better state of preservation and from the analogy of this we can guess that the path of the circum-

ambulation at Bhumra also was devoid of much ornamentation. But this very great number of ornamental sculptures discovered at Bhumra during the excavations prove that its Porch was much more finely and elaborately decorated. The *Mandapa* or the porch possessed one elaborate gate decorated with numerous devices. Four fragments of this gate were recovered. In these we see a round band, shaped like a pilaster, with the rough bark of the date-palm on it, the remaining two bearing that exqui-

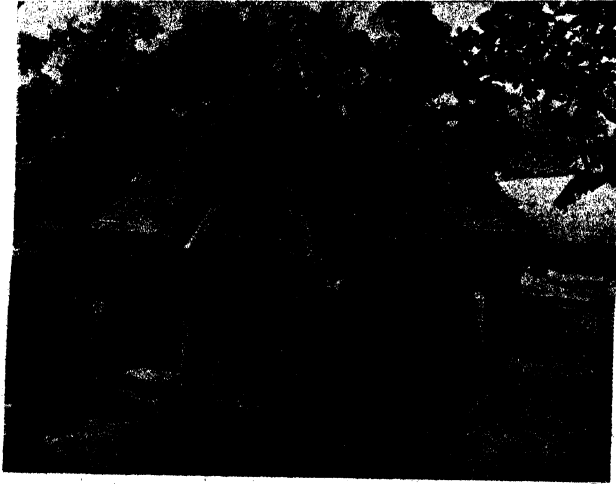


Stone window of the great temple of Mundesvari, district Arrah

site and fine arabesque for which Early Gupta art is always remarkable.¹ There were miniature dwarfs turning somersault at the

1. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 16. *The Temple of Siva at Bhumra*. Pl. IV.

base of each pilaster. The roof of the interior of the porch was supported by graceful tapering pillars embedded in foliated vases, the shafts of some of which were plain and ¹ fluted. Against the plain ashlar masonry of the sanctum and the inner wall of the chamber of circum-ambulation were numerous pilasters, with plain or octagonal shafts but ornamented with square bosses containing some of the finest arabesque medallions ever discovered in India, as well as *Kirtimukhas*.²



Joshi Sankar Narayan Devasthan, Bhatkal, North
Kanara District, Bombay

But the zenith of artistic excellence is reached in the case of the ornate slabs of the roof, many of which were recovered in a wonderful state of preservation. Such are; the mass of arabesque foliage with miniature *Amorini* clinging to the stem, a giant creeper with huge corrugated leaves and small lotuses in the interspaces and last of all, a huge slab bearing on it huge waves breaking crests.³

In addition to these there are other narrower slabs bearing fine arabesque work which looks absolutely mediocre compared to the three described above and some bearing geometrical patterns.⁴

The porch was probably open on three

sides and the interior of its lower part was composed of series of panels containing dwarfs and ornaments alternately.⁵

The exterior of the porch was decorated along the surface of the cornice with a row of indescribably fine Chaitya-windows, containing a round medallion with figures of Hindu god. These Chaitya-windows are of two classes (a) according to size and (b) according to ornamentations. Larger and smaller Chaitya-windows were, probably, placed alternately. The larger Chaitya-windows bear along the sides of the medallions either (i) arabesque or (ii) two small lotuses.⁶ In the medallions of these Chaitya-windows we find Ganesa, Brahma, Yama, Kuvera, Kartikeya, Siva dancing, Surya, Mahishamardini, Siva seated on a bull and Kama. In one or two cases the smaller Chaitya windows contain figures of dancing Amorini. On analogy it appears that these Chaitya-windows, styled Mahayana and Hinayana sun-windows by Havell and other writers of his class solely by intuitive power,⁷ were placed alternately according to size. The position occupied by these Chaitya-windows on the cornice of a building may be judged from similar ornaments

on the facade of the so-called Dharmaraja's Ratha at Mamallapuram.⁸ Similar Chaitya-windows have been discovered in the early Gupta temple at Nachna-Kuthara⁹ and in the later Gupta temple at Deogadh.

Towards the close of the 6th century A. D., a protruberance arose on the top of the flat roof of the sancta of Gupta temples. This is noticeable in Northern as well as in Western India. The earliest example of this protruberance is to be found in the later Gupta temple at Deogadh which is the

5. *Ibid.* Pls. IX-XI.

6. *Ibid.* XII, XIV.

7. *A Study of Indo-Aryan Civilization: The Ancient and Mediaeval Architecture of India*, London 1915 p. 55.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 87, Fig. 36.

9. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Reports Vol. XXI, pl. XXVI.*

1. *Ibid.* Pl. VI.

2. *Ibid.* Pl. V.

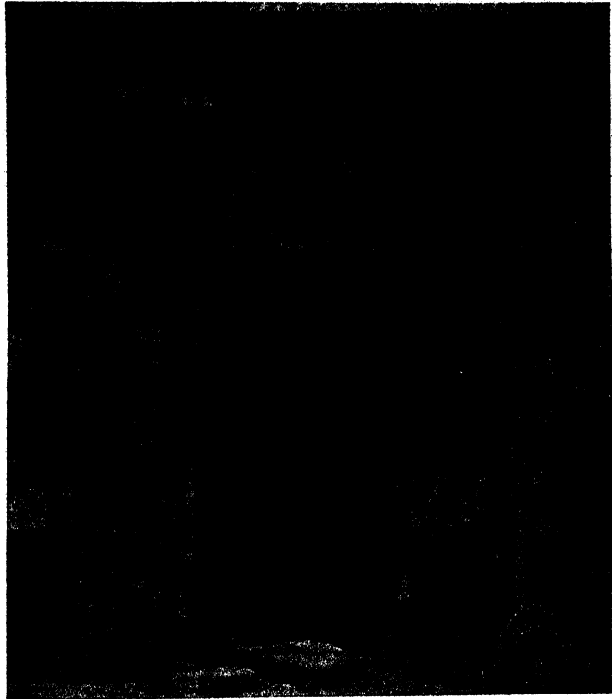
3. *Ibid.* Pl. VII.

4. *Ibid.* Pl. VIII.

earliest temple with a *Sikhara* in India.¹ The photograph published by Cunningham in 1875 shows the remains of this protruberance, decorated with Chaitya-windows, and other distinctly Gupta decorative motifs. Other temples of the same period are those discovered by the present writer at Sankargadh in the Nagod State.² A comparison of the gateway of this temple with that of the Deogadh shrine will convince any one that both must belong to the same period.³ Injudicious repairs by the Indian Archaeological Department specially those carried out during the last ten years have changed the shape of the *Sikhara* of the Deogadh temple beyond all recognition. The plan published by Cunningham⁴ proves that there was some sort of covered path of circumambulation around this temple also.

In the case of other Gupta temples such as those at Sanchi, Bodhgaya and Tigowa. The size proves that they were auxiliary and not principal shrines, hence came the small sanctum with a flat roof with the plain porch on a few pillars in front. Recent discoveries have proved that the Bodhgaya Gupta temple, to the right of the passage as one gets out of the doorway⁵ of the great temple is perhaps the identical one built by the Ceylonese. In the case of the temple at Tigowa the use of animals on the capitals of pillars and pilasters in the verandah or Porch proves that it can not be relegated to the Gupta period.⁶ The Sanchi temple is decidedly an auxiliary shrine⁷ and both the Gupta temple at this place and at

Bodhgaya are Buddhist shrines or temples the type of which had just lost its originality, because at this stage both Buddhist and Jain temples were beginning to become unified with Hindu temples.



Carved stone door-frame, temple of Siva at Bhumra

The original idea of this protruberance on the top of the sanctum must have been to enable people to distinguish it from the rest of the building. Both the temples at Deogadh and Sankargadh show a slight curvature at the corners of the *Sikhara*, which became so pronounced in later temples of Orissa. So far the *Sikhara* is not tall and its height, above the point where the side-walls end is exactly one and a half of the length of the base-line. Unaccountably the same proportion is to be observed in the brick temple at Sirpur in the Central Provinces which does not belong to the 6th century as Coomaraswamy supposes but to the eighth according to the Sirpur inscription of the Somavamsi kings.⁸

1. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, pl. XXXV.

2. *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for the year ending 31st March 1920.*, pl. XVII.

3. *Archaeological Survey Report Vol. X, pl. XXXVI.*

4. *Ibid.*, pl. XXIV.

5. Cunningham *Mahabodhi* pl.

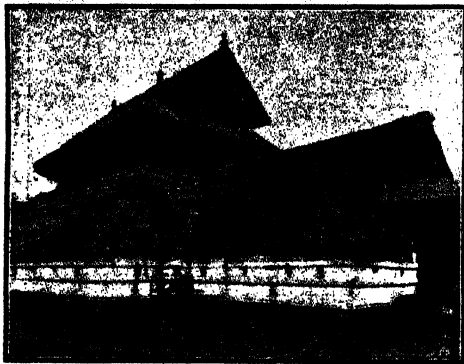
6. O. C. Gangoly—*Indian Architecture*, pl. XXIV (a).

7. *Ibid.*, pl. XXIV.

8. A. K. Coomaraswamy—*History of Indian and Indonesian Art* pl. LI, Fig. 186

In a similar manner the *Sikhara* originated in Western India also and a small one was added on the top of the Apsidal temple later on converted to the use of the worshippers of Durga at Aihole in the Bijapur district of the Bombay Presidency.¹ The *Sikhara* became a regular feature of Indian temples from the beginning of the seventh century though so late as the tenth an upper chamber continued to be erected; such as the one on the top of the sanctum of the Buddhist temple (No. 45) at Sanchi.²

The oldest existing temples in Northern India belonging to the earlier part of the seventh century A. D., are the second temple at Nachna-Kuthara and the temple of Mundesvari near Bhabua in the Shahabad or Arrah



district of Bihar and Orissa. At Nachna-Kuthara the second temple possesses a fine spire or *Sikhara*. This temple lies to the south-west of the early Gupta temple and enshrines one of the largest four-faced *lingas* (*Chaturmukha-Mahadewa*) ever discovered. In front of the sanctum there was a small porch on twelve pillars which had collapsed in 1919. The sanctum is a plain square shrine without an *Antarala*, on the top of which is a modest *Sikhara*, the upper part of which only was damaged. There was no path of circum-ambulation in this case as the exterior of the walls are perfectly finished and ornamented. The doorway of the sanctum is one of the very rare examples of 7th century

art discovered up-to-date in Northern India. Its relationship to the doorways of the sancta of the early Gupta temple at the same place, at Bhumra or the later Gupta temple at Deogadh is remarkable. The figures of the river goddesses Ganga and Yamuna are absent at the bottom of the jambs which is a constant¹ feature² of really³ Gupta temples *e. g.* Bhumra, Besnagar, Deogadh⁴ and the earlier temple at the same place. This temple bears on its jambs bands consisting of:—

(i) Arabesque work, (ii) Superimposed panels containing single figures, (iii) a row of rosettes, (iv) a pilaster. The ends of the lintel are recessed in true Gupta style as at Bhumra and contains figures of the river Goddesses at the ends. The lintel is damaged and only two horizontal bands can be distinguished, one of which consists of a row of flying figures. The door frame of the seventh century temple at Nachna-Kuthara bears striking resemblance to those of the eighth century temples at Dhantari and Sirpur in the Central Provinces. The temple of Mundesvari was already in existence in 636 A.D., as proved by a votive inscription at the same place. The original name of the temple was Mandalesvara and the God enshrined in it was Vishnu. This temple has been changed beyond the recognition during the Pala period (800-1200 A.D.) when extensive repairs were carried at this place. The *Sikhara* had disappeared. Sufficient indications are still visible to prove that originally it was a post-Gupta structure. The deep mouldings of the plinth, decorated with Kirttimukhas with garlands and tassels, hanging from their mouths. The carving of the great stone door frame with bands of arabesque work, superimposed panels containing single or double figures, the carving on the pillars and pilasters of the windows and neat Chaitya-windows all proclaim the Mundesvari temple to be a post-Gupta or seventh century structure. It is a great pity that the *Sikhara* is no longer existing.

1 *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 16, *The Temple of Siva at Bhumra*, pl. III.

2 Coomaraswamy—*History of Art in India and Indonesia*, pl. X LVII, Fig. 177.

3 Cunningham—*Archaeological Survey Report*, Vol. XI, pl. XXXVI.

4 *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Western Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1919, p. 61, pl. XVI.

5 Havell—*A Study of Indo Aryan Civilization; the Ancient and Mediaeval Architecture of India*, pl. L-LI.

See also Hiralal in *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XI 184

1 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXVII.

2 *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1913-14, Part II, pl. XXII.

Windows of pierced stone light the interior and even the bottoms of the jambs of such window-frames bear the figures of the river goddesses Ganga and Jumna. Fragments of bas-reliefs exhibit the general decadence of post-Gupta plastic art.

The function of the architects of the Gupta

period was to produce a particular temple type and to bequeath it to their successors the model of a shrine with a spire which became idealised in Northern and Western India and which managed to impress its form and outline to Hindu architects in Java and the Indian Archipelago.

THE RELIGION OF HUMANISM*

Old religions are effete and cannot solve the problems of the modern age. Eighteen ministers of the liberal churches of America have, in "*Humanist Sermons*", explained their attitude towards old religions and formulated what they consider to be the best religion for the age.

There are eighteen sermons in the book and also a preface which is written by the editor. The sermons are on the following subjects:—

(1) Religion: A survey and forecast. (2) Humanism and History. (3) The Faith of Humanism. (4) Theism and Humanism. (5) Christianity and Humanism. (6) Modernism and Humanism. (7) Unitarianism and Humanism. (8) The Universe of Humanism. (9) The Architecture of Humanism. (10) Change and Decay in Religion. (11) The Spiritual Value of the Ethical Life. (12) The Unity of the Spiritual Life. (13) Humanism and Inner Life. (14) The Unshared Life. (15) Humanism and God within. (16) Just being Human. (17) Humanism—Religion in the Making. (18) The Humanistic Religious Ideal.

The writers are not atheists and the sermons are written from scientific,—but non-theistic,—standpoint. They are clearly, powerfully, and brilliantly written and should be carefully studied.

SUMMARY

We give below a summary of the Humanistic religion. In the preface the editor has given a summary of the Religion of Humanism. It has been stated both negatively and positively. (1) "Negatively stated, Humanism is not Materialism. Materialism is the doctrine that 'the happenings of nature are to be explained in terms of the locomotion of material.' It is properly contrasted with Animism. It is mechanistic, not spiritistic. Humanism holds the organic, not the mechanistic view of life. (2) Humanism is not Positivism. Positivism as a religion is an artificial system which substitutes the 'worship of Humanity' for the 'worship of God', the 'immortality of influence' for the 'immortality of the soul'. Humanism on the other hand, holds that the 'Humanity' of Positivism is an abstraction having no concrete

counterpart in objective reality, and most influence far from being immortal is highly transitory. To Humanism "worship" means reverential attitude towards all that is wonderful in persons—and throughout all of life a wistful, hopeful expectant attitude of mind; not abject homage to either "Humanity" or "God" (3) Humanism is not rationalism. "Reason" is Rationalism's God. Humanism finds neither absolute Reason nor "reason" as a faculty of the mind. But it finds intelligence as a function of organism in various stages of development. Humanism's dependence is on intelligence enriched by the experience of the years. Rationalism is dogmatic; Humanism is experimental. (4) Humanism is not Atheism. Atheism is properly a *denial* of God. It is not properly used as a denial of a personal transcendent God. It is not properly used to describe monistic and immanent views of God. If and when the Humanists deny the existence of a personal transcendent God, they are not Atheists any more than was Spinoza or Emerson. But as a matter of fact, the Humanist attitude towards the idea of God is *not that of denial* at all, it is that of *inquiry*. The Humanist is questful, but if the quest be found fruitless he will still have his basic religion intact viz., the human effort to live an abundant life.

While the foregoing theories *as such* are not to be identified with Humanism *as such*, it should nevertheless be clearly understood that a Humanist might hold more or less tentatively any one of these theories, just as he might so hold any one of many theological theories." (pp vi—viii).

"Positively stated: (i) Humanism is the conviction that human life is of supreme worth; and consequently must be treated, as an end not as a means. This is the basal article of the faith of Humanism. From this basic conviction several significant consequences follow:

(i) Man is not to be treated as a means "to the glory of God." According to orthodox theologies the glory of God is primary; man is secondary. The result is that today in most religious circles man is thought of as only an instrument in the hands of God. Humanism, on the other hand, holds to man's nature and essential worth.

(2) Man is not to be treated as a means to cosmic-ends. Whatever purposes, if any, the cosmos is working out, man is not to be regarded as a means for their realization. If the cosmos moves toward some far off distant event, it is to be hoped that man's self-realization, man's expansion, man's enrichment

* *Humanist Sermons*. Edited by Curtis, W. Reese. Published by the Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago. p.p XVIII+262, 8vo. Price 2.50 dollars.

and ennoblement will contribute somewhat to that event."

(3) "Man is not to be treated as a means to a moral order. Morals grow out of human situations and are binding in virtue of their human meaning. Morals are means to human ends not ends in themselves. Moral law, like natural law, is a descriptive term, not an objective entity. The sense of ought, the feeling of responsibility and the like, are products and instruments of the emotional life of man, not authorities to be imposed upon man."

(4) "Man is not to be treated as a means to a world order. Economic, political and social matters are means to the ends of human life, not human life means to their ends. Governments, all social and economic and political arrangements whatsoever are to be tested by their contribution to human life and are to stand or fall by the verdict." It must be constantly re-examined and altered or obliterated on the basis of its ministry to human needs."

(5) Moreover, a man is not to be treated as a means to *any other man*. Mutuality no doubt plays its part, but mutuality is itself a means to personal values."

(ii) "Humanism is the effort to understand human experience by means of human inquiry. The numerous explanations of human experience fall under some one of perhaps four general designations. Revelation, Intuition, Speculation, and Investigation.

(1) Strange enough most races and practically all religions, baffled by the mysterious meandering of life, have regarded revelations of one sort or another as the only possible way of understanding human experience. Oracles, institutions, Priests, books, great souls like Jesus, have been regarded as sources of divine revelation. But modern minded people no longer take seriously the claims of supernatural revelations."

(2) "However intuition may be regarded, whatever validity may accompany its insight, whatever may be the ground of its functioning, whatever reality it may hold upon, it is the human spirit that intuit. All the elements of intuition are human elements. Its insights are to be trusted only when based upon human experience and checked by the verified findings of human science."

(3) "It is likewise with speculation, which is a functioning of the mind of man. Speculation is trustworthy only when premised upon facts blasted from the quarry of reality by the power of human investigation."

"All theologies and philosophies are the products of human speculation, and are to be evaluated as such. Theologies and philosophies are subordinate to human life, not human life, subordinate to them."

(4) "The investigation of facts, the holding tentatively of hypothesis drawn from the facts, the verification of findings the re-vamping of theories, the endless threading of the maze of life, is the modern, the scientific, the Humanistic way to the understanding of human experience.

In fact, all the ways are human ways. Even the non-humanistic theory of supernatural revelation is itself the product of the human mind."

(iii) "Humanism is the effort to enrich human experience to the utmost capacity of man and the utmost limits of the environing conditions" pp. viii-xiii).

One minister's definition of Religion is significant. He (John H. Dietrich) writes:—

"Cardinal Newman in his *Grammar of Assent* says: 'By religion I mean the knowledge of God and of our duties towards him.' This is Theism. It is putting first a study of God and the necessity of performing our duties towards him. By changing a couple of words in that definition, I can tell you my conception of Humanism. Let me put it in this way. 'By religion I mean the knowledge of man and our duties towards him.' It does not deny the right to believe in God and learn what you can about that which we designate as God, but it places faith in man, a knowledge of man and our duties towards one another first. It is principally a shifting of emphasis in religion from God to man" p. 96.

Another writer (John Haynes Holmer) says—"Religion, in the last analysis, from the standpoint alike of origin and character, may be defined as man's reaction upon the Universe, upon the infinite and eternal to which his eyes first open on the earth" p. 16. He further says—our desire is the desire of the poet, to be "at one with the perfect whole" (p.17). In the concluding section he writes—

"There will be no gods in the future—no Jehovah, Jove or Lord"—but to quote the words of Charles W. Eliot, in his 'The Religion of the Future' "one omnipresent, eternal energy informing and inspiring the whole creation at every instant of time and thought the infinite spaces" (p.19).

On old religions we find the following remarks—

"The religious beliefs of the past with their infallible books, creedal tests, other world guarantees, the uniqueness of their Great Man, and their believe or be damned only led man into a *cul-de-sac*. They shackled the winged wheels of progress. They desecrated human values." (p.140). "Man tried to despise the world life and the world phenomena about him, feeling that less his attention was distracted by world affairs, the more receptive he would be to god's influences." (58).

"We have sought refuge too frequently in other worldliness, seeking compensation for the hardships and failures of this life in the dreams of another life that has its existence only in our imagination. We must brush aside all these things which have defeated the human purpose and consciously set as our goal the establishment of an order of life which will give to all of the children of men as full satisfaction as is humanly possible. The concern of the religion of the future will be with human value. The enrichment of character, of personality, the creation of beauty, the discovery of truth" (pp. 74-75).

One writer (Sidney R. Robins) contrasts thus the new ideal with the old:—

"The conscience of today is challenging the moral ideal current in the past of religion. It wants positive virtue instead of negative. It loves humane sinners more than inhuman saints. It finds old religion insufficiently interested in making beautiful and happy our common life on earth." "Our emotional life is straining against the strait-jacket in which it has been confined in religion. Religious emotion used to be supposed to begin in loving God. But how many youths are there today who naturally and spontaneously speak to one another about 'love of God'? It is as if our deeper emotions had been bound in a strait-jacket, until today they are breaking forth into free forms of expression" (p. 176.)

He then eloquently continues:—

"The unselfish emotions of which all men are spontaneously conscious today are love for one another; love for truth; a deep love for nature, a sense of awe and sublimity in the stars and of beauty in the flowers; an impact of mystery and a haze investing the whole of the world; a reverence before all that is beautiful or noble, a passion for justice and a desire for a better world. These feelings it is perfectly natural for us to speak about. We sometimes feel perhaps that God may be the central heart and fire of all high emotions" (p. 177).

The Humanist expects no help or comfort from a kindly Providence. One writer (A. Wakefield Slater) boldly says—"Humanism will try you as by fire. It calls upon you to give up the comforting thought of the Fatherhood of God and offers you instead the inflexible impartiality of Immutability natural law. It reminds you that you are no favourite of a kindly providence" (p. 90-91).

Another Humanist (E. S. Hodgkin) writes "The humanist is not antitheistic; to call him an atheist is most unjust and betrays the limitations of the accuser. The humanist believes in God with his whole mind and heart and soul but it is increasingly difficult for him to write the word god with a capital letter. To him god is much more than the name of a person, as Washington, Caesar, Socrates and Jesus are names of persons. God is the reality that gives all life and phenomena its meaning and value—is the reality that stretched up to infinite heights above man and whenever we comprehend a truth or obey a noble impulse we lay hold on this reality; we rise to higher levels and experience an enlargement of moral and spiritual life."

"As to what is the ultimate form of this reality he feels that it is futile to speculate and folly to dogmatize. Here is the crux of the whole controversy.

"The theist also believes in god as the reality that gives significance and value to life and phenomena, but, what is of infinitely more importance to him religiously, he believes in god as a definite personality with whom he may have direct personal relations as Richard has with John, and from whom he may receive direct help and guidance.

"The humanist finds no omnipotent father and friend upon whom he may call in time of trouble and upon whom he may rely for help, but he finds thousands of ways in which a richer and more sustaining friendship and comradeship may be built up in our human society, and he feels that devotion to the building up of such a condition of brotherly love and goodwill is the fulfilment of the divine task that life puts upon him and is his religion. To invoke and awaken the latent love that lies unused in every human life is the most fruitful appeal he can make. Furthermore, he feels that constantly calling upon an omnipotent being to do his work for him brings confusion and delusion, and stands in the way of man's effectively building up the Kingdom of Heaven out of the materials that are available all about him, if he but give his attention to searching them out, mastering them and putting them to the highest use." pp, 57-58.

A MODERN BUDDHISM

This is a brief account of the Religion of Humanism. It is American Buddhism of the twentieth century. Had Gotama the Buddha been born now

in America, he would have been the leader of the Humanists. The Humanist says,—work out your own destiny. That was exactly the message of Gotama. There is another startling coincidence. Both Humanism and Buddhism have been formulated without any reference to God or the Absolute. There is one point of difference. Gotama laid emphasis on *Salvation*, whereas the emphasis of the Humanist is on self-development, self-expansion, whole life, full life. But in these 2500 years Gotama would have certainly revised his ideas.

DISRUPTION OF THE OLD

The sermons embodied in the book "have been used in the regular course of parish preaching" by Humanist Ministers. When there are ministers to preach such revolutionary sermons and when there are congregations to attend to them, it means that popular religions are in the process of disruption.

The people in every country are day by day losing faith in established religions. "In England the "Nation" and the "Daily News" conducted an inquiry among their readers on the question of religion. Of the "Nation's" readers, 60 percent expressed disbelief in a personal God, 70 percent denied the divinity of Christ, 71 percent denied the inspiration of the Bible and 48 percent went so far as to say that they did not believe in Christianity in any form. The "Daily News" with its much more popular constituency, showed a higher ratio of believers and even among its readers 25 percent declared that they did not believe in Christianity in any form" (p.11).

Bishop Edgar Blake reports that Protestantism is in a weaker condition now, than it has been in two centuries. Recently there were 781,000 withdrawals from membership in the Protestant Churches of Germany. In a certain German city of 300,000 Protestants on a particular recent Sunday only 2,248 were present in the Church. The Greek Catholic Church is even worse off than Protestantism. The gradual disintegration of Roman Catholicism is familiar to all who have studied the last hundred years of European history" (p. 151) "One Turkish newspaper recently said that "no thinking Turk can be a Moslem today" p. 151."

This disbelief is due mainly to the inherent weakness of popular religions. In a scientific age, unscientific religions cannot be believed in by the advanced section of the community. Let us now briefly consider the main features of these religions.

(a)

Prayers are offered for rain, recovery from disease, divine intervention during an epidemic, victory in war, and defeat of the enemy and the like. Such prayers are considered puerile by a large and intelligent class of people.

(b)

The beginning of religion is in fear. The primitive man found himself in an unfriendly environment and imagined himself to be surrounded by evil spirits. He tried various means to propitiate these spirits. This is the beginning of sacrifice. At a later stage the spirits were considered to be friendly though very powerful. Even at that stage the religion was an affair of "give and take." Some

thing was to be offered to the spirits or gods and they would, in return, confer benefits on men. All the principal religions of the world, Buddhism excepted, are sacrificial.

Vedic and popular Hinduism is sacrificial; So is Judaism. Primitive Christianity was sacrificial and modern Christianity admits the utility of sacrifice—Jesus offered himself as sacrifice for the whole world. Mohamedanism has accepted from Judaism the sacrificial rites. But the modern mind revolts against such an idea and sacrifice is considered to be a relic of barbarism. Sacrifice may be done away with but fear cannot be easily got rid of. Explicitly or implicitly, almost all the religions are permeated by the fear of God or gods. To be 'god-fearing' is considered to be the highest of virtues.

(c)

All the religions of the world, with the exception of Buddhism and Vedantism consider man to be a tool in the hand of God. God is the Absolute King and man his subject; God is the Lord and man his slave. The world has been converted into a vast "Slave-Yard". God is breeding slaves for his own glory; he wants their services, allegiance and worship. This is the worst type of Imperialism. This idea is revolting. We would rather be a Prometheus than be a willing slave to the Spiritual Autocrat.

(D)

All missionary religions of the world with the single exception of Buddhism have been characterised by intolerance. If we use popular words in popular sense, we may say, *the more religious, the more intolerant*. Men have been killed simply for creeds. We know, rivers of blood have flowed. In India also, we see religious riots and the shedding of blood. A large section of intelligent men lay all these evils at the door of religion.

(e)

Churches are being deserted and congregational worship is being liked less and less. And why? The principal reason is that the church service is ineffective. Repetition of a set form of prayer is no prayer at all. Neither does the worshipper nor God respond to a formula. Extempore prayer is, in the majority of cases, a formal prayer. Glorification of God in a church does not appeal to 95 percent of the congregation. Sermons are generally rapid. The whole proceeding from the beginning to the end is, in many cases, mechanical and tedious. Even men having a religious turn of mind often find it intolerable. Under the circumstances it is but natural that the church service should be discredited. In Western countries religion means principally church service. When congregational worship is being discredited, people are losing faith in Religion itself.

OUR VIEWS

The world is confronted with serious problems. What is to be done now? Humanists have given us an idea of what they call Religion. James has divided men into two classes, viz., the *tough-minded* and the *soft-minded*. The Humanist Religion will appeal to the 'tough-minded.' This religion is practical and produces visible results.

It knows of no super-sensuous world. But this religion will not satisfy the 'soft-minded.' Here we may formulate our views of religion. It may appeal to the "soft-minded" of advanced type.

(a)

God in our religion is not an autocratic ruler of the universe. He is to us Loving Father, Loving Mother and Loving Friend. He is near to us; He is nearer than all; He is nearer than the nearest. Even the *idea "near and nearer" makes him distant*. Only an external object can be near and nearer. But he is the eye of our eye; the mind of our mind, the self of our self. He is the warp and woof of our self. He is our inner self. Our life is certainly ours, my life is mine and your life yours. But all our lives are also elements in the Life of the Absolute. The Absolute incorporates our lives in his Life, and enriches himself thereby; we do not know how our finite lives are transmitted in his Life; but this we know that He lives not only his own life and we are our own lives, He lives also in us and we live in Him. Had it been possible for Him to eliminate our lives, his life would have been poorer. In fact, the Absolute without content and parts without the whole are both logical fictions. The Absolute Self, though it has a Centre of its own, lives also in the finite selves and the finite selves though each has a centre of its own, live in the Absolute Self.

WORSHIP

Divine worship does not mean to us an abject homage to an autocrat; it is not slavery consecrated; it is not a slave's psalm sung in honour of his Lord. Divine worship means the approach of the part to the whole and the union of the part with the whole; it is the approach of a loving son to his Father and Mother; it is the loving approach of the Lover to his Beloved. Worship means Divine companionship and participation in the Life of the Absolute.

Religion has been compared by some to a Hospital where the Divine Healer cures spiritual diseases. He is, no doubt, our Physician but this aspect of life does not appeal to all. To many religion is a Flower-garden. We enjoy Him as we enjoy fragrant and beautiful flowers. Our God is God of Beauty.

Dependence on God, calm and reverential contemplation of his nature, participation in his life, serving and loving the world as He himself does—these constitute true Divine worship.

OTHER SELVES

The relation between man and man is very intimate. All men are inter-related; they form parts of one organic whole. The expansion of a self means incorporating other selves into his own self. A man can be great only when other men find a niche in his heart. This is done by love and sympathy, my life is mine and yours is yours; but my life is enriched by yours and yours by mine. Every life is unique but this uniqueness does not mean exclusiveness. The life of a solitary is narrow and void. Life cannot grow except in society. Exclusiveness means death.

OTHER RELIGION.

Our attitude towards other religions is liberal and sympathetic. Religion is a relation between

man and his God or gods. Culture of different men is different. All men are not on the same level of culture. Religion will necessarily differ according to culture. Every man will try to express his relation to his God or gods in his own way. A child's God is always anthropomorphic; his God is a magnified man; but his father's God may be super-personal. The father may coerce but he cannot thrust his own religion on his child. It is psychologically impossible. When we find different religions in the same family, can we expect one ideal and one religion throughout the world? When we find a person worshipping in a particular way, we should try to enter into the spirit of the worshipper and to think his thoughts with his mind. It may be, we shall then be able to understand him and sympathise with him. The proper attitude is that of sympathy. In this respect the missionary religions are the greatest sinners. They have coined many opprobrious epithets for other religions. Totemism, Fetishism, idolatry are all terms of reproach. It should be pointed out that a man cannot worship a tree as tree or a stone as stone. There comes first the idea of God, or gods or spirits having certain attributes. Then comes the idea of a medium through which they are supposed to act. The idea may be very crude; but it is not worship of stocks, stones or idols. Had that been the case, even then that would not have

been sin or vice or crime. We are to tolerate even the so-called image-worship and every form of worship. In religious matters, we are to give full liberty and show unlimited toleration. The only limit that is to be set is that it may not cause practical inconvenience to other people.

TRUTHS

Truth is no monopoly of a particular religion. We are to accept truths from all sources. By 'all sources' we mean not only religious scriptures but also the sources which religious men call 'profane'. It includes Philosophy, Science and Humanities and all other sources.

These are some of the principles which cultured men will eventually accept and act upon. Humanism has rightly interpreted the active side of religion and we accept it. But that active side has been over-emphasized. Humanism has been born in a country which is always astir. Men, there, are ever restless and are madly in pursuit of they know not what. So it is but natural that Humanism should be expressed in terms of work and activity. But man is not simply a machine of activities; he has other aspects as well. Introspection and moments of calm contemplation are as much necessary as work and activity.

Maheś Chandra Ghosh

MY PART

(From the Bengali of Rabindranath Tagore)

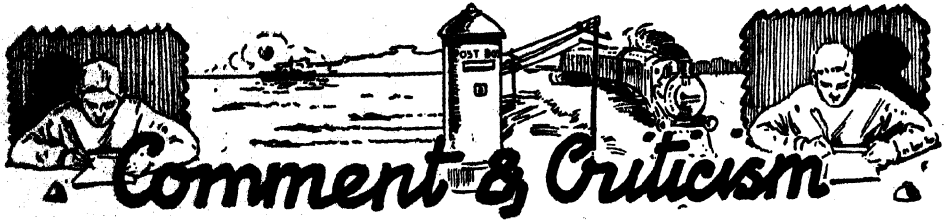
By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

The flowers that the evening star
offered at thy feet,
I washed with my tears.

At parting the rays of the pale sun
Recorded the Tale of the day's travel
In letters of gold;
I set it to tune on the pretence
That the song was my own.

Mounted on the golden chariot of light
Descended the night;
Filling with its darkness
I held out my heart.

Under the speechless sea in words that are lost
In the large silence that fills the Universe,
The current of my voice mingles
In silent tumult.



[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.]

Dr. Radhakrishnan's Indian Philosophy

In the December number of the *Modern Review* (page 685, col. 2) Babu Nandalal Sinha has passed some remarks on Dr. Radhakrishnan's *Indian Philosophy*, vol. I. The Doctor is certainly 'learned' and his exposition of the theory of Nirvana is certainly 'scholarly'. These very facts will tempt many students to read the book and accept it as a reliable guide. But the book is full of mistakes which may lead the student astray. The mistakes are too many to be pointed out; we can point out but a few of them and also some omissions for the guidance of readers.

(1)

Dr. Radhakrishnan writes in one place (i. 544)—
"The Avatāra are generally limited manifestations of the Supreme, though the Bhāgavata makes an exception in favour of Kṛṣṇa, and makes him a full manifestation, Kṛṣṇastu Bhagavān Svayam."
The reference of the quotation is not given. It occurs in Bhāgavata 1. 3. 28. What the author says about the Bhāgavata is not strictly true. There are at least four passages where Kṛṣṇa is declared to be a partial incarnation. Here are the passages:—

(i) ii 7. 26. Here the incarnation is called *Kalayā* (कलया). The word *Kala* (कला) means 'part'.

(ii) X. 1. 2. The word used to denote the nature of incarnation is "*amsena*" (=in part).

(3) X. 2. 16, where the nature of incarnation is denoted by the word *amsabhāgena* (अंशभागेन) which means "in part".

(4) X. 33. 26, where the word *amsena* is used to denote the nature of incarnation. (Vide X. 1. 2. cited above)

(2)

In one place he writes:

"The Gita is emphatic that no side of conscious life can be excluded. The several aspects reach their fulfilment in the integral divine life. God himself is sat, cit, and ānanda, reality, truth and bliss." 1. 553.

The author means to say that according to the Gita God is sat, cit and ānanda. The fact is

(i) The word 'cit' is not used in the Gita.

(ii) The word 'ānanda' also is not found in the Gita.

(iii) In one place Brahman is called "*Om tat sat*" (xvii: 23). Here Brahman is called *sat* (the existent, reality).

In one place (IX. 19) God is called both *sat* (=Being) and *asat* (Non-being). In a third place God is declared to be "*na sat* (neither being) and *na asat* (nor non-being) XIII. 12; (in some editions XIII. 13.)

There is no other passage where the word '*sat*' is used with reference to Brahman. So our author's assertion is wrong.

He has here translated the word '*cit*' by 'truth'. It is certainly wrong; the word means "*consciousness*;" as he says elsewhere (i. 173).

(3)

In another place (i. 173) this idea is repeated. In describing Brahman of the Upanishads he writes:— "The ultimate reality is described as sat, cit and ānanda."

Nowhere in the classical Upanishads do we find the combination of these three attributes.

(4)

Referring to the *Asranas* in the age of the Upanishads, our author writes:—

"The four *asranas* of the *Brahmacharin* or student, *grhastha* or house-holder, *vānaprastha* or anchorite and *sannyāsi* or wandering mendicant are mentioned as representing the different steps by which man gradually purifies himself from all earthly taint and becomes fit for his spiritual home" (i. 220.)

Nowhere in the classical Upanishads are the four *asranas* mentioned.

(5)

The author says—

"The Upanishads prescribe three stages in the growth of religious consciousness, viz., *śravaṇa*, which literally means listening, *manana* or reflection, and *nididhyāsana* or contemplative meditation" (p. i. 230).

The references are to *Bṛh. Up.* ii. 4. 5; iv. 5. 6. In no Upanishads,—neither in *Bṛihadaranyaka Up.* or any other classical Upanishads do we find these three stages described. What is found in the *Bṛ. Up.* is:—

आत्मा वा अरे द्रष्टव्यः

श्रोतव्यो मन्तव्यो

निदिध्यासितव्यः ।

It means:—"Verily the Self is to be seen, is to be heard, is to be thought on, is to be meditated on."

There in the text we find four verbs from which may be formed four nouns, *Darsana* (seeing), *Śravaṇa* (hearing), *Manana* (thinking) and *Nididhyāsana* (meditating deeply). In later times the last three have been considered as means of religious growth. But the classical Upanishads know nothing of it.

(6)

In this connection he writes in a footnote—

"Udayana in his *Kusumāñjali* i.3. refers to them under the names of āgama or scripture, anumana or inference and dhyāna or meditation" (I. 230.)

A mistake has been committed here. What Udayana himself says is that 'logical discussions' (न्यायचर्चा, *nyāya-carcā*) may be called the contemplation (मनन, *Manana*) of God and this is worship (उपासना) when it follows 'hearing' (श्रवण) " i. 3.

To support his position Udayana quotes two passages, —one from Brihad. Up. (श्रोतव्यो मन्तव्यः) and another from Smṛiti in which occur the three words—*āgama*, *anumāna* and *dhyāna*. This *Smṛiti* passage is attributed by our author to Udayana

(7)

Referring to Brahman of the Upanishads he writes:—

"He is said to be the supreme person (*Puruṣot-ma*)" i. 233.

Nowhere in the Vedic literature (including the assical Upanishads) is Brahman called *Puruṣot-ma*.

(8)

In one place he writes: "Only the love of the eternal is supreme love, which is its own reward, for God is love" i. 214.

The reference is to the word '*Kāmāyatana*' मायतन Brh. Up. iii. 9. 11.

The word '*Kāmāyatana*' means one whose abode is desire (*kāma*, काम). It refers to Brahman but to an entity whose presiding deity (deity) is women (*strīyah*).

(9)

Our author says that Kathopanishad quotes from Bhagavadgita (i. 142).

Why not say that it is the Gita that quotes from Kathopanishad and it is not the Upanishad that quotes from the Gita?

(10)

In one place the author writes:—"Contradictory trines of the nature of self are held by Buddha, Sankara, Kapila and Patanjali, who all trace their views to the Upanishads" (i. 162.) (*Italics* s).

Buddha never traced his views to the Upanishads.

(11)

In one place he writes:—

"In the manner of Buddha, Bhāradvāja protests against both worldly life and asceticism" (p. i. 216.)

The reference is to 'Mundaka Upanishad.' In this Upanishad a list is given of four human teachers, viz., (1) Atharvā, (2) his disciple Angira, (3) his disciple Bhāradvāja Satyavāha (also known as Bhāradvāja) and (4) his disciple Angirasa who expounded the Upanishad to Sarmaka.

Where is the special importance of Bhāradvāja? Moreover, there is no protesting "against both worldly life and asceticism" in this Upanishad.

(12)

In one place the author writes:—

"We cannot render a full report of the ineffable. Bāhva, when asked by king Vāskali to explain the nature of Brahman, kept silent, and when the king repeated his request, the sage broke out into the answer:—

"I tell it to you, but you do not understand it, santo 'yam ātmā: this Ātman is peaceful, quiet" (i. 178).

The reference is not given. Deussen has given the story in his *Philosophy of the Upanishads* (pp. 156–157).

The author has not quoted from this book. But Deussen delivered an address in 1893 before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. It was printed and reprinted in Bombay and also forms an appendix to his *Elements of Metaphysics* (pp. 319–337). From this book we quote the relevant portion:—

"The wise Bāhva, when asked by the king Vāskali to explain the Brahman, kept silence. And when the king repeated his request, the rishi broke out into the answer: 'I tell you, but you don't understand it; *Shānto 'yam ātmā*, this Ātma is silence' (p. 327).

Deussen does not say whence he has taken the story. It is given in Sankara's commentary on *Brahma Sūtras*, iii. 2.17. Deussen seems to have borrowed the story from Sankara and Dr. Radhakrishnan has quoted it almost verbatim from Deussen but without acknowledgment.

(13)

Our author quotes the following passage (1.174):

"The gods are in Indra; Indra is Father God, the Father God is in Brahman, but in what is Brahman?"

The reference that he gives is Brh. Up. iii. 6.1. It is not a translation of the text but is a summary. But even that summary is wrong. The original text means:—

"The worlds of gods are woven in the world of Indra; the worlds of Indra are woven in the world of Prajāpati, the worlds of Prajāpati are woven in the worlds of Brahman. But in what are the worlds of Brahman woven?"

In the text we have 'the worlds of Indra,' and not Indra; 'the worlds of Prajāpati' and not Prajāpati; 'the worlds of Brahman' and not Brahman. The translation of Prajāpati by Father God is unmeaning and misleading. The original meaning of the word is Lord (*pati*) of creatures (*prajā*).

(14)

In one place (i. 343) he writes *without any comment*:—

"According to the late traditions of Buddhism, a short time after Gautama's death... disputes arose among the followers of Buddha about certain matters of doctrine. To settle them a council was called together at Rajagṛha, near Magadha. When the whole order was assembled, Kāśyapa, the most learned of Buddha's disciples, was asked to recite the metaphysical views set forth in *Abhidhammapitaka*. Upali, the oldest disciple of Buddha then living, was called upon to repeat the laws and rules of discipline which are found in the *Vinayapitaka*. Lastly, Ānanda, Buddha's favourite disciple, was asked to repeat the *Suttapitaka* containing the stories and parables told by Buddha during his preaching tour" (i. 343).

The author apparently asks us to accept this account as true. He is here uncritical. The three *Pitakas* were then non-existent. *Abhidhammapitaka* contains a book called *Kaṭṭhavaṭṭhu*. According to Buddhaghosha it was composed by Tissa, son of Moggallāna, 218 years after Buddha's death" (At the salin. 6, 10). Rhys Davids says: "It was written (or rather put together, for books were not then written) by Tissa, the son of Moggallāna about the year 250 B. C.* at the Court of Asoka" (p. 64, Buddhism, American Lectures). Now a book of *Abhidhammapitaka* was composed in the third century B. C. How could a man of the 5th century B.C. recite a book composed in the 3rd century B.C.? Again Upali is said to have recited the *Vinayapitakam*. Now this book contains an account of the council of Vesālī which met a century after the death of Buddha (Vinaya, Culla Vagga XII. 1). How could a man of the 5th century B.C. recite a book a part of which was composed in the 4th century B. C. or even later? The fact is that the *Pitakas* were not recited at all at the Council of Rajagṛha. What was recited there is given in the *Vinaya-pitaka* (Culla Vagga, XI).

(15)

After commenting on the opinions of Mrs. Rhys Davids (?) and Oldenberg, our author writes:—

Dahlke writes:—"Only in Buddhism does the conception 'freedom from pain' remain purely a negative thing, and not a positive in disguise—heavenly bliss" (p. i. 452).

Then our author remarks: "According to these writers nirvana is the night of nothingness, darkness where all light is extinguished" (p. i. 452).

Dr. Radhakrishnan has misunderstood the opinion of Dahlke. The conception of "the freedom from pain" may be negative, yet it does not imply that *Nirvana* is nothingness. In fact according to Dahlke *Nirvana* is not total annihilation. To show this a few sentences may be quoted from the same book of Dahlke from which Dr. Radhakrishnan has quoted that sentence.

"*Nibbana* is simply sorrow destroyed. This destruction, however, is not a real destruction; it is nothing but sorrow looked at from another point of view" (Buddhist Essays, p. 87).

"With *Nibbana*, the true condition of eternal rest and changeless, birthless safety is eternally attained. *Nibbana*, *Nibbana*, so they say, friend Sariputta, but what friend, is that *Nibbana*?" The destruction of greed, the destruction of hate, the destruction

of illusion:—this O friend, is what is called *Nibbana*" (pp. 85-86.)

So Dahlke's description of *Nibbana*, though negative is not annihilation.

(16)

The author writes in one place (i. 344):—

"The first *Suttapitaka* has five divisions, called *Nikāyas*. The first four of these consist of suttas or lectures by Buddha."

All the suttas are not by Buddha. By the first four *Nikāyas* the author means (i) *Dīgha* (ii) *Majjhima* (iii) *Samyutta* and (iv) *Anguttara*. In the *Dīgha Nikāya*, there are three Lectures (*Suttantas*) which were not given by Buddha. In Lecture No. 10 (*Subha Suttanta*) the speaker is Ānanda. The Lecture No. 23 is a dialogue between Kumar Kassapa and Pāyāsa. It relates events that took place after Buddha's death. The Lecture No. 34 was given by Sariputta. Besides these there is the *Mahāparinibbana Suttanta* (the book of Great Decease) which is partly historical and describes some events that happened after Buddha's death.

In the *Majjhima Nikāya* there are at least nine suttas in which the speaker is not Buddha. These are suttas Nos. 43, 69, 76, 84, 94, 97, 103, 124 and 127.

In the *Samyutta* and *Anguttara Nikāyas*, there are over a hundred chapters in which the lecturer was not Buddha. The references are too numerous to be given.

(17)

On page 417, he quotes a stanza ("Long to the watcher is the night," etc.) from Oldenberg and following him calls it "a Buddhist Proverb." It is really the 60th verse of *Dhammapada*.

(18)

The following passage also seems to have been taken from a second-hand source:—

"Suffer it to be so, O Arhat you are now feeling results of your karma that might have cost you centuries of suffering in purgatory" (1440.)

The reference is not given; but the passage occurs in *Majjhima Nikāya* ii. 104 (*Angulimāla Sutta*). The text contains the word '*Brahmana*,' which is rendered in the author's quotation by the word "O Arhat".

The translation is wrong and may lead to wrong theological conclusions.

(19)

The author has used many Pali and Sanskrit words without understanding their meaning.

(1) He thinks the Sanskrit and Pali synonym for 'Cause' is *Samudāya* (समुदाय) (p. 362). The proper word is *Samudaya* (समुदय). The word *समुदाय* means collection, multitude, mass, whole, etc.

(2) According to him *Jarā* (जरा) means "gro with" (1. 370), whereas its meaning is decay.

(3) He translates the Pali *Mudita* (मुदिता) by cheerfulness and *Upekkhā* (उपेक्षा, Sanskrit उपेक्षा) by impartiality (p. 1. 425). The first word means

* Mrs. Rhys Davids' date is "approximately B. C. 246." Page XXXI, Points of Controversy

'Sympathy' for a person when he is happy; the second word means "equanimity".

(4) The second term of "Paticca-Samuppāda" is sankhārā (Sanskrit-Sanskāra संस्कार). Our author explains it to mean "misconceptions" (1. 411.) It is not correct. The word has been variously interpreted: dimly conscious elements, capacity of impressions or predisposition (Dictionary, Rhys Davids and Stede); Synergies (Mrs. Rh. D.), process or activity (Grimm), conformations (Oldenberg), plastic forces (Chalmers). The word means a kind of activity but never mis-directed activity. The author might have been thinking of Avidya and Illusion and this most probably has misled him.

(5) In describing Nirvana he uses two words Upādhisesa (उपादिशेष) and anupādhisesa (अनुपादिशेष) (p. 447.) The correct words are Upādhisesa (उपादिशेष) and anupādhisesa (अनुपादिशेष). Dhi (धि) for di (दि) makes a great difference in meaning.

(6) In one quotation from Brih. Up. (IV. 3. 32), he writes Yesū (येसु) twice and also yeso (येसो) twice (p. 1. 178, footnote). The correct words are esha (एषा) and esho.

(7) In one place (i. 263) he quotes the following sentence from Mundaka Up. iii. 2. 4 :-

"This Atman cannot be attained by one devoid of strength, or by excitement, or by tapas or by linga."

Then he remarks :- "Linga, as we shall see, is a technical term of Nyāya logic, the binding link, the middle term of inference" (1. 263). The author bases his conclusion on the meaning of the word "linga." But strange to say, the Sanskrit text has not "linga" (लिङ्ग) but "a-linga", (अलिङ्ग), which has nothing to do with any technical word of Nyāya.

(20)

The book is full of wrong references.

(1) Page 1. 226. "when a man finds peace .. himself wise" is said to be quoted from Brihdāran-

yaka Upanishad IV. 2. 4. But it is not there. The passage is in Taittiriya Up. ii. 7.

(2) Page i. 253. Katha iii. 3 (Those who make a gift...etc. should be 1. 3.

(3) Page i. 253. Katha 16. 14 (The freed man etc.) should be Katha VI-14, Katha 16. 14 is non-existent.

(4) Page i. 253.

"A third path leading to the joyless regions enveloped in darkness is also mentioned."

The reference is to Br. U. IV. 11; but the section IV. 11 is non-existent; it may refer to IV. 4. 11.

This passage is :-

"There are worlds called Ananda अनन्दा covered with blind darkness. People who have not knowledge and are not awakened go to them after death." The word "Ananda" (अनन्दा) may mean (joyless). These worlds can never be identified with the third path mentioned in Ch. V. 10. 8. or the condition of those who become insects or creeping reptiles, as mentioned in Br. U. VI. 2. 16.

The words "third path" do not occur in Br. Up.

(5) Page 1. 254. Brh. Up. IV. 1. 6 and Prasna 1.9. 16 (It is sometimes said etc).

The references are altogether wrong. Prasna 1. 9. 16 is non-existent.

(6) P. i. 124.

"The Satapatha Brahmana of sacrifice" The author's reference is to XIX. 3. 9 which is non-existent. It may refer to V. 4. 5.1 and XIV. 1. 1. 16 and also V. 2. 3. 6.

(7) P. 144.

"How many gods are there really, O Yajnavalkya? "One" he said.

It is said to be in Brh. Up. IX. 1 which section is non-existent. But it is in iii. 9. 1 of Br. Up.

Page 171. He writes -

"Even this Brahmā comes from Brahman—He is the source of Brahman". The reference is to Mundaka, iii. 13.3, which section is non-existent. But the word "Brahmayonim" occurs in Mundaka iii. 1. 3.

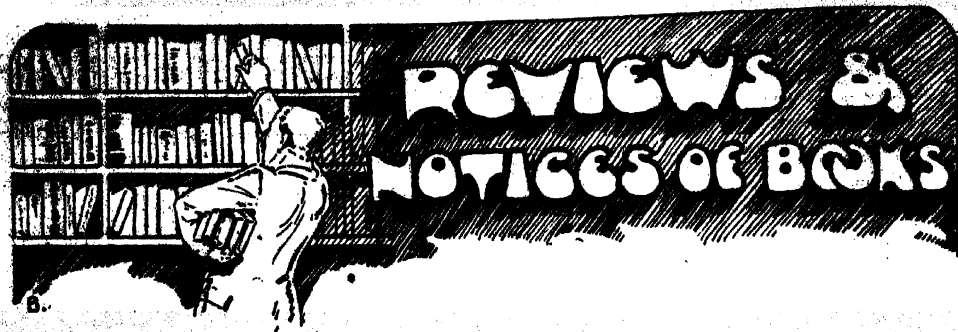
So Dr. Radhakrishnan's book should be read with very great caution.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH

INDIAN RIVERS

Give me a Bengal river three miles wide,
With blue sails and orange sails and red;
A Kashmir waterway with lotuses,
Grey willows, blue kingfishers, Turkish fez;
Give me the Punjab Ravi with her bygone
Mogul splendours splendid still in stone,
And holy Ganges with devotee,
Bather and burner, fumbling to be free.
Give these, O Memory, and I shall be
Richer than all rivers make the sea.

M. G.



[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, *AL. R.*]

ENGLISH

LA DIVINA COMEDIA OR THE DIVINE VISION OF DANTE ALIGHIERI IN ITALIAN AND ENGLISH: *The Italian Text Edited by Mario Casella of the University of Florence with the English Version of H. F. Cary and 42 Illustrations after the Drawings by Sandro Botticelli.*

The Nonesuch Press, London, 1928: pp. 325, fol. Price 6 guineas net.

If a justification were necessary to speak, at any time, of Dante the publication of this superb edition of his Divine Comedy certainly furnishes a reason cogent enough to satisfy the most thorough-going stickler for topical interest. The Nonesuch Press deserves all our gratitude for presenting a great classic in a form worthy of it. There are few poets who would survive such a consecration, and Dante is among these rare and select few. But it will be less of his poetry than of the garb in which it comes to us that we shall have more to say on this occasion. If any one scents in this a bibliophil's amusing hobby, we shall only reply that there are plenty of Dantes to buy for a crown and put into the pocket, that one yearns, at times, to offer a sacrifice, be it ever so sordid a thing as six guineas, to the author he loves and honours, and that the mood of awe which Dante in full dress inspires in us is the mood in which we should always approach him; he invites no familiarities.

When in 1926, the Nonesuch Press announced that they were bringing out an edition of Dante, bibliophil circles naturally expected a remarkable venture, but certainly not what they eventually got. Mr. Francis Meynell's is a remarkable achievement. He has produced a classic of book-production which will compare not unfavourably with the best work of any age and any country. With his usual sense of typographical fitness, he has selected Blado's italics and Poliphilus Roman capitals, two of the loveliest of early Italian founts for the body type of the book. The paper is the

softest Van Gelder with the characteristic "show-through". There are no ornaments with the exception of some unostentatious *fleurons*, and—another example of their sense of fitness of things—the Nonesuch Press has had the volume clothed in a severely simple stained parchment binding. The whole effect is antique, chaste, beautiful. But for the plates in colliotype one would have found it easy to indulge in the pleasant delusion that he was holding in his hands a marvellously fresh copy of an incunabula.

It is the aim of the Nonesuch Press to produce worthy editions of classics for collectors who read their books. They have, accordingly, been at great pains to obtain the best possible text of Dante. Dante text, as everybody knows, bristles with difficulties. Labours of generations of devoted scholars have not yet borne fruit in absolute certainty. The text settled by Professor Casella of Florence and published in 1923 on the occasion of the sixth centenary of Dante's death, is considered to be the most authoritative yet issued, and it has been adopted for this edition. Professor Casella has not only permitted the use of his text, but revised and gone over it afresh for the Nonesuch edition, as the original Italian edition contained many errors. The selection of an English version, too, was not easy. After considering a large number of translations, the Nonesuch Press, as they say, came to the unenthusiastic conclusion that Cary's version was the one open to fewest objections, and this they have accordingly printed side by side with the Italian text. This translation was first published in 1814.

The most remarkable feature of this edition are perhaps the illustrations. Botticelli's drawings for the Divine Comedy have often been reproduced, but never in their proper place, that is to say, with Dante's text. This the Nonesuch Press have now attempted. Forty-two illustrations, most of them double-page, reproduced from the originals in Berlin and Rome and printed by Daniel Jacomet in colliotype adorn the volume. Some of these drawings were never finished by Botticelli, and

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

they all belong to the later mystical phase of his life, in which he fell more and more under the influence of the teachings of Savonarola. The creator of Primavera, the devoted pagan of the Birth of Venus, is already far behind, almost forgotten. The history of Sandro's soul is the reflection of the history of Florence. Disenchantment has fallen upon the gay city of Lorenzo, the Magnificent: the joy of life, the riotous blaze of colour, the movement, the bustle, the pageant, is gone; the squares which once echoed with the lewd songs of Lorenzo, now ring with comminations of Savonarola. To that gloomy spell Botticelli more and more succumbed as age stole upon him, and in his solitude he pored over the words of the stern and mournful poet of his city, and dreamed his visions over again. These drawings have something in them of the turbid eddies, something of the sulphurous fumes, of hell. Yet stop. This is not all. The pure draughtsman, the greatest European manipulator of the rhythmic line is still there, and as we turn over the pages, we pass from the fiery circles where tortured souls jostle, and toss, and pray to the sad regions where repentant souls atone, till at last, in the last drawing we see Dante and his Beatrice, under a refulgent heaven showering patines of gold, and high above, angels sing of beatitude.

N. C. C.

INDIA; By Pierre Loti. Translated from the French by George A. F. Inman. Edited by Robert Harborough Sherard with a plate in colour by Mortimer Menpes. T. Werner Laurie Ltd. London. Demy Octavo. 290 pages cloth-bound. Price 6 shillings net.

We have seldom seen such an excellent volume priced so low. This fact, combined with the exquisite fancy and colourful retrospection of the great French traveller-litterateur makes the book a highly attractive proposition to book-lovers.

Some things are translatable, some are not, for the grandeur or subtlety of literature depends much on the medium through which it is expressed. We were under the impression that the "mysterious pilgrim" of France could never find his own shape in England; but this translation has come as a welcome surprise. "But these great stones and ruins are always here to disturb my dream, and statues with mysterious faces haunt the place. The dimness increases and in the dusk the outlines of lonely Buddhas sitting and smiling in vacancy, are almost terrifying ... Believing myself quite alone, a sudden tremor ran through me when I saw a huge, black man, whose head was bent sideways and whose hands were on his hips, near by my side—a granite Buddha who had been there for two thousand years." The literary spirit of *L'Inde sans les Anglais* has been fully retained in the translation as can be seen from the above quotation. Pierre Loti is not all fancy and beautiful memories. The vividness with which he could call back dreadful scenes of human suffering make the account of his Indian tour especially valuable to us. He remembers clearly the starving children of the "land of famine" who come to us claspng tightly with both hands their hollow bellies, which resemble empty leather wine-bottles, so loosely do the folds of their skin hang down." With deadly frankness Pierre Loti records: "In

this land the forests are dead, the jungle is dead everything is dead."

Pierre Loti's memoirs of his Indian travels provide, thus, not only a picture of India that will delight all lovers of fine imagery and effective literary technic, but also valuable evidence given by one whose position is unique among tourists and writers.

A. C.
HINDU LAW AND CUSTOM: by Dr. Julius Jolly. Greater India Society Publication No. 2 Pp. XI-341+VII. Price Rs. 10-8.

The Greater India Society deserves sincere congratulations on its publishing activity. About the commencement of this year, it brought out its first book, Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East Vol. 1—Champa by Dr. R. C. Mazumdar and before the year is over, it has published the first authorised English translation of the well known work "Recht und Sitte" by J. Jolly. This famous German work, originally published in 1896, has since occupied a foremost place in the literature of this kind and has proved indispensable to workers in almost all fields of Indian antiquity. Unfortunately, its value has not yet been fully appreciated by the educated public of India, and this is mainly due to two reasons. In the first place, being written in German its contents were not easily accessible and secondly, it was regarded mainly as a work on Hindu law and its importance bearing on the study of ancient Indian culture and civilisation has been generally ignored. Of course, the first reason was not without its effect, for the second, for, if the book were generally accessible such erroneous notions could not have perpetuated for a long time. An English translation of the work was long overdue and the Greater India Society has done a real service by bringing it out. The value of the English translation is enhanced by the fact that it has not only been revised by the author, but brought up to date with the help of the latest researches on the subject and the entire credit of doing this belongs to Mr. Batakrisna Ghosh, a young Indologist and an ardent worker of the Greater India Society.

It would be a mere commonplace to expatiate at length either on the nature or on the merits of this famous work which is now regarded almost as a classic. It is a well known fact that the poverty of the materials for the political history of ancient India is more than compensated by the rich, varied and extensive literature on the life, manners and customs of its people the like of which is not to be found in any ancient country including Greece and Rome. A proper and careful study of this literature therefore is of inestimable value in any study of ancient Indian civilisation. But the volume and richness of materials creates a difficulty in their study, and a great deal of spade work was necessary before they could be converted into ready-made historical materials. A bewildering mass of information scattered in various texts of different ages and varying degrees of authenticity requires a scientific mind and ungrudging labour to have it put into shape and order, and this is the task which the great German scholar attempted as far back as 1896. It is needless to add that Dr. Jolly attained a degree of success which has evoked unanimous admiration from a grateful posterity. He laid down a system of chronology for the legal literature which in its main outline, is still accept-

ed by scholars in general although criticisms have been levelled at it from time to time. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of this portion of the work for students of Indian history. For, however valuable the data of a book or books might be for purposes of history, they are hardly of any value so long as we cannot associate them with a definite period of Indian history. The chronological classification of the legal literature was therefore the first step in the study, and Dr. Jolly's achievements in the direction alone entitle him to highest honours. But he has done much more. Having arrived at a workable chronology, he proceeded to collect the most important sociological data settled in the vast literature and subjected them to an intensive historical analysis. The very important results which he thus deduced throw significant light on various important aspects of ancient Indian life and render them of the highest importance in the study of ancient Indian history and civilisation. It would not be an exaggeration to say, that such a painstaking, accurate and unbiassed discussion of the growth and evolution of legal and social customs in ancient India is rarely to be met with in any other work, and Dr. Jolly has laid down a standard which the future scholars might profitably follow. The author has never confined himself merely to narrow legal technicalities but always kept in view the broader aspects of Indian civilisation. For all these reasons Dr. Jolly's book is sure to prove not only a valuable authority to scholars but an enlightening guide to general readers as well. The English translation of Mr. Batakrisna Ghosh brought up to date by means of careful annotations, cannot be too highly praised. We recommend the book to all students of Hindu Law and of Hindu culture-history and hope that the public will generously encourage the Greater India Society in bringing out such standard works, so beautifully printed and offered at such a reasonable price.

"Historicus"

ORAOA RELIGION AND CUSTOMS : By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., M.L.C. Price Rs. 12
Man in India Office, Ranchi.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy is one of the few Indians who has shown a keen interest in the study of the primitive folks of this country. In fact, the works that he has already published have earned for him the reputation of being our foremost authority on the aborigines of Chota Nagpur. The present volume on "the Oraon Religion and Customs" is the sequel to his earlier work on "the Oraons of Chota Nagpur" (1915). In it the Rai Bahadur has given an exhaustive account of the religious and social institutions of this interesting tribe: the result of close personal observation and intimate acquaintance spreading over a period of twenty years. He has analysed the Oraon beliefs into their purely religious and magical sides and has described the customs and rites associated with the chief crises of life. As an authoritative treatment therefore of Oraon life in all its phases, including some of the modern tendencies, his account could hardly be improved. There is one problem, however, which Mr. Roy might have treated more fully—namely, that of acculturation. As he has himself shown, both in their religion and their customs the Oraons were profoundly influenc-

ed by their neighbours. There are many traits which were borrowed e.g. the presence of beneficent spirits from a people of higher culture (p. 2) and the cult of the spirit mostly from the Mundas (p. 25). What one would have wished was a more searching examination of this question and a clear sifting of the elements that are Munda, Hindu etc. This would not only have led to the discovery of the original trait-complexes brought by the Oraons themselves, but also the influence exerted on them by the Mundas and, later on, by the Hindus. And no one is better fitted than Mr. Roy to investigate this question—for his intimate knowledge of the neighbouring tribes as well as the Hindu institutions would have enabled him to disentangle the different elements that the Austro-Asiatic and the Aryan speaking peoples contributed towards developing the culture of this interesting 'Dravidian' tribe. It is to be hoped that in a future work Mr. Roy will tackle this problem for the entire group of Chota Nagpur aborigines.

The book is well-printed and illustrated, and the price is moderate for a work of this kind. For students of Anthropology in the Post-Graduate classes of our Universities it should form a very handy and reliable text-book for some of their courses.

A SHORT HISTORY OF MARRIAGE by Edward Westermarck. Macmillan & Co. London 1926. Price 10s. 6d.

This is a short introduction to the study of marriage based on the 5th edition of Prof. Westermarck's *History of Human Marriage*. Before the publication of Prof. Westermarck's great work it was the fashion among sociologists to regard the institution of marriage from the standpoint of Spencer and Morgan as having developed from a primitive stage of perfect promiscuity, through various intermediary steps, to its present form of obligatory monogamy. Prof. Westermarck was the first to show that such an evolutionary view lacked empirical basis and was contrary to the evidence of Biology and Psychology. Prof. Westermarck's views appeared to become antiquated after the brilliant researches of Howitt and Baldwin Spencer who after years of intensive field investigation not only revealed the existence of a form of community of marital relations among a group of people in certain tribes of the Lake Eyre region but even the existence of an earlier stage of promiscuity became plausible when the custom of unrestrained sexual liberty at the time of certain rites and festivals was explained as a residual or vestigial phenomenon. During the twenty odd years that has taken Prof. Westermarck to bring out the revised edition of his work, he has not only profited by the advice of his critics to gain first hand knowledge of a primitive race, though the tribes of Morocco can hardly be called primitive, but also by the immense amount of researches on the origin of human family and marital relations, especially those of Rivers, Seligman, Brown and Malinowski which have led to certain modifications of his original views though in the main he has succeeded in maintaining his old position. The most important change that is to be noticed is his recognition of "Sexual Communism" to avoid the less happy expression of "Group marriage" given currency to by Howitt such a that brought about by the combination of

polyandry and polygamy as found among the Todas at present.

The present work is not an abridged edition of his larger work but is a short introduction to marriage regarded merely as a social institution. While avoiding the detailed discussion and topics not directly bearing on such a study, it has given within the compass of a small volume the main problems connected with marriage, viewed purely as a social institution. The volume, therefore is eminently suitable as a text-book for students of Sociology, for whom no better introduction can be found either in English or in any other language than the work written by the Finnish savant who has now made England his home.

B. S. GUHA.

PICTURESQUE FRANCE—THE COUNTRY, THE PEOPLE AND THE LANDSCAPE: *By Martin Hurlimann. With an Introduction by Paul Valery. Ernst Wasmuth A.G., Berlin.*

Dr. Hurlimann is a scholarly Swiss-German who has undertaken the task of going round the world and bringing to the door of home-keeping people all the joys, and the excitements, of travel. Every lazy man who has not the inclination, and every poor man who has not the means, to undertake expensive and arduous journeys will bless him and his Sinclair-Una camera for providing them with an instructive course of "travel without tears." The least that can be said of Dr. Hurlimann's books is that they will give a man as vivid, and as real a sense of the places he takes them through, as an ordinary tourist with no more than the average fund of information, is ever likely to get by actually visiting the sites. For the painstaking man they can do more. They might enable him to write, with the supplementary help of a Baedeker, a really sound travel book, which will be something more than a mere catalogue of names. And, last of all, they will make lovers of beautiful scenes pine for sensations they are perhaps never likely to experience.

In this fine album which contains three hundred and four full-page photographic reproductions of magnificent photographs, Dr. Hurlimann attempts to give a pictorial account of the monuments, the people, and the landscape of France, and it is accompanied by a prefatory essay on the spiritual physiognomy of France from the pen of M. Paul Valery, the distinguished French poet and critic. It has been his aim, Dr. Hurlimann says, to compile less a pictorial dictionary than to give a series of personal impressions. His book, he goes on to say, "endeavours to show those parts of France that are little known and to stimulate interest. But how few people are really familiar with even the better-known parts! The principle of presenting a complete general view of the whole country was sacrificed to other principles which had more urgent claims to consideration. I tried to present France as a unit of characteristic variations. Some of the less striking views will be appreciated by those who have a profounder knowledge of the provinces, with their peculiar blending of prose and poetry, of provincial narrowness paired with social amenities. The production of a volume like this, it should be remembered, makes it incumbent on the photographer to be imbued with artistic conceptions; it may in a way, be compared to selecting a collection of poems."

While Dr. Hurlimann seeks to interpret the face of France with the help of photographs, M. Valery analyses her spirit by means of literary exposition. He begins it by saying:

"There is no nation more frank; there is certainly none more mysterious than the French. There is no nation so easy for the stranger to observe, or that more readily leads him to suppose that he has got to know her at the first encounter. Later, he will realise that there is none whose movements are more difficult to foresee, or whose reactions may be more surprising." This is very true. More than one observant foreigner who rushed to easy conclusions has found to his bewilderment that the apparently superficial French character has an elusive quality in it, and that the voluble chatter which one hears on the animated boulevards are not, after all, more self-revealing than the phlegm of more coldly organised nations. "France has arrived at her peculiar individuality," says M. Valery, "through the complex phenomenon of internal exchange. When we consider the highly differentiated strains which go to make up the French nation, and out of which she has constituted in the course of some centuries so, complete and clearly defined a European personality producing an individualised culture and spirit we are reminded of a tree which has been many times engrafted so that its quality and the flavour of its fruit result from the happy combination of highly varying saps and juices uniting into one single and individual whole." But we have no room here to do anything like justice to M. Valery's profound analysis of French culture and character.

N. C. C.

BHIKSHUGITA (THE MENDICANT'S SONG) OF EKANATH
TRANSLATED by Justice E. Abbot. *The Scottish Mission Industries Co. Ltd. East Street, Poona.*
Pp. X+113+14+79×14.

The twenty-third chapter of the eleventh *skandha* of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa is called the "Bhikshugita." There are sixty-one (or sixty-two) verses in this chapter. Ekanath has expanded this chapter into one thousand and four verses in his Marathi versions. This book has great popularity in the Marathi country.

The book under review contains the Marathi text, an English translation of the text and three appendices. Appendix I contains a glossary of Marathi words used in the translations and of words whose translation presents difficulties. The second appendix contains a short life of Ekanath as found in *Bhakti-dāmrīta* chapters 13-24. The third appendix is a glossary of Marathi words of Ekanath's Bhikshugita in Marathi.

It is the third book of the series "The Poet-saints of Maharashtra" and is a useful publication.

RAMANUJA'S IDEA OF THE FINITE SELF: *P. N. Srinivasachari, M. A., Professor of Philosophy, Pachaiyappa's College, Madras. Longmans Green & Co. Pp. Xii + 125. Price Rs. 3.*

The book contains six chapters, besides preface, foreword by S. Kuppaswami Sastri, and a glossary of technical Sanskrit words.

The author expounds and defends in this book the philosophy of Ramanuja with special reference to the nature of *Jiva* (the finite self.) "The Jiva is," according to Ramanuja "*Prakāra* or mode of

Iswara in the sense that he is an essential attribute of God sharing in his substantiality" (p. 6.)

The author then says :—"Ramanuja regards this conclusion as the central concept and establishes it by the refutation of the rival doctrines of Sankara, Yāṣava, Bhāskara and the dualists. To Sankara finite personality is a figment of the absolute and is annulled by the apprehension of the absolute. Bhāskara rejects the theory of illusion and identity, and Ramanuja examines Bhāskara's view in detail and rejects it entirely. According to Bhāskara individuality is not an illusion superimposed upon Brahman, but is due to a real *Upādhi*, or principle of individuation. In its essence, however, *Iva* is one with the Supreme and ultimately expands into its infinity. It is in Yāṣava that we notice the first impulse to pluralism. According to him, the *Iva* is one with Brahman and at the same time different from Him and both the aspects of identity and difference are real and essential. But the co-existence of contradictions assumed by this school is inconceivable, and even if it is accepted, it is open to the charge of ascribing error and evil to Brahman. The pluralism of the *Bhedvādin* no doubt provides for personality and difference, but it does so by sacrificing the underlying unity maintained by the *abheda sruties* which declare non-difference. Ramanuja reconciles the two extremes by his theory of inseparateness. The infinite and the finite are distinct reals but not opposites, they are distinguishable, but not divisible" (pp. 6-7.)

The principal subject dealt with in the book is the "Theory of *Prakāra* (प्रकार)." The word "*Prakāra*" is a technical word ; it means "mode." The theory is that *Iva* is a *prakāra* or mode of Brahman. The author discusses this theory in its various aspects—*prakāra* as the logical ego, *prakāra* as the ethical ego, *prakāra* as the body of Brahman and *prakāra* as life of love and self-surrender.

The author has made a valuable contribution to the philosophic literature of the school of Ramanuja. The subject is abstruse but our author's treatment is clear and masterly.

KATHAKOPANISHAT : Sanskrit Text with English Metrical Version, Explanatory notes and glossary ; by D. Venkatramiah, B. A. L. T. Retired Circle Inspector of Education, Mysore Service. Macmillan and Co. Ltd. Madras. pp. viii 67.

The translation and the notes are based on Sankara's commentary and other *advaitic* interpretations of the Upanishad. In the introduction the translator has discussed the views of the Upanishad as regards *Samsara*, Self and *Moksha*. The glossary will be useful to beginners. A good edition.

THE EVOLUTION OF MAN SCIENTIFICALLY DISPROVED ; by Rev. William A. Williams, D. D. Published by the author, (1202 Atlantic Avenue, Camden, New Jersey U. S. A.) pp. 127. Price one dollar.

Written by a fundamentalist. Worthless and worse than useless.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH

MARATHI

THE AROGYA-SAMVARDHAK-MALA SERIES
Is an outcome of the laudable efforts made by

an association of enthusiastic workers of Sangli with the object of promoting health and physical culture. About a dozen books hitherto issued by the association were very well received by the Marathi-reading public, and some of them have run into several editions, the more notable being *NAMASKAR* (3rd edition) which was favourably noticed in this review in February 1924, *TAKA ANI AROGYA* (showing the beneficial effects of the use of buttermilk in diet, in certain conditions of health), a treatise on *HEART DISEASE AND ITS CURE* (explaining by means of illustrations the functions of the heart and the causes of their disturbance resulting in heart-disease), and *AMRIT-PANA*, otherwise called *Ushas-Pana* (a very useful habit of drinking cold water early in the morning). There is one useful illustrated publication on *NERVOUS DEBILITY*, another on *HEADACHE*, and a third one on *CHOLERA*. It is needless to say that they are useful nice little productions helping the propagation of knowledge of the conditions under which alone health can be properly maintained or promoted, and as such they may be very properly considered as auxiliaries to the efforts of the municipalities, sanitary boards and other bodies, which have to look after public health. Their work will be considerably lightened if they will purchase and distribute among people a few copies of these books.

Yet one more publication of the same association which calls for special notice, *SHRI SURYOPASANA* or *NAMASKAR* is a prize-essay written by a young lady Mrs. Ramabai Kanekar of Kolhapur and is a fair indication of the keen interest taken by Marathi ladies in this particular indigenous form of exercise viz., *Namaskars*, which, thanks to the sincere efforts made by the present enlightened ruler of Oudh, Vaidya Paranjpe of Sangli and others, is surely and steadily winning ground and popularity in the Deccan. Physical culture is an absolute necessity in Maharashtra, much the same as in other parts of India, and it makes one's heart glad to know that ladies are boldly coming forward to meet that necessity as best they can.

BHARATIYA SANGRAMA OR THE WAR BETWEEN THE KATRAYAS AND THE PANDAVAS : By G. R. Sane B. A. Publisher : The Chitra-Shala Press, Poona. Pages 197. Price Rupee one.

There is no dearth of books in Indian vernaculars on the story of the great Sanskrit epic, *Mahabharata*. There are translations and abridgments, large and small, suited to the requirements of the various stages of growth and capacity of understanding of Marathi readers. Still they come and run into several editions, which shows the trend of the taste of the reading public. Why well-tried writers do not ply their pen in the direction of supplying more pressing needs of Marathi literature is beyond one's comprehension. This is by the way. The book under notice is well-written. The language is graceful and elegant, and is profusely interspersed with quotations from old popular Marathi poets. But there is one serious drawback in the book. The writer shares with some other well-known authors the glaring mistake of judging men and things of ancient times by the ethical and religious standards of the twentieth century and finding fault with them, because they do not come up to his expectations. Otherwise the book is good reading for grown up men and women of moderate learning.

V. G. APTE

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

MALAYALAM

RAJANI-RANGAM (PART 1): By V. T. Raman Bhattathiri. The Mangalodayam Press, Trichur. Price As. 8.

This little book contains five short 'love' (?) stories which first appeared in the columns of the *Pasupatam*, a monthly organ of the progressive Nambudiri youths residing at Trichur. They are written with the ultimate object of creating an opinion among the Nambudiris in favour of bringing about certain reforms in the present unhappy system of marriage prevalent in their community. We hope that every Nambudiri would read this book and hasten to make a fresh search of his heart.

Well-printed and neatly got up.

MATRU-BHUMI (ONAM NUMBER): The Matru-Bhumi Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd. Calcutt. pp. 126. Price Re. 1.

This attractively got-up annual number of the Matru-Bhumi contains twenty-eight learned articles besides a number of portraits including those of Raja Rammohun Rai, Narayana Guruswami, Ramananda Chatterjee and Motilaljee. Among the contributors, the names of R. Iswara Pillai, Attoor Krishna Pisharoti, Vallathol, Kundoor and Ulloor are worth to be mentioned. Of the contributions mention must be made of the *Ancient Crematoriums of Kerala*, (illustrated), *Song of Liberty*, *Child Marriage*, *Our Duty To-day* and *Narayana Guru*. The price of one rupee charged for this Annual is only moderate.

P. ANUJAN ACHAN

TAMIL

1. **VEDANTABOTHA SANGIRTHANAI:** By Ramasamy Surma. pp. 54. Price Re 1.

A collection of devotional songs sung in praise of several leading deities and the author.

2. **PATROL SYSTEM:** Published by Sarma Brothers, Vepery, Madras. pp. 49. Price Four annas, 1927.

A very useful book for a beginner in scout-craft.

3. **SRI MAHARISHI RAMANA CHARITHAM:** Published by Sri Ramanija Vani Book Depot, Thiruvannamalai. pp. 44. Price 5 As. 1928.

An appreciative life of Ramana Swamikal by a brother Sanyasin, and his poems.

4. **MANU NITHI SATHAGAM OF RASAPPA UPATHIYAYAR:** Published by Sri Sadhu Ratna Sarguru Book Depot, Parktown, Madras. pp. 67. Price As. 8, 1928.

The printing and the got-up of the book maintains no doubt, the tradition of the publishers. The publication is ill-suited to the times when the Brahmin-Non-Brahmin feelings are strong and occasions are not wanting when the original Manusmriti is burned in public meetings.

5. **MY MASTER BY SWAMI VIVEKANANDA:** Translated by R. Narayanasamy Iyer and Published by Sri Sadhu Ratna Sarguru Book Depot, Parktown, Madras. pp. 57. Price As. 8. Third Edition.

A good translation of the famous speech of Swamiji on the inspiring life of Ramakrishna Paramahansa.

6. **PATH TO PERFECTION:** Published by Sri Ramakrishna Mutt, Mylapore, Madras. 1927. Pp. 19. Price 2 As.

A very good translation of the lecture by Ramakrishnanda Swamiji. The fleeting pleasures of the world and the lasting pleasures of Heaven are dwelt upon at length and the constant introspection and regulation of one's conduct and life are advocated to attain the latter.

R. G. N. PILLAI.

GUJARATI

GAJENDRA MAUKTIKO, compiled by Prof. R. K. Yamik M. A., of Samaldas College; Bhavnagar, printed at the Bhagabat Sinhji Electric Printing Press, Gondal. Photos: Price Rs. 2-0-0 (1928).

In the death of Prof. Gajendra G. Buch a sad tragedy has happened. He died very young at the age of twenty-four; thus a very promising life was cut off. These "cameos" as our compiler calls them, are various pieces of his literary work, verse, prose, letters and magazine articles, written by the deceased during the short span of life vouchsafed to him. They bear in them the promise of deep culture and much thoughtfulness. Even in their embryonic state, one comes across flashes of genuine wit and wise literary studies. His writings throughout breathe a spirit of love for our literature and our country. We mourn with his friends his untimely death and fully appreciate the great loss our province has sustained thereby. He died poor, and it is our duty to assist his family by purchasing this book in large numbers.

1. **RASKUNJ (2) RASKUNJ IN SARIGAM,** (musical scale of Ras Kunj) by Mrs. Santi Churnilal Barfiwala, printed at the Chardar Printing Press, Anand, and the News Printing Press, Bombay. pp. 210: 19: 8 and 157. Paper cover with a photo of Kavi Nanalal. Price Re. 1-4-0. and Rs. 2-0-0 (1928).

Ras or Garbas are songs sung by little girls as well as grown up women in Gujarat; it is an institution peculiar to the province; it is a pretty sight to see them going round and round with rhythmical clapping of hands and singing songs to its accompaniment as well as to that of other music. Of late many writers have written such *Ras*, the most popular writer being Kavi Nanalal. Mrs. Shanti has with the acumen peculiar to her sex, selected the best songs in her collection, and produced a compilation, which is one of the best of its kind. With great thoughtfulness she has in the other work published the musical scale of the songs selected and thus put her work on a scientific basis. She has been fortunate enough to get two writers of renowned ability to help her.—Kavi Nanalal with a learned and scholarly introduction to the *Kunj* and Mr. N. B. Devatia, well known for his knowledge of music, with one to the *Sarigam*. We sincerely congratulate Mrs. Shanti on the out-turn of her abilities, which till now lay dormant, but which contains promise in them of still more valuable work.

ANAND KUNJ; By Ramanlal Nanalal Shah, printed at the Sayaji Vijaya Press, Baroda. Paper cover, illustrated. pp. 80. Price Re 0-8-0 (1928)

This is part I of short stories for delighting and instructing children. They really give delight as they are simple to understand.

K. M. J.

TELUGU

DAKSHINA AFIRKA : Digarilli Siva Rao B. A., B. L. Price Rs. 2-0-0. Published at Bezavada by the A. G. Press. pp. 216.

The Vigyana Chandrikar Mandali has issued this book as its thirty-sixth bulletin and the author has traced the course of Indian emigration to South Africa from its earliest times to 1927. The imperialistic attitude of the White Race towards the Boers and the Indians, the indentured emigrant coolies, the gradual prosperity of the Indian colonists, their struggle for justice, the Satyagraha movement of Mahatma Gandhi, the recent attempts to settle the disputes, the appointment of Commissioner and the

defects and the 1927 pact on settlement are clearly outlined in a lucid and graphic manner. The position of Indians in Kenya and East Africa is also referred to. The author has taken pains to consult standard authorities on the subject and within the brief space of two hundred and ten pages a brief and accurate history of Indian emigration to South Africa is presented to the readers. We heartily commended it to the Telugu public.

SATAKAMANJARI : 1st bulletin of Andhraganthamala edited by K. Nageswarao—Madras. Price Rs. 1-4-0. pp. 228.

This is a compilation of ten *Satakamulu* and each *Satakamu* has an introduction dealing with the author, the style of the author, the subject matter, the date of its composition etc. The reprinting of these almost inaccessible pieces of poetry is a distinct service to the cause of the Telugu literature and as these preach *bhakti*, the old as well as the young can profitably read them.

B. RAMCHANDRA RAO

TREATMENT OF LOVE IN CLASSICAL SANSKRIT POETRY*

By SUSHIL KUMAR DE

IN our last article, we attempted a brief and rapid survey of the growth of love-poetry in the Vedic, Buddhistic and Epic literatures and indicated some of the causes which retarded its free development. It is not indeed, until we come to what is known as the classical period of Sanskrit literature that we find love-poetry blooming in its fulness; and it was this poetry which redeemed and vindicated the claims of woman as an object of divinely inspired passion. When we come to this period of Sanskrit literature we find that from its very dawn love had established itself as one of its dominant themes. In Patanjali's *Mahabhasya*, belonging at the latest to the 2nd century B. C., we have references to the tales of Yavakrita, Priyangu and Yayati, of

Vasavadatta, Sumanottara and Bhimaratha. Nothing is said of the details of these stories, but we know that one at least of these, the tale of Vasavadatta, must have had love as its underlying theme. Patanjali also quotes verses in the ornate lyric measure of the classical period, and one fragment at least of a line is clearly erotic in subject in its description of the morning:

O fair-limbed one, the cocks unite to proclaim!

The full verse is fortunately supplied twelve centuries later by Kshemendra, who quotes it in his *Auchitya-vichara* but attributes it wrongly to Kumardasa.

O fair limbed one, timid of the first union,

Leave your lover, abandon the close embrace!

The cocks unite to proclaim

That here is now the break of dawn!

* In my last article in the *Modern Review* for December, 1928, I have in my quotations followed standard translations with just a few modifications where I deemed them necessary. In this article the translations are generally my own, but I have availed myself of the help given by previous writers who have in some cases given renderings of particular verses. I must also acknowledge the general help I have received from Keith's two works on classical Sanskrit literature as well as from Winternitz's *Geschichte der ind. Litt.*

We have also a tradition recorded by several Sanskrit authors that there was a poet, named Panini, who wrote two poems entitled *Patalavijaya* and *Jambuvativijaya*, who excelled in composing verses in the Upajati metre and to whom several verses in this metre are ascribed in the older anthologies. As Indian tradition knows only of one Panini who wrote the famous grammar, it is not unlikely that the grammarian may have also

on a poet. Most of these verses attributed Panini are in the fanciful vein but some are distinctly erotic in theme. Here is a description of the evening.

So close hath the moon, flushed with the glow of passion, seized the face of night, lovely with the inkle of stars, that in her love she hath noticed that her mantle of darkness had slipped off her feet in the East.

When the West united with the Sun her face is ruddy : the face of the East was dark. There no woman who is not jealous.

If Asvaghosa, the earliest known writer in the Kavya-style whose works have come down to us, does not directly utilise the motive of love in his quasi-religious poems, the anonymous *hetu-drama* which was discovered in Central Asia along with Asvaghosa's dramatic fragment and which apparently belongs to the same period, figures a courtesan and a rogue as chief characters and could not have been meant entirely for purposes of religious edification. The episode of Nanda and Sundari, however, especially in the fourth canto of Asvaghosa's well known poem, is in the best style of ornate classical poetry in its description of the love of the young couple. But the ascetic in Asvaghosa gets the upper hand of the poet, and he never misses the opportunity of echoing the old denunciation of woman as the source of all evil :

Passionate women cause intoxication ; women without passion cause fear. Since they bring only war and trouble, why should one resort to them ?

He raises his voice of warning that

In the words of women there is honey ;

In their hearts, there is deadly poison.

Repeating this half-verse in his *Śṛīngara-Sataka*, Bhartrihari wittily suggests a practical application at which Asvaghosa himself would perhaps have frowned with disgust :

Hence doth one drink from these lips.

And strike at that heart with the fist !

Even if love-poems are not profuse in the earliest specimens of classical Sanskrit literature, it must not be supposed that the passionate element in human nature had in the meantime failed to find an adequate expression. Love had not yet come to its own in the *Kunstpoesie*, in the polished and artificial Kavya-poetry, but in folk-literature, the tradition of which is to a great extent preserved in Prakrit, it must have formed an absorbing theme. Much of this popular literature which must have developed very early, appears to have been lost ; but, as

we have already pointed out, we can surmise its vogue from the way in which the erotic Pali *gatha*, called the *Question of Sakka*, found its way delightfully into the sacred text of the *Digha-Nikaya*, as well as from the undoubted leavening it must have supplied to the tales of the epic and its erotic passages. The impassioned secular hymns of the *Rig Veda*, which we have already quoted in our last article and which are indeed out of place in the context in which they occur, probably formed the starting point as well as the prototype of this popular emotional literature ; and a tradition of such poetry must have survived through long centuries as a strong under-current, only occasionally coming to the surface in the more conventional literature. It is perhaps for this reason that the earliest love-poetry of the classical period is to be found not so much in Sanskrit as in Prakrit ; and one of the largest collections of such early erotic lyrics, going under the name of *Hala*, belongs to Prakrit literature. This Prakrit poetry is doubtless as conventional as the Sanskrit and is not folk-literature in its true sense ; but it is clear that while these early Prakrit verses, popular among the masses, have love as their principal theme, the earlier Sanskrit poems give little scope to it. Even admitting that the Prakrit lyric is not the prototype of the later Sanskrit lyric, the presumption is still strong that the erotic element which had diffused itself in popular literature must have survived in Prakrit poetry and that later on it invaded the courtly literature written in Sanskrit, ultimately becoming its almost universal theme.

In order to appreciate this so-called classical poetry it is necessary to realise the conditions under which it was produced and the environment in which it flourished. In this connexion attention must be drawn, in the first place, to the evolution of a multitude of lyric metres in this literature, which are recorded freely in the earliest known systematic work on Prosody attributed to Pingala. The epic poets, naturally less sensitive to the effects of the rhythmic form, preferred metres in which long series of stanzas could be written with ease ; but the necessity of metrical variation in lyric poetry, which had love for its principal theme, accounts for the large number of lyric metres evolved in this period. It is somewhat remarkable that the names given to some of these metres are epithets of fair maidens. *Vidyū-mālā*, "chain

of lightning"; Kanaka-prabha, "the radiance of gold"; Charu-hasini, "sweetly smiling"; Kunda-danti, "a maiden of budlike teeth"; Vasanta-tilaka, "the ornament of spring"; Sragdhara, "a maiden with a garland;" are indeed pretty names, but they also point to a probable connexion with erotic themes.

The existence of inscriptions written in this style of poetry in the first few centuries of the Christian era as well as the form, content and general outlook of this poetry indicates its close connexion with the courts of princes, who in many cases are known to have been patrons of the great classical poets. As a matter of fact, this poetry appears to have been aristocratic from the beginning, fostered under the patronage of the wealthy or in the courts of the princes. Even if it did not lack serious interest, this poetry naturally reflects the graces as well as the artificialities of courtly life, and its exuberant fancy is quite in keeping with the taste which prevailed in this atmosphere. In later times the science of Poetics attempted and considerably succeeded in stereotyping this taste into fixed conventions, and in later decadent poetry these conventions alone reign supreme. But even in the earlier poetry, the consummate elegance of which is undoubted, there is very often a marked preference of what catches the eye to what touches the heart. The court-influence undoubtedly went a long way not only in fostering a certain languor and luxuriance of style but also in encouraging a taste which preferred the fantastic and the elaborate to the fervid and the spontaneous. The poetry gained in refinement and splendour but it lost its untutored simplicity and its pristine accent of passion. Sentimentality replaced sentiment, fancy predominated over passion and ingenuity took the place of feeling.

The pessimism of the Buddhistic ideal had disappeared, having been replaced by more accommodating views about the value of pleasure. Even the Buddhist author of the *Nagananda* does not disdain to weave a love-theme into his lofty story of Jimutavahana's self-sacrifice; and in his benedictory verse he does not hesitate to represent the Buddha as being rallied upon his hard-heartedness by the ladies of Mara's train. The widely diffused Kavya-style and its prevailing love-interest invade even the domain of technical sciences; and it is remarkable that the mathematician Bhaskaragupta not only uses elegant metres in his *Lilavati* but

presents his algebraical theorems in the form of problems explained to a fair maiden, of which the phraseology and imagery are drawn from the bees and flowers and other familiar objects of poetry. The celebration of festivals with pomp and grandeur, the amusements of the court and the people, the sports in the water, the game of the swing, the plucking of flowers, song, dance, dramatic performances and other diversions, elaborate description of which forms the stock-in-trade of most Kavya-poets, bear witness not only to this new sense of life but also to the general demand for refinement, beauty and luxury. The people could enjoy heartily the good things of this world while heartily believing in the next. In pleasure with refinement was sought for in life, pleasure with elegance was demanded in art. The love-poetry of this period therefore seldom transports or moves deeply either with its joy or its sorrow: for love is conceived not in its infinite depth or poignancy, nor its ideal beauty, but in its playful moods of vivid enjoyment, breaking forth into delicate blossoms of fancy.

But it is not court-life alone which inspired this literature. The prevailing love-interest of later classical poetry is explained also by the environment in which it grew and from which alone it could obtain recognition. At the centre of it stands the Nagaraka, the polished man about town, whose culture, tastes and habits so largely inspire this literature, and who is, as Keith rightly remarks, as typical of it as the priest or the philosopher is of the literature of the Brahmanas and the Upanishads. Apart from the picture we get of him in the literature itself, we have a vivid sketch of an ancient prototype of the Nagaraka in the *Kamasutra* or the Science of Erotics, attributed to Vatsyayana. The well-planned house of the Nagaraka, situated near a river or a tank, is surrounded by a lovely garden; in the garden there is, for amusement and repose, a summer house, a bower of creepers with raised parterre, and a carpeted swing in a shady spot. His living room, balmy with rich perfume, contains a bed, soft, white, fragrant and luxuriously furnished with pillows or cushions. There is also a couch, with a kind of stool at the head, on which are placed pigments, perfumes, garlands, bark of citron, canvas and a box of paint. A lute hanging from an ivory peg and some books to read are also not forgotten. On the ground

re is a spittoon, and not far from the rich a round seat with raised back and a board for dice. The Nagaraka spends his morning in a bath and elaborate toilet, applying ointments and perfumes to his body, kohl to his eyes and red paint (*alaktaka*) to his lips, chews betel-leaves and the bark of iron to add fragrance to his mouth, and looks at himself in the glass. After breakfast,

he listens to his parrots, which are kept in a cage outside his room, and teaches them new tunes. He delights in ram and cock fights, and other diversions which he enjoys with his friends and companions, the usual hangers-on, high or low. After a brief midday sleep, he dresses again and joins the assembly of friends. In the evening there is music, followed by joys of love in company with his lady friends. These are the every-day duties and pleasures of the Nagaraka. There are also occasional diversions and rounds of pleasure. There are festivals, drinking parties, plays, concerts and ballets to attend to; there are special gatherings, often held in the house of the ladies of the *demi-monde*, where assemblies of wit and talent, and where artistic and erotic topics are freely discussed. There are excursions to be made to the parks, picnics in the groves, or water-sports in the lakes or rivers. In all these diversions and engagements his lady-friends play a great part, and according to Vasanta-Sena one should think that the accomplished courtesan occupied an important position in the social life of this period.

The picture is, no doubt, heightened and there is much of the dandy and the dilettante in the Nagaraka and in the society which he frequents: but we need not doubt from what we see elsewhere in Charudatta that there was much genuine culture, character and refinement. In later times the Nagaraka degenerated into a mere professional amoureur, but in the early literature he is figured as rich and cultivated, a poet skilled in the arts, a man of wit and polish—a perfect man of his world. He could discuss poetry, painting and music as well as delicate problems in the doctrine of love, and his remarks shew not only profound acquaintance with the gay sciences and arts but also his extensive experience in the ways of women and a deep knowledge of human, especially feminine, nature.

The science of Erotics had indeed a profound influence on the theory and practice of the poetry of this period, although we

must guard against the error of assuming that the classical erotic poetry is in the nature of pornography. The standard work of Vatsyayana contains, besides several chapters on the art and practice of love, sections on the ways and means of winning and keeping a lover, on courtship and signs of love, on marriage and conduct of married life, and not a little on the practical psychology of the emotion of love. In these matters, the science of Poetics, as embodied especially in works on the erotic *rasa*, came in a line and went hand in hand; and it is almost impossible to appreciate fully the merits as well as the defects of Sanskrit love-poetry without some knowledge of the habits, modes of thought, literary traditions and fundamental poetical postulates recorded in these *sastras* the mere allusion to one of which is enough to call up some familiar idea or touch some inner chord of sentiment. There is much in these treatises, no doubt, which gives us an idealised or fanciful picture; and the existence of the people of whom they speak was just as little a prolonged debauch as a prolonged idyll. But marked as these accounts are with a great deal of heightened description or even scholastic formalism, there is an unmistakable attempt to do justice to facts, not only as they appeared to the personal experience of these theorists but also to the observation of general usage. This is specially true of the earlier works which were composed before the ideas had become stereotyped into fixed conventions; and we cannot refuse to recognise the fact that they succeeded in giving us a minute and subtle analysis of the erotic emotion, the theory of which has an intimate bearing on the practice of the poets and in itself deserves a separate study.

But the Sanskrit poet could not also forget that beside his elegant royal patron and the cultivated Nagaraka, they had more exacting audience in the *rasika* or *sahridaya*, the man of taste, the connoisseur, whose expert judgment would be the final test of his work. Such a critic, we are told, must not only possess technical knowledge of the requirements of poetry but also a fine capacity of aesthetic enjoyment, born of wide culture and sympathetic identification with the feelings and ideas of the poet. The Indian ideal of excellence of poetry is closely associated with a peculiar condition of

artistic enjoyment known as *rasa*, the suggestion of which is taken as its chief function. Despite dogmas, the theorists are careful in adding that this pleasure should be the ultimate end of poetry and that the poetic imagination must show itself in attaining this end. The demands that are made of the poet, therefore, are very exacting; he must not only be initiated into the intricacies of theoretic requirements but must also possess poetic imagination, aided by culture and practice. Even if we do not believe in Rajasekhara's somewhat elaborate account of the studies which went to make up the finished poet, there can be no doubt that considerable emphasis was laid by theorist upon the "education" of the poet, whose inborn gifts alone would not suffice. It is obvious that in such an atmosphere poetry gained in refinement and splendour, but natural ease was to a certain extent sacrificed for studied effects, and refinement led perforce to elaboration.

It is, however, curious that with the exception perhaps of the *Meghaduta* and the *Gita-govinda* (with its numerous imitations), Sanskrit love-poetry usually takes the form, not of a systematic and well-knit poem, but of single stanzas, standing by themselves, in which the poet delights to depict a single phase of the emotion or a single erotic situation in a complete and daintily finished form. Such is the case with the earliest and the most interesting collection of 700 love-stanzas, which passes under the name of Hala Satavahana and which comprises the works of Prakrit poets who were probably earlier even than Kalidasa. Written in artificial and carefully studied language and metre, they have much that is conventional and even artificial; but they have also a large measure of naturalness and *bouhonic*, which must have been a reflexion of the robust and keen perceptions of the unsophisticated people at large. Here we have also, for the first time, an effective expression of the sentiment of love in its varying moods and phases, with every degree of refinement or otherwise; and one cannot mistake the simplicity, sincerity and freedom of most of these utterances.

It is impossible to give an adequate idea, within the limited space at our disposal, of the infinite variety and beauty of these little cameos of thought and feeling, or of the elegance and precision of Hala's style, or of the homeliness and rough good sense of his

erotic stanzas. We can only select here a few specimens, the charming quality of which cannot be mistaken. One cannot ignore for instance, the simple pathos of the following lines which describe the lover's pangs of separation:

The poor girl wept as long as she was able to weep; she thinned as far as her body would be thin; she sighed as long as her sighs prevailed. (ii, 41)

In this mortal world there is no love free from deceit; for, otherwise, who could ever suffer the pangs of separation, and having suffered, who could ever live! (ii, 24).

Today, for one day, dear friend, do not forbid me to weep; tomorrow when he goes, if I am not dead, I shall not weep. (iv, 2)

It is the fault of the ladies that their lovers, when abroad, are heartless; not until two or three of them die, the pangs of separation will ever cease. (vi, 86)

"Most of the night is gone, now sleep!" Why do you say this to me, my friends. You do sleep; the smell of the *saphalika* flowers prevents me from sleeping. (v, 12).

Happy are these ladies who have a sight of their beloved even in dreams. Without him even sleep does not come; how can one have dreams! (iv, 97)

But a more stoical or imaginative lover consoles himself:

The beauty still lives in my eyes, the touch on my body, the words in my ear, the heart is still fixed on my heart,—what then hath destiny taken away? (ii, 32)

On being asked by her lover to remember, the maiden replies:

He alone is to be remembered who drops out even for a moment from the heart. Love is not love indeed if it requires remembering. (i, 95)

The joy of fulfilment in love also finds frank expression:

A lover is always pleasing; when seen, he gladdens the eyes; when spoken about, he brings delight to the ears; when thought of, he is the lord of the heart. (vii, 51)

But the expectation or the charm of association, says one lover, is better than fulfilment:

Let alone the most precious and pleasing sight of her face; even the sight of the village where she lives brings delight to the heart at once. (ii, 68)

Amaru repeats the same sentiment, saying: "Let alone the attainment of her impetuous embrace, even wandering about the road on the outskirts of her house brings infinite delight;" a description which would remind one of Madhava's wanderings about the house of Malati. Here is a fine touch in describing a lady's beauty:

On whichever part of her body one's eyes

fall they remain fixed there. No one has seen the beauty of her whole person. (iii, 34)

A fine picture of the adolescent heroine secretly thinking of her lover is given in the words of her companion :

If he is not your beloved, then why, when his name is taken, doth your face bloom like the lotus at the touch of the sun's rays ? (iv, 43)

Another young girl confides to her friend :

When the beloved comes near, I shall cover my eyes with both hands, as if I do not want to see him ; but how shall I prevent my limbs from being thrilled with joy and betray their thrill like the *kadamba* flower ? (iv, 14)

Disappointed or hopeless love also finds bitter expression :

Once have I freed myself from the snare of love, almost at the cost of my life. O wretched heart, now cease ; never cast thy affection anywhere. (ii, 52)

"Of whom are you thinking ?" Being asked thus, she began to weep bitterly, saying "who is there for me to think of ?" And she made us all weep. (iv, 89)

Here is a dignified rebuke administered by a lady to her fickle lover :

"These are sincere words which proceed from the heart. Go away ! What is the use of words which proceeds merely from the lips ? (v, 51)

A more pathetic touch :

Let alone what people say ; your own heart will tell you. You have become so indifferent now that you are not even fit to be rebuked. (iii, 1)

She truly hath beauty and worth ; while we are ugly and worthless. But, say, should every one who is not like her have nothing but to die ? (vi, 11)

"Be not angry, dear. Who is angry ?" "You, O fair-limbed one." "How can one be angry with a stranger ?" "Who is a stranger ?" "You, my lord." "But how ?" "On account of my thoughtlessness." (iv, 84)

Even elaborate conceits are sometimes very finely utilised :

Separation from her beloved is like a saw which is cutting her heart asunder ; the stream of her tears, tarnished by collyrium, appears like the dark measuring cord. (ii, 53)

As she rises from her bath, her flowing hair, having once received the touch of her hips, is dripping water, as if it were, weeping for fear of being tied up. (vi, 55)

Not less refreshing are the touches of sly humour and gentle banter which mark a large number of these verses. When Krishna blows away with his breath the dust from Radha's face, he removes at the same time brightness from the faces of other milkmaids. On hearing Yasoda say that Krishna is but a child the maidens of the village smile knowingly at the so-called infant. The wife is angry and offended, the husband falls at her feet in penitence ; their little boy spoils the

pathetic effect by seizing the opportunity of riding on papa's back, so that the incensed mother could hardly repress her laugh. As the fair maiden pours out water for the thirsty traveller he feasts his eyes on her and lets the water escape through his fingers, while she with equal desire lessens the stream of water. The naughty wife pretends to be bitten by a scorpion in order to go to the house of the doctor who loves her. Attracted by the beauty of the flower-girl's arms the idle village-youth wanders about and slyly asks the price of the garlands, although he has no intention to purchase them. The maiden who guards the field has no rest from the passer-by, who insists on asking her the way, however well he knows it. The lover falls at the feet of the angry maiden ; that the anger has already left her heart is shown by the tenderness with which she unloosens locks of his hair which has got entangled in her anklet. "That a bee desires to drink honey from this and that flower is not the fault of the bee but of those insipid flowers," remarks a cynical lover. A woman vows to worship the feet of the Love-god, not only in this life but also in the next, only if he would pierce her beloved's heart with the selfsame arrow with which he has pierced hers. "Whoever teaches woman the art of Love ? Though untutored the course of their affection teaches them all." Finding the enraged damsel engaged in cooking and attempting to hide her anger by the pretence of blowing at the fire, the lover tries to appease her by indulging in a delicate piece of flattery that, while the fire can drink the fragrant breath of her breath it will only smoke and not blaze, fully knowing that if it blazes she will blow no more. Once bitten, twice shy ; the monkey which mistook a bee for a black plum will pause before it ventures again. A young lady wonders why all gossip centres on her lover alone ; is there only one young man in the village ? The young couple has quarrelled and pretend to sleep with breathless silence and eager ears, — it remains to be seen which of them will stick to the last ! The young wife teaches a lesson to the wayward brother of her husband by drawing on the wall the picture of Lakshmana's devotion to Sita. Finding the thick foliage of the fig tree where she has all her assignations diminished by the wayfarers tearing off its leaves, the ingenious girl secretly besmears them with white paint

so, that it may be mistaken for the dung of birds. A witty girl rebukes her fickle lover: "From her face, to your face, from your face to my feet, the wretched *tilaka* has come to a sorry plight in its travel from place to place!" The lover's heart is filled up by thousands of women, the poor girl is unable to find a place in it; hence she is making her already thin body still thinner and thinner! A deeper note of pathos is struck when it is described how a wife, rejoicing at her husband's home-coming, still hesitates to deck herself in gay robes lest she add to the grief of her poor lonely neighbour whose husband is still delaying his return. To the question why the bust of a woman never remains firm, it is wittily replied that nothing stays firmly on the heart of a woman. A woman resorting to her rendezvous is warned not to go out on a dark night, as she will be noticed all the more like lamplight in the dark. A disappointed lover laments: "Such is the spark of disappointed love that it goes out in a dried-up heart, but blazes all the more quickly in the heart which is succulent!" The traveller seeking rest and lodging is often the subject of delicate addresses:

At midday the shadow does not move out, even a little way from the body, for fear of heat; so traveller, why not rest by me?

The night is dark; my husband is away from home; the house is empty; pray come, O traveller, to guard me from robbers.

My mother-in-law sleeps here, and here myself; mark it well while there is daylight, lest, O wayfarer, you tumble into our beds at night.

In spite of these rather lengthy quotations, it is almost impossible to give an adequate idea of the extraordinary variety and elegance of the seven hundred poems collected together by Hala, the majority of which are erotic in theme. They consist of isolated stanzas without any inner connexion but each by itself has a finished form and a charm of its own. They celebrate the joys and sorrows, changes and chances, moods, fancies and imaginations, quips, cranks and wanton wiles, all the tragedy and comedy of that passion which is half of the sense and half of the spirit, sometimes wholly of the sense, and sometimes wholly of the spirit. In this respect the *Satakas* or centuries of Hala as well as that of Amaru which we shall take up presently, occupy a unique position in Indian love-poetry. They not only demonstrate for the first time that love can very well form the exclusive theme

of poetry and hundreds of verses can be written on its manifold phases, but they also start the tradition of the love-lyric in the stanza-form, in which the aim is to depict within the restricted scope of a solitary self-standing verse some definite phase of the emotion. Such miniature painting is a task of no small difficulty: for, it involves a perfect expression of a pregnant idea or an intense emotion within very restricted limits by just a few precise and elegant touches of the brush. The effect, again, which these stanzas achieve, as Keith has remarked, is synthetic and entirely opposed to that of the analytic methods of modern poetry; and the incidental difficulties of translating them into English are thus indicated by the same critic:

"The extraordinary power of compression on which Sanskrit possesses is seen here at its best; the effect on the mind is that of a perfect whole in which the parts coalesce by inner necessity, and the impression thus created on the mind cannot be produced in an analytical speech like English, in which it is necessary to convey the same content not in a single sentence synthetically merged into a whole, like the idea which it expresses, but in a series of loosely connected predication."*

If in Prakrit the highest distinction as a poet, who can give beautiful and varied expression to the emotion of love, belongs to Hala, in Sanskrit the distinction must belong without question to Amaru, about whose life and date as little is known as those of Hala. Amaru is less wide in range but he perhaps strikes a deeper and more poignant note. He does not confine himself to the narrow limits of the artificial *arya* metre but allows himself greater metrical variety and more freedom of space. His employment of long sonorous metres as well as light lyric measures not only relieves the monotony of metrical effect but also adds richness, weight and music to his well wrought verses. Truly has Anandavardhana praised Amaru's verses as containing the veritable ambrosia of poetry; and in illustrating the theme of love as a sentiment in poetry, all technical writers on poetics have freely used Amaru as one of the original and best sources. In Sanskrit imaginative literature Amaru must be regarded as the herald of a new development, of which the result is best seen in the remarkable fineness of conception, richness of expression and delicacy of thought and feeling of the love-poems of later *Satakas* as well as of numerous Sanskrit anthologies.

* *History of Sanskrit Lit.* p. 178.

In one of Amaru's preliminary verses Love is conceived as the mightiest of all the gods, and the poet declares in a benedictory stanza that the face of the fair one would bring the desired good,—what is the use of invoking Hari, Hara and Brahma? He who kisses the fair maiden drinks of ambrosia; the laborious but foolish gods churned the ocean for nothing! But Amaru's poems are poems about love, not in its simplicities, but in its subtle moments. It is not, as in the *Saptasati* of Hala, the picture of simple loves set among simple scenes and fostered by the seasons, but Amaru describes in his inimitable series of verses the infinite moods and fancies of love, its lights and shades, its vagaries, its strange turns, unexpected thoughts and unknown impulses creating varied circumstances. Love does not stand alone as an isolated passion, as in the true love-lyric but is imaged with all its attendant facts and situations which enhance its pleasure and stimulates its pain.

The necessity of compressing synthetically one whole idea or situation within the limits of a single verse not only gives a precision and elegance to the style, but also presents in each verse a complete picture in a finely finished form. The most graceful and true are the pictures which Amaru draws of the adolescent and artless maiden, the *mugdha*, whom the Sanskrit poets depict with a loving touch. When her companions rebuke her for her youthful simplicity in making herself too agreeable to her lover, and teaches her proper pride and artfulness, the maiden, with a face full of alarm, replies with a characteristic *naivete*; "Speak low, lest my lover, who abides in my heart, should hear what you say!" Equally charming are the pictures of the newly wedded wife:

When her husband touches her garment, she bends her head in shyness; when he seeks a sudden embrace, she moves away her limbs in modesty; when her eyes fall on her laughing companions, she is unable to speak; at the first jest the heart of the newly wedded wife is oppressed with bashfulness.

A touch of quiet humour sometimes enlivens the picture:

Seeing her chamber empty, the young wife rose gently from her couch, and having gazed intently on the face of her husband, who was feigning sleep, she kissed him unsuspectingly. But when she saw his cheeks thrilled by her touch, she bent her head in shame, only to be kissed long and lovingly by her lover as he laughed at her distress.

The house-parrot overheard at night the words

that were murmured in confidence by the young pair; in the morning it began to repeat them loudly before their elders. Embarrassed with shame, the young wife stays his speech by placing before its beak a piece of ruby from her ear-rings on the pretext of giving him seeds of the pomegranate.

The futility of her anger in the presence of her beloved is described with the same graceful touch:

I have knit my eye-brows into a frown, but my eyes still long to gaze at him: I have restrained my speaking, but this wretched face still lights up with a smile: I have made my heart stern and cold, but my limbs cannot help being thrilled. I do not know how I shall be able to keep up my anger when once I see him face to face.

I turned my face down from the direction of his face and fixed my looks on my feet; I stopped my eager ears from listening to his words; I concealed with both hands the thrill on my sweating cheeks; but, O friends, what shall I do to prevent the knots on my bodies from bursting into pieces?

Just a touch of tenderness or pathos enhances the beauty of the picture:

At the first offence given to her by her husband, she cannot, without the aid of her companions, think of a witty rebuke to address to him, nor can she show her emotion by a playful movement of her limbs. With her lotus-eyes flurried and expanded, the poor girl only weeps, and her clear and profuse tears roll in showers down her pure cheeks.

A tender dialogue between a maiden and her lover is compressed with a marvellous pathetic effect:

"My girl!" "My lord!" "Stay your anger, O proud one!" "What have I done through anger?" "Art thou then wearied of me?" "Thou hast done nothing wrong, all the fault is mine." "Why then art thou weeping with choked voice?" "Before whom do I weep?" "Why before me." "Who am I to thee?" "My Beloved." "I am not,—and so do I weep."

The lightly drawn pictures of lovers' quarrel and reconciliation are often enlivened by a touch of quiet humour;

Lying together on the same bed and inwardly grieved, the young couple averted their faces from each other; eager for reconciliation in their inmost heart but outwardly keeping up their pride, they could not speak. In a little while, as they threw side-long glances at each other, their looks met, the barrier of pride broke down, and with a sudden laughter they threw their arms round each other's neck.

Lying together on the same bed, the young maiden, hearing her rival's name, averted her head in anger and vehemently repulsed her lover, despite his flatteries. But as he stayed still for a while, straightaway she turned her neck slowly, fearing lest he had fallen asleep.

At her lover who was at fault her eyes were deft in assuming various aspects. When he was at

a distance, they were restless; when he began to speak, they were averted; when he desired an embrace, they were expanded; when he touched her garment, the brows became arched with anger; when at last he fell at the feet of the proud lady, the eyes were misty and wet with tears.

She avoided sitting on the same couch by rising forward to meet him; she thwarted his impetuous embrace by feigning to fetch betel; she prevented intimate talk by engaging her attendants near by; the clever lady gratified her anger even by the pretence of serving her lover.

But sometimes a touch of sadness tones down the picture :

"Let my heart burst and Love at his will emaciate my frame, and yet, dear friends, I will have no more of my fickle lover," thus hotly in high anger spoke the gazelle-eyed one, but anxiously did she gaze on the path by which her beloved would come.

The effect of the maiden's anger is often vividly described by the words of her friends :

The beloved of thy life with his head bowed down, standeth without, drawing idle figures on the ground; thy companions have left their food, and their eyes are swollen with constant weeping; the parrots in the cage no more laugh or speak; and thine own state is this ! O hard-hearted maiden, lay aside thy anger.

And the hard-hearted maiden is warned lest she alienate her lover's affection by a show of too much anger :

Why, angry one, dost thou cry silently, ever brushing away with thy finger-tips the flow of thy tears ? The time will come when thou wilt weep more loudly and bitterly still ; for thy beloved, wearied of soothing thee will grow indifferent at thy pride which has soared high at the bidding of thy treacherous advisers.

There are young maidens here in every house; go and ask them if their lovers fall at their feet, as thy beloved does, grovelling like a slave. Thou dost harm thyself alone by lending thy ears to the mad advice of evil friends. Men are hard to win back once the bond of affection is severed.

The young lady has to report when her lover takes her anger seriously :

In playful anger dear friend, I just said to my beloved, "Depart," and straight away the hard-hearted one sprang from the couch and went indeed. For that cruel one who broke off love so violently, my shameless heart yearns again, and what can I do ?

A pretty picture of an impatient maiden whose beloved has returned home after a long sojourn abroad :

The beloved hath come back, and with him have returned hundred desires. The pale lady passed the day-time in impatience, but in the evening the witless people of the house engaged him in endless conversation. "Something has bitten me", so saying she waved her silken garment, as if in a flurry, and put out the light thereby, with a heart impatient with desire.

A lover is trying to appease the enraged maiden with a delicate piece of flattery :

The palm of thy hand hath rubbed the decoration off thy cheek ; the sighs have drunk the sweet nectar of thy lips ; the sob, embracing thy throat for a while, hath made the slopes of thy bosom tremulous. O thou implacable one, thine anger today has become thy beloved, and not we.

It is very often that light-hearted love is described, love fulfilled or assured of fulfilment. But sometimes a deeper note is struck :

Where a mere frown was enough show of anger, where silence was enough reproof, where a mutual smile was enough entreaty, where a look was an act of grace—of that love see here only the ruins today ! Thou rollest at my feet in long entreaty, and I have become so graceless that my anger does not leave me.

"Why this extreme thinness of thy limbs ? Why dost thou tremble ? And why, beloved, so pale are thy cheeks and thy face ?" When the lord of her life thus questioned her, she replied, "It is my nature," and moved away with a sigh to let fall elsewhere the burden of tears which weighed down her eye-lashes.

Long she gazed on him with beseeching eyes, then entreated him with folded hands, then grasped the hem of his garment, then frankly embraced him. The pitiless deceiver brushed away all her advances and started to leave her. But she abandoned her life first for love, and then her lover.

So then this our body became, first, one and undivided. After that, thou wert no longer the beloved, nor was I, bereft of all hope, your darling. Today thou art the lord, and we are only thy wife. I have received all that my adamant heart deserves.

It must be noted that the last verse, though usually found in most editions of Amaru's text, has been attributed to a lady poet, named Bhavakadevi, in some of the older anthologies.

The tears of the maiden forbid the departure of the lover, bent on a long journey away from home :

"O beloved, when wilt thou come back ? At the end of this watch ? In the midday ? Even after that ? Or, is it after the whole day is gone ?" When her lover was preparing to start on a journey of a hundred days, the artless maiden beguiled his heart with such sobbing words, accompanied by a shower of tears.

"O fair Beloved, those who go abroad, do they not meet again ? Thou art too thin and weak ; thou must not have anxiety for me." When I said this with a sob in my throat, her eyes, with their pupils fixed in embarrassing shyness, drank up the falling tears, and her faint smile betrayed her inward resolve of death to come.

When the dear lover went away, my bracelet and my unobstructed tears went with him ; my patience stayed not a moment ; my heart wanted to go ahead. When my beloved made up his mind to go, everything went with him. Since thou hast also to go with him, why then, O Life, dost thou leave the company of that dear friend ?

Here is a pretty picture of the anxious wife who is expecting her husband back from broad every moment :

The wife of the wayfarer gazes on the path by which her beloved would come, so far as the eyes can reach, until, as the darkness of night falls and confuses the paths, discouraged and sorrowful, she takes one step to return to her home, but swiftly turns again her head to gaze, lest even at that very moment he might have come back.

It must not be supposed that these few specimens, imperfectly rendered in an alien tongue, exhaust all that is fine in this century of love-stanzas. Almost every poem in this collection has a charm of its own. The verses have all the perfection of miniature word-pictures, of which Sanskrit is pre-eminently capable. All of them treat of love in its varied aspects, often youthful and impassioned love, in which the senses and the spirit meet, with all the emotions of longing, hope, jealousy, anger, disappointment, despair, reconciliation and fruition. They are marked by a spirit of closeness to life and common realities which is not often seen in the laboured Sanskrit court-epics, as well as by a simplicity and directness, a complete harmony of sound and sense and a freedom from mere rhetoric

which makes a strong appeal to modern taste and interest. But on their surface the light of jewelled fancy plays and makes beautiful even the pains and pangs which are inseparable from the joys of love. It is true that there is much of sentimentality rather than true sentiment in the verses in which the poet weeps, rather weakly, over the sorrows of his temporary separation. Occasionally a deeper note is struck, but very seldom we have the sense of that irrevocable loss which alone evokes true pathos. It is not love tossed on the stormy seas of manhood and womanhood, nor is it that mighty passion, serious, infinite and divine, which leads to a richer and wider life. But, as we have already pointed out, Sanskrit lyric poets delight in depicting the playful moods of love, its aspect of *lila*, in which even sorrow becomes a luxury. They speak to us, no doubt, in tones of unmistakable seriousness ; but when they touch a deeper chord, the note of sorrow is seldom poignant but is rendered pleasing by a truly poetic enjoyment of its tender and pathetic implications. In this both the theory and practice of Sanskrit poetry agree.



A Bust--Deviprasad Ray-Chaudhuri

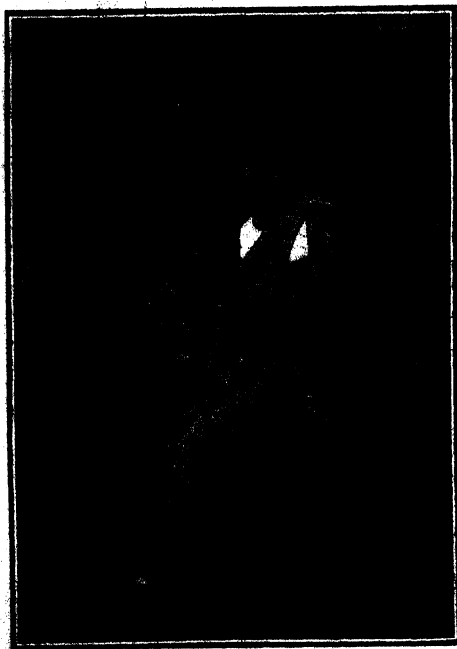


Portrait of Himself--Goya



MISS BACHUBEN LOTWALA whose portrait we published in these pages last year after her return from a tour in Europe with the Hon'ble Mr. V. J. Patel, is the first Indian lady to become the editor of a daily journal.

daughter of the late Rai Bahadur Makund Rao, Executive Engineer P. W. D., and cousin of H. H. Indirabai, the junior Maharani Holker of Indore. She passed the B. A. Examination of the Bombay University last year, taking honours in English.



Mrs. J. K. Bappu

She is a member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, one of the first batch to enter that body. She is now the editor of the a very widely circulated vernacular daily, Hindusthan and Prajamitra, owned and run by her father.

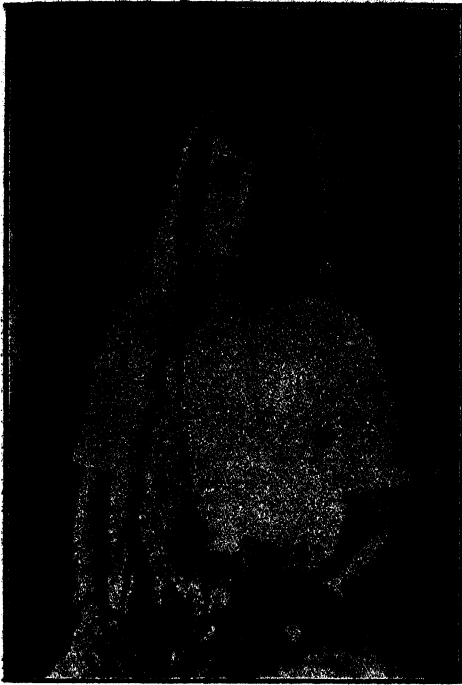
MISS GULAB H. MAKUND RAO, the grand



Miss Bechuben Lotwala

literature. She is the first Hindu lady who is appointed to the honour of a college fellowship. She teaches English to junior students in the Wilson College.

Mrs. J. K. BAPPU is a keen social worker. She takes great interest in child welfare and in temperance work. She is an Indian Christian and is very popular

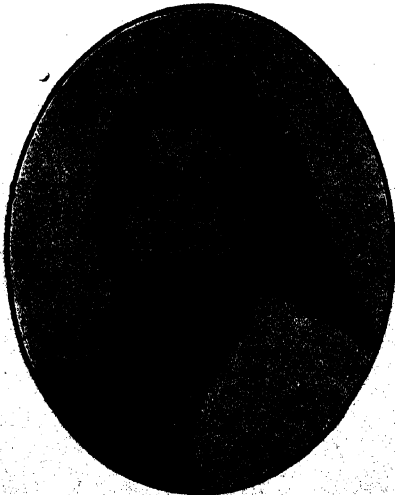


Mrs. M. Sorabji



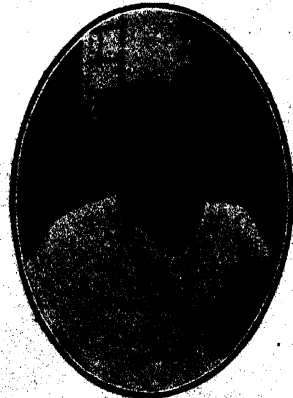
Mrs. J. S. Justin

MISS. A. J. WATCHA, B. A. (HONS) the first Parsi lady graduate of the Kernatak College, Dharwar, who passed her B. A. Examination with second class honours this year.



Miss A. J. Watcha

among the non-christian ladies of the town. She is the wife of the headmaster of the local high school.



Mrs. Thottakat Janaki Amma

Mrs. M. SORABJI, the wife of Mr. Maneckji Sorabji, pleader, and ex-chairman of the municipality of Cannanore, Malabar, is the first Parsi lady in South India to be



Miss L. Ramunia

appointed Special Magistrate of the bench of magistrate in Cannanore.

MISS. L. RAMUNNI, has been nominated by the Governments of Madras to be a member of the Bellary Municipal Council.

MRS. J. S. JUSTIN, has been appointed



Miss Gulab H. Makund Rao

member of the district educational council, Tinnevely.

MRS. THOTTAKAT JANAKI AMMA, Trichur is the first lady to be appointed Honorary Bench Magistrate in Cochin State. Coming of a respectable family, with high connections, she fully deserves the honour conferred upon her by the government.



Landscape—after an Old Russian Painting



Landscape—after a drawing by Harold W. Wrenn

THE FOREIGN MEDICAL BUREAUCRACY AND THE DUTIES OF THE MEDICAL PROFESSION IN INDIA.

By DR. SIR NILRATAN SIRCAR M.A., M.D., D. I. L.

This is an age of congresses and conferences, in other words, of social deliberation, as a means to social action. But in India throughout the ages a conference or Parisat has meant something more than this. Even the Vidyas (sciences), including the Ayurveda itself, appear to have originated in conferences, parisats and sangams, assembled in some forest retreat or some ancient seat of learning. Indeed, the medical sastras contain records of some of these assemblies where sages gathered from all parts of India from Balkh to Benares, from Taxila to Koshala under the presidency of Bhagavan Atreya, the reputed founder of the Charaka School of Medicine.

But never was a conference more necessary to medical men than at the present moment, when so many grave and momentous problems, on which hang the issues of life and death for our people, demand an anxious consideration. The Reception Committee have already drawn your attention to some of the more prominent questions bearing on the position of the medical profession in India in relation to the state, to the organisation of scientific research and study, to public health and sanitary administration and to medical ethics. The foremost of these is undoubtedly that of public health and sanitation, a problem which has been often discussed in recent years in India and abroad from an angle of vision other than what may claim to be national and Indian. These movements—foreign as they were in inception—represented the pressure of world opinion acting on the medical and hygienic situation in this country. Some of the “missions” are of momentous significance, but their usefulness would have been greatly increased if they had brought home to the Indian administration its grievous failure to deal with the mass of preventible death and sickness in the country by an intensive plan of campaign. The statistics of preventible mortality and sickness in India were indeed dismal and even more so was the provision in the medical and sanitation budgets as against the mortality figures (and this in spite of the strenuous efforts of the

well-meaning but helpless ministers in the provinces). All this would have constituted an outstanding reproach to any civilised administration professing a high standard of efficiency. The facts were shocking to the International conscience and some relief was necessary. That was provided by placing the ignorant and ill-conditioned Indian in the dock at the bar of civilized humanity. The picture was drawn in lurid colours, presenting a fifth of the human race as in bondage to evil customs and unnatural practices, and as a standing “menace” to the rest of the world. Some of our foreign mentors charged India with the guilt of spreading plagues and pestilences which are the scourge of mankind, forgetting that in the history of epidemics, from Syphilis (Feranga Roga) in the sixteenth century to Influenza in the twentieth, the “coloured” peoples of the East have often been decimated by diseases of foreign importation—forgetting also that in all contacts of “civilised” with “backward and primitive” peoples the former have been the carriers not only of the germs of vice but also of the germs of that social malaise which through an insidious decline of fertility has carried off most of the primitive stocks from the face of the earth. Again the social hygienists condemned the majority of Indians as carrying the poison of venereal diseases in their veins, forgetting their own statistics in this respect.

As for Leprosy, that universal scourge of mankind, of which there is seeming evidence even in prehistoric relics, though fortunately it has disappeared in many western countries, there is a grim humour in charging India on this score in utter forgetfulness of the fact that India has been instrumental in saving mankind from this fell disease or at any rate in procuring substantial relief; for, the much-vaunted recent advances in its treatment actually derived their inspiration and were but a scientific extension of the indigenous Indian practices based on Indian medical treatises.

In fact, all the evidence goes to show that the social and economic disturbances

which have followed in the wake of western civilisation, breaking in upon natural or primitive stocks and upon communal organisations based on a plan of simple outdoor living, has led to a deterioration of the Indian constitution with loss of staying power—the power to resist and to recuperate. The increasing pressure on the soil of an increasing agricultural population, together with the economic destitution of the artisan classes exposed to a ruthless competition with the forces of modern machinery and capitalism, is no doubt the ultimate cause of this loss of staying power, as evidenced by the phenomenal excess in our mortality and sickness rates; and in some parts of the country, as the Bengal delta, the neglect of the old irrigation system, aggravated by colossal blunders of embankment and railway alignment, appears to have been responsible for turning a land of peace and plenty into a home of stark want and fell disease.

But if this is the situation in India, it should not be a hopeless one. It is amenable to administrative and legislative remedies. A sanitary campaign must go hand in hand with a well-conceived scheme of agrarian and industrial reform. A co-ordinated policy like this can be carried to a successful issue only by a national and nationally-minded government. Both the Hindu and Mohammedan administrators of old gave a better account of their stewardship. It was no less a British statesman than Lord Amphill, who in opening the King Institute of preventive medicine in Madras declared that "the great law-giver Manu was one of the greatest sanitary reformers the world has ever seen." But judge the sanitary campaign of our modern law-givers and administrators by any modern standard of efficiency in the prevention, elimination or reduction of epidemic diseases or in going to their root causes and in seeking to extirpate them and you will find for the most part half measures, halting and diffident steps, desultory attempts, turnings back and tergiversations, all indicating a lack of sympathy if not positive apathy, and more or less a paralysis of the will which eagerly seeks pretexts for inaction and sees lions in the path. And this non-possumus attitude is accompanied by an alacrity to shift the burden of responsibility on to non-remediable social forces and non-accessible historic agencies. For the rest, an appeal

to Malthus, like charity, covers a multitude of sins.

The secret of this unfortunate situation is not hard to read. An alien trusteeship of a people's life and fortune is almost a contradiction in terms. Sanitation, like education, is a social business and can be successfully conducted and administered only by a social agency which is an organic member of the society itself;—witness the Bengal Co-operative Antimalarial Society, the Bengal Health Association and the Bengal Social Service League and similar organisations in other provinces. Principal Ramsbotham has perceived this truth in the sphere of higher education. It is equally axiomatic in the sphere not merely of medical education but also of medical and sanitary administration. For among the governing factors in all sanitary reforms and movements are the social and the economic conditions of life, the environment, material as well as moral, and above all, the psychology of the people:—and an alien administration, out of touch with these living realities, will either run counter to them and be brought up against a dead wall of irremovable and irremediable social facts or, weary of fighting half-understood obstacles in the path, grow funky and timid and fight shy of all social legislation even in the best interests of the people's lives and health. Sometimes indeed the mischief does not stop there. It goes on breeding jealousy and suspicion and, in the last phase an intolerance even to madness and a sanitary administration, whose *raison d'être* is the service of the people, may even end by grudging a health exhibition under popular auspices for the people's education in public health.

The same spirit of unpardonable official non-co-operation is in evidence when the question turns on organising medical and sanitary research under the responsible direction of Indian officers, and yet the Indian is nowise wanting in capacity for such work; witness the remarkable results achieved by many Indians working under great difficulty and also by the purely Indian installations of scientific research like the Bose Institute, and the Science College instituted by the late Taraknath Palit and Rashbehary Ghose of loving memory, in the Calcutta University, both for training men and investigating scientific facts and phenomena. Nothing is more demoralising than a situation in which the natural master and servant change their places,—even the Biblical parable

knows nothing of this species of the "unprofitable stewards."

It is futile to expect a vigorous growth of the faculty of scientific research under the cold shade of alien authority that has only a sneer of indifference, if not of jealousy, for genuine merit in the aspiring subordinate. The natural apprehension seems to be that a meritorious Indian in subordinate capacity, if encouraged, may raise his head too high by perseverance and devotion to scientific work.

But in India we labour under a double disadvantage. The medical bureaucracy is not only alien, but it is also recruited primarily for the military as opposed to the civil administration. And this makes any expansion in the organisation of medical and sanitary services to the country, any reforms in the constitution of the bureaucratic Medical Service exceedingly difficult, if not hopeless. To perpetuate and strengthen this anomalous and injurious system in spite of the unanimous protest of the profession and the people's representatives in the legislatures constitutes a grievous wrong. The ostensible grounds viz. the provision of a war reserve and also of European medical attendance to European Civil officers and their families, cannot bear examination even for a moment. The military department should find a reserve and the civil branch should be made free from the encroachments of the military medical officers. Vacancies in the educational and scientific posts should be filled up by selection, whereas for general medical and sanitary administration there should be separate services recruited by open competition in India. As for the needs of the European civil officers and their families, there is no difficulty in the cities where there is no dearth of European medical practitioners. As regards the mofussil, an Indian Government may be excused for not agreeing to sacrifice the vital and material interests of medical administration as well as those of national medical talent for the sake of gratifying a sentiment, however natural, of a "microscopic minority." It is indispensable that all the civil medical services at least should be Indianised. If we want an intensive campaign against the death-dealing agencies that are rampant in the land, if we want a zealous, whole-hearted indefatigable prosecution of a national policy working for the eradication of preventible diseases and suffering, the medical and sanitary administration must be handed over to the sons of the soil, who will

have the effective will as well as the intimate knowledge and warm interest that are a *sine qua non*.

But vested interests are opposing tooth and nail any reform in this direction and for an ounce of concession they demand a ton of additional privilege. And often the privilege begins apace, though the concession, like wisdom, lingers, and may even fail to appear, as in the case of some chairs in a Medical College which were promised liberation from the grip of the Military Service.

If an over-centralised administration in alien hands is a material handicap, the proposed Central Council of Medical Registration is likely to aggravate the situation still further by depriving the Provincial Councils and Universities and Medical Councils of their freedom of action and their power of local variation and adaptation. Such a council is bound under existing conditions to draw the chains of central authority tighter still. As in every other sphere of legislation, an increase in centralisation before the transfer of responsibility to the people must necessarily delay that transfer.

The objections to the contemplated Bill are manifold. Enormous powers are to be given to the Central Council—powers of inspection, of regulation and of discipline which will curtail the freedom of local development, of initiation and variation, which are of the utmost importance in a vast and diversified sub-continent with provinces as big and populous as the United Kingdom, not all in the same stage of growth. But the powers of the proposed council will be comprehensive, the constitution narrow and unrepresentative and its composition predominantly bureaucratic; for it will have a nominated president, nominated members forming more than two-fifths of its entire strength, in strange contrast with the British Medical Council, and the regulations will be subject to the approval of the Governor-General—all this ensuring full Governmental control. Neither the academic and scientific elements nor the independent professional element will be adequately represented and the diverse interests of the services, of the students and of the independent profession will be left to the care of an unrepresentative chamber. Besides the position of the provincial authorities will be most anomalous and unreal and hardly compatible with any scheme of provincial autonomy.

It is high time that an All-India medical association on a widely representative basis—a deliberative body which will help in informing and organising collective opinion and in formulating social and administrative policies.—should be started. Such a body, if it had existed, could have done yeoman service in regard to much of the social legislation now on the anvil, viz., the child marriage and consent bills.

This conference, indigenous in inception and animated with the instinct not of self-approbation of a monopolistic service but of self-dedication in the temple of national service must bring to its task a collective sense of responsibility no less than a burning faith and conviction in deliberating on the great problems of health and life in India, supplying by their own alertness and vigilance that lack of initiation and correcting by their own intimate touch with living conditions that unreality which are the characteristic mark of the management of one people's life and fortune by another. Our responsibilities are therefore tremendous, but they are responsibilities of adult life, in other words, of conscious self-determination and self-help.

Some of these responsibilities may now be more concretely defined. Take, for instance, the question of medical education. The paucity of scientifically trained medical men in India—there being, only 1 in about 10,000 of the population even in the most advanced districts—is a standing bar to the extension of medical relief and progress of research work and sanitation. The demand for medical training is acute and insistent, but the existing facilities are wholly insufficient. We may cry ourselves hoarse but the authorities are deaf in regard to these life-saving measures. However, the rapid multiplication of facilities of the right sort in properly equipped institutions devolves, therefore, as a primary responsibility on the medical profession. This calls for self-sacrificing zeal and patient labour of love, which indeed have been forthcoming in a remarkable manner all over India, but the costly equipments that are wanted cannot be easily provided unless the university as well as the Government, help and concentrate their efforts in improving the medical institutions in order to make the scientific foundation of medical training as deep and as broad as possible. As regards the curriculum the old world dissociation of mathematics from medical studies should not be perpetuated in any higher

medical course of studies. A training in some of the methods of mathematical analysis and statistical technique is now becoming increasingly necessary for the physiologist, the biologist, the student of medicine, the public health officer, as for the economist and the sociologist. The case of bio-physics and bio-chemistry is even more imperative. Research professorships and post-graduate scholarships should be provided in higher medical colleges. In the appointment of teachers all considerations of vested interests and service claims should be ignored and selections should be made only on the ground of efficiency and competence from the profession, preference being given to candidates with creditable records in research work.

The teaching in the medical schools should be improved by the introduction of scientific subjects in the curriculum and the extension of the course to five years.

These institutions for medical education in India have certain responsibilities towards the ancient culture of the land, Hindu as well as Islamic. The Hindu medical *Shastras*, their remarkably extensive materia medica and even their systematic though imperfect therapeutics have undeniable claims on the attention of the Indian profession. The system was no doubt imperfect in character, but all science began in empiricism and practical technique. In the case of Hindu medicine this empiricism succeeded in elaborating some scientific (or pre-scientific) concepts of great significance, such as the cell, the nerve fibre, the sensory and motor conductors, the germ cell etc, and in reaching many practical results in medicine of which we are justly proud. The Yunani medical system had also a remarkable history from early Greco-Syrian sources to the famous Bagdad and Basora Schools, the preceptors of mediaeval Europe, and from there to the flourishing *Tibia* of the 14th and 15th centuries in Persia, Turkey, India and other countries. There should be chairs for these subjects in the colleges.

The present-day medical research in India is in a position to take up, by the application of modern scientific methods, the story of medical investigations in ancient India. This does not imply any unbridgeable breach of continuity, carrying on as it does, the progress from the old imperfect methodology to the quantitatively precise methodology of our day, and

our medical practice should incorporate whatever elements of value there may be in the indigenous practice, lifting them up to the plane of modern science by the application of scientific technique, as was done in the instance of leprosy. To do this thoroughly and efficiently we must give up the attitude of exclusiveness, the *touch-me-not spirit* and put ourselves *en rapport* with the genuine living representatives of the ancient medical art.

The limits of our co-operation with the practitioners of these pre-scientific systems of medicine raise an important question of medical ethics which we cannot afford to leave unsettled in the interests of medical relief to our people in the conditions as they exist today. Apart from the genuine merit of their therapeutics, the paucity and inadequacy of our number, amounting only to about 1 in 10000 of the population, necessitates the enlisting of the service of practitioners of these schools for the huge task of medical relief. We should not forget the fact that we are only about 23000 registered practitioners at present and the people number 320 millions scattered in 700000 villages. So long as we cannot directly attend the whole population by our agency, should we not lend a helping hand to the honourable and educated men of both the indigenous schools who have consecrated their lives to the service of suffering humanity and give them such access, as is possible, to our modern science and technique—as also the guidance of our modern knowledge and enlightenment?

Cognate to this is what may be regarded as the fundamental responsibility of the Indian medical man towards the Indian society of today. That society has inherited certain habits and habitudes which are ill-adapted to our present changed surroundings and are widely destructive of healthy tissues in the social organism. It is the primary duty of the Indian medical and sanitary experts to investigate these social problems by methods of exact measurement, viz., the

various factors that contribute to an excessive child and maternal mortality, the effect of our marriage customs on our vitality and fecundity and the degree of innutrition or mal-nutrition resulting from our dietary customs and their relation to different diseases. These and similar other problems too numerous to mention, have to be scientifically investigated and, if possible, quantitatively determined. And the results will give the exact line of guidance to our social reformer and legislator, just as the medical inspection of our student population, more specially if it should be directed to finding not merely physical constants but also psycho-physical correlations by a careful system of co-ordinated physical and psychical measurements, will be fruitful of direction to our educational organiser and reformer.

This scientific living is the function of a living society in our scientific age. We must, therefore, overhaul the very foundations of our habits and life, individual as well as social, and orientate them to modern living conditions. In this great social task a scientifically trained Indian medical man will be the guide, friend and philosopher. He must fit himself to be the enlightened conscience of the community, the high priest of social regeneration, the social legislator *par excellence* in this era of scientific humanism. But his will be no alien aloofness or apathy, no sneer of self-sufficiency, no arrogance of self-righteousness; his will be the chastened frame of a humble and contrite spirit, taking upon himself the sins of the ignorant and the misguided and holding himself to be the keeper of his brother's conscience. In the knowledge that we are all members of one another, his will be a conscious human fellowship to which there is no outcaste, individual or nation, and above all, his will be the reverence that becomes the student of the mystery of life.

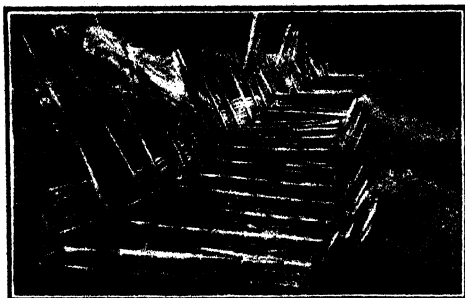
[Address delivered as chairman of the reception committee, All-India Medical Conference, Calcutta, 1928.]



Trapping Wild Elephants

Trapping wild Indian elephants is a regularly organized business in the native state of Mysore.

A vast wild-elephant preserve, a hundred miles from the state capital, has been set aside to raise the tuskers. At least once a year there is a jungle round-up.



The Pit that Guards the Stockade against Attack by the Wild Herd: the Deep Ditch is Revetted with Sticks to Further Discourage Any Attempt at Rushing the Wall



The Arrival of a wily Old Tusker at the Round-Up Scene

An enormous stockade, built of logs driven into the ground and chained together, is erected in a jungle clearing. Inside the fence a deep ditch, carefully revetted with sharpened poles, is dug around the clearing, except in front of the gates.

The ditch discourages an organized attempt to uproot the fence, which, probably would crash if an entire herd could run into it.

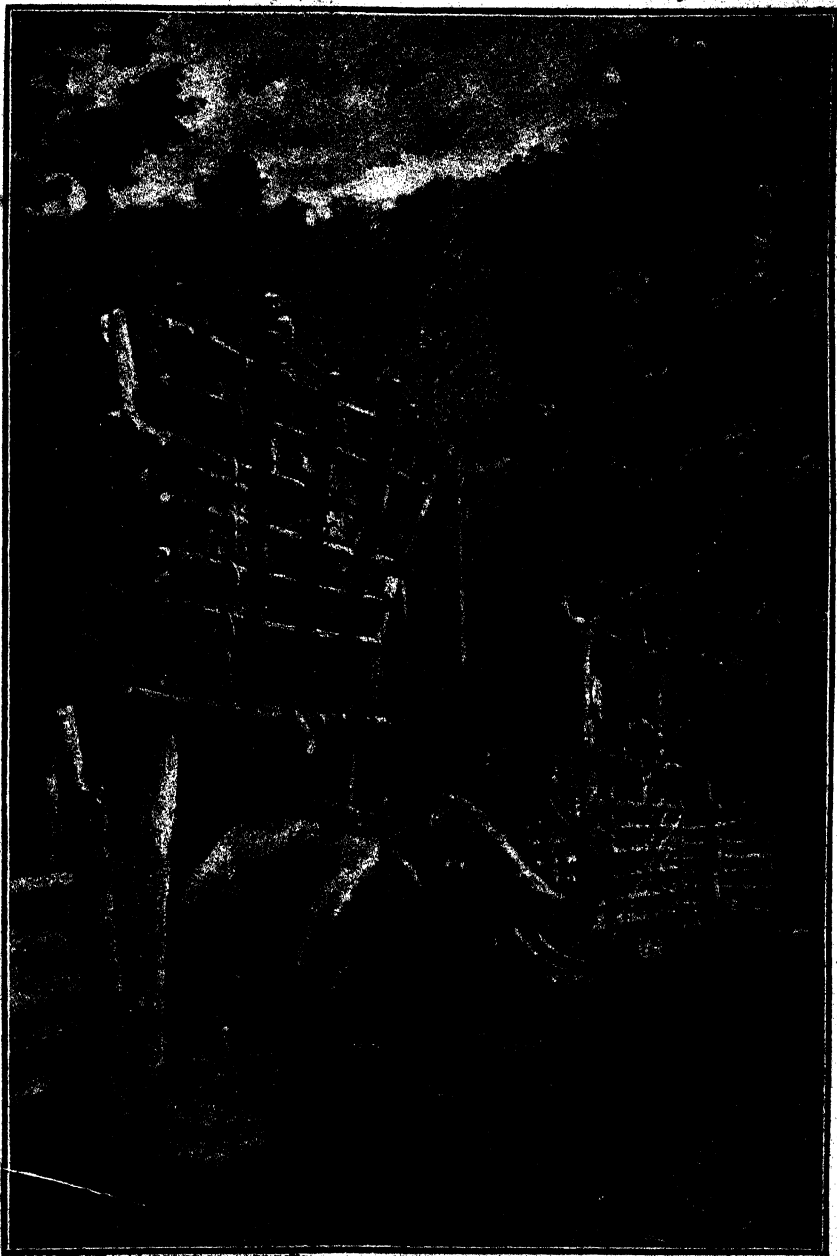
From the stockade, a long and broad avenue is cleared through the jungle, the undergrowth being piled along the edges to encourage the elephants to keep to the open path. Four to six hundred natives of the district usually are enlisted as beaters, and a herd of tame work elephants is brought down.



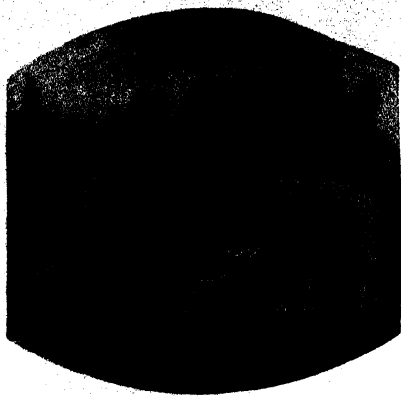
Half-Tamed Young Elephants in the Stockade

The beaters, distributed around miles of territory start their work, beating drums and pans, firing guns and fire-works, and making as much noise as possible. The startled elephants in the jungle begin to mill about, until they find in one quarter there is no noise, so they head in that direction. The gathering herd eventually stumbles on the cleared road-way and takes to it until they reach the stockade gate and pass through it. The watchers, hidden in near-by trees, release the catch and the gate falls, barring escape of the herd.

As the captured wild animals are calmed down, the



A Wild Elephant Charging through the Main Entrance to the Keedah, or Stockade, Used to Trap the Jungle Herds in the Round Ups in Mysore State, India; the Guards on the Second Gate Are Armed to Check Any Attempted Stampede and the Fence Is Protected by a Deep Ditch



A Wild One Being Led to Water

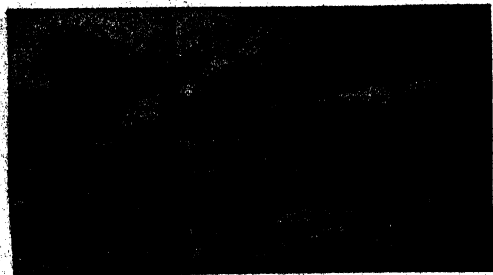
gate is opened and a troop of wily old tuskers, able to fight if need be, and trained for the work, march in and surround the nearest animal, forcing him out away from his mates. Once outside, he is shoved and pushed around until he reaches a picket tree, when natives attach hobbles and chains and tie him up to get used to captivity. One by one the entire wild herd is treated in the same manner. Some fight, some are stubborn and lie down and refuse to move, while others quickly accept the new order of things and yield.

For several days the captives are kept chained to trees. Then they are yoked one by one to tame elephants and led down to water, and permitted to take a dust or mud bath. The same training goes on day after day until they become sufficiently broken to be worked alone.

Popular Mechanics, October

Long-Lost Drawings by Goethe

Germany has made a curious discovery revealing the skill of the poet Goethe as an artist. After more than a century, art connoisseurs have found a forgotten sketch-book made by him during a



A Newly Discovered Drawing Made By The Poet Goethe



Another of Goethe's Poetic Landscapes. Both of the pictures here reproduced through *Die Woche* of Berlin are from a sketch-book made by the poet Goethe more than a hundred years ago, and only now brought to light

winter journey from Weimar to Jena in 1807, when he was fifty-eight years old. He called it his "Little Book of Travel, Amusement and Consolation," and it is filled with wash-drawings of real artistic merit.

Die Woche says. "We may justly call this little book a wholly unknown volume of Goethe's poems done in landscapes."

Poplars by the river, a castle on a hill, anything with a poetic atmosphere seemed to give the poet inspiration for a picture. His new-found drawings are preserved in the Goethe Museum at Weimar.

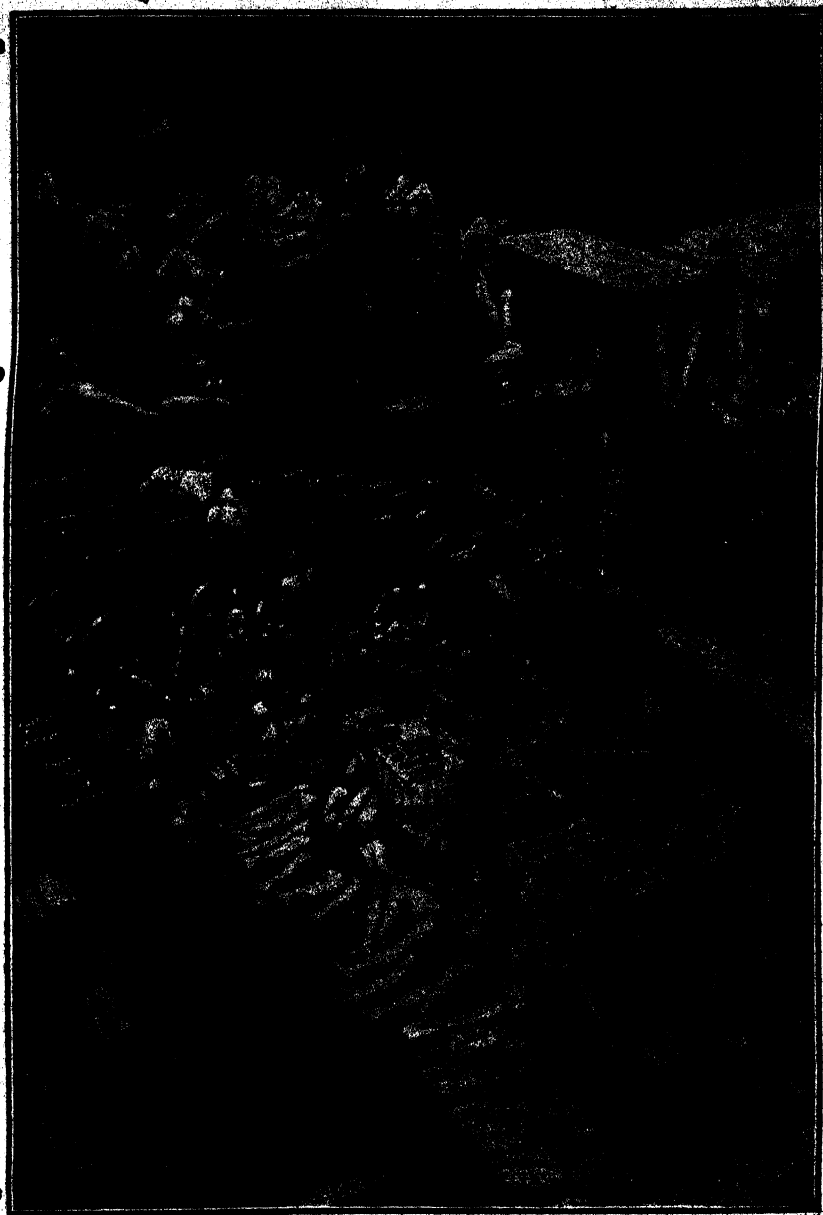
Literary Digest, August 25

Ur Tombs Reveal Ancient Sacrificial Customs

Fifty-nine servitors of a king and queen who died more than 5,000 years ago, were killed to serve their master and mistress in the next world, it was disclosed recently when the joint expedition of the University of Pennsylvania and the British Museum dug into the royal tombs of Ur of the Chaldees, better known as the home city of the patriarch Abraham. The king and queen whose retainers were slaughtered to serve them in death were the Sumerian rulers, Mes-Kalam-Dug and Queen Shub-Ad. Soldiers of the guard women of the harem, men and women servants, grooms, wagon drivers, harpists, and even two children, probably pages at court, were the victims, as well as six oxen and two asses. The discovery of the tombs is the greatest find yet made in the excavation of the ancient civilization of the Euphrates, and because of the far greater antiquity, equals it if it does not surpass anything found in Egypt.

Apart from the importance of the objects and the discovery of the sacrificial custom of killing a ruler's household, the excavators disclosed in the tomb entrance a true arch of baked bricks, the oldest example of this form of construction.

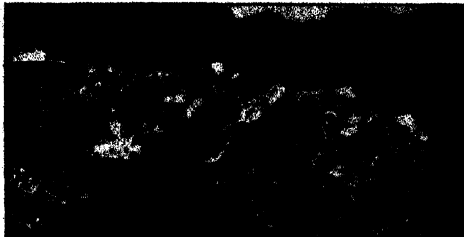
Popular Mechanics, October



Artist's Reconstruction of the Slaughter of the Royal Household of King Mes-Kalam-Dug of Ur, to Provide Attendants for the King and Queen Shub-Ad in the Next World ; the University of Pennsylvania-British Museum Expedition Found the Tombs While Excavating Ur of the Chaldees

Abating the Garbage Nuisance

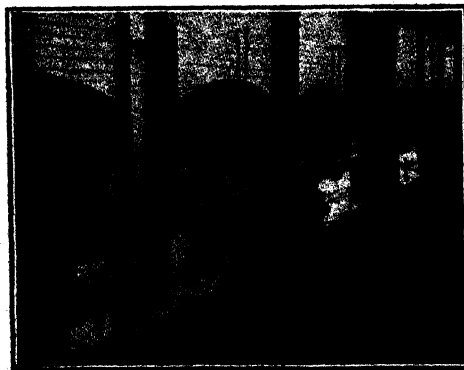
How to take refuse away from the door, in the speediest, most inconspicuous way; how to haul it without annoying the passer-by; how to get rid



Down By The River—Before Incinerator Days
The old garbage dump in the outskirts of Charleston, West Virginia—a hideous spot like those still disfiguring many of our otherwise beautiful cities

of it without creating nuisance; and how to achieve all of this cheaply—that is the problem.

Long ago, the disposal plant at Feurth, near Nuremberg, Germany, for instance, and that at Rotterdam, embowered themselves in fruit trees and flowers, and visitors to the plants picked roses and strawberries in the garden.



Furnace Room of A Garbage Incinerator

"The creation at Sausalito, California of Garbage Park, jutting out into San Francisco Bay, is an effort to make garbage more respectable.

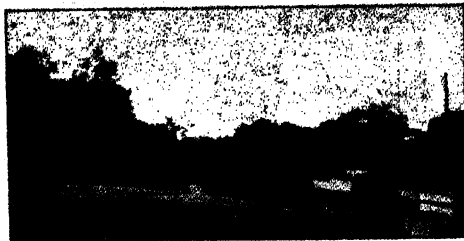
The garbage mixed with rubbish is deposited in three-foot layers and covered with some porous but light excluding material, under which it quickly oxidizes. By this means Seattle has turned gullies into playground and building sites.

The municipal piggery is another way used to get rid of kitchen wastes. Worcester, Massachusetts, has long had one, keeping as many as five thousand swine.

"Incineration, on the other hand, is constantly gaining ground."

Ashes from burnt garbage often contain a high percentage of potash, valuable as fertilizer.

Charleston, boasts a plant, though small in its seventy-ton capacity, that yields neither odour nor smoke, and is so attractive, that the town considers it a show spot. "The ladies" were largely instrumental in bringing this plant to Charleston. Most of it



After The Incinerator was Installed
The same spot as shown above as it appears now that Charleston has an incinerator plant for the disposal of its garbage

is built below the level of the road. Rubbish and garbage together are dropped down an inclined plane into the bin, the bottom of which is the top of a hot-air chamber. The vapors and fumes produced by the burning refuse in the bin are drawn into the furnace so forcibly by blast blowers that no odours escape. Here they produce heat so intense that solid materials, even metals, are soon reduced to ashes. Working only two eight-hour shifts six days a week, the plant can produce a temperature of 1,700 to 1,900 degrees in the combustion chamber. Animal carcasses, dumped separately from the garbage, are consumed in a fraction of the ordinarily taken for cremation.

Martyrs Of Science

"Gas Kills Noted Surgeon." Buried in the news columns, a few months ago, appeared that heading, with a brief announcement of the death, in Manchester, England, of Dr. Sidney Rawson Wilson, distinguished surgeon and anaesthetist.

"For years Doctor Wilson had experimented with anaesthetics to develop one which would prolong that 'border' state in which a patient, though losing all feeling, still retains consciousness. Success seemed at hand. The only way thoroughly to test his results was to experiment on himself. He adjusted the gas-mask over his face—and died.

"Many experimenters have tried the effects of poisons on themselves. In tests conducted by Dr. Linn J. Boyd to determine how much of the poisons of insects the human body can absorb without serious suffering, fifty students in the New York Homeopathic Medical College volunteered to take daily doses in capsules of poisons of spiders, bees, and other insects, over a period of six months. Fortunately the results were not disastrous, and a valuable contribution was made to medical knowledge.

"No single act of heroism, during the great war surpassed that of Miss Mary Davies, Welsh



Dr. Hideyo Noguchi
He fell in the war on disease



Vivisected

This is J. B. S. Haldane, one of the most famous living British scientists who underwent vivisection to help surgeons learn how to treat diabetes



Sleep-starved For Science
In the bed is Dr. N. F. Fisher of the University of Chicago, asleep after staying awake five days and four nights to study the effects of protected sleeplessness. The assistant is learning every detail of his physical condition by use of the appropriate instruments

bacteriologist, who died in France a few weeks ago. She deliberately inoculated herself with gas-gangrene germs to test a remedy for the terrible malady which killed thousands of soldiers in the early war days.

At this moment Sir Henry Hind, the world's leading authority on Parkinson's disease, is slowly dying in London, the victim of this mysterious creeping paralysis which he has tried for years to cure. Through his own experiences as a sufferer he is discovering new facts about the dread disease. Twenty years ago Sir Henry had the nerves of his left arm severed, in order to study the problem of paralysis first hand.

"Sir Patrick Manson took his life in his hands to prove that malaria was not a solely climatic disease. Importing malarial mosquitoes, he exposed himself to them in London and developed a severe illness of the disease. Happily, he was able to cure himself.

"Every one should know the thrilling story of Dr. Jesse Lazear, the heroic American who, thirty years ago, gave his life to prove that yellow fever is contagious only because its germ is carried by a certain kind of mosquito. Dr. Lazear exposed himself to such a mosquito bite and died of 'yellow jack.' But largely through his self-sacrifice, the scourge of yellow fever no longer threatens the human race.

A PHILOSOPHICAL WRITER ACCUSED OF PLAGIARISM

To

The Editor,

The Modern Review

Dear Sir,

I shall be very much obliged if you will kindly publish the following in your esteemed journal.

I submitted my thesis on "Indian Psychology of Perception" to the Calcutta University for Premchand Roychand Studentship in October, 1922, and was awarded a studentship in the same year. The second, third, and fourth instalments of the thesis, were subsequently submitted by me in December, 1923, October, 1924, and October, 1925. On the completion of my thesis I was awarded the Mouat Medal by the University of Calcutta in 1925. The whole of my thesis was examined by Prof. S. Radhakrishnan and Prof. Krishna Chandra Bhattacharya. For the last one year, I have been recasting my thesis for publication; and only a month ago, I was surprised to notice that I had been already anticipated by one of my venerable examiners, Prof. S. Radhakrishnan of the Calcutta University. Numerous passages from my thesis have been bodily incorporated

in his renowned book, *Indian Philosophy Vol. II.*, which was published as late as 1927, (the preface being dated December, 1926). Some of these passages have been printed in small type in the body of his work and in foot-notes to indicate the specialised knowledge of the great scholar, while others have been incorporated into, and printed with his text in the same type. Obviously, he wants to pass them off as his own, since he has not cared to acknowledge their source. Besides, he has summarised certain chapters of my thesis in his own admirable way without even taking the trouble of changing my language. Perhaps the renowned Professor does not know that before the publication of his book, some portions of my thesis from which he has freely borrowed without acknowledgment had already appeared in print. For the enlightenment of the public I subjoin from the published and unpublished portions of my thesis some examples of the learned Professor's plagiarism, and I would request you to allow me, on a future occasion, to give further proofs of his unacknowledged borrowings.

Meerut College
Dec. 20, 1928.

Yours Faithfully
Jadunath Sinha

PARALLEL PASSAGES

Extracts from my thesis submitted to the Calcutta University for P. R. S. in October, 1922.

1. "The self can know itself only through its reflection in the mind modified into the form of the object." (Published in the *Meerut College Magazine*, Vol. XV, No 3, January, 1924 p. 94).

2. "Vācaspatimisra holds that the self can know itself, only when attention is entirely withdrawn from the *mental function* in which the self is reflected, and wholly concentrated on the *reflection* of the self in the pure intelligence-stuff of the mind (बुद्धिस्वरूप)." (Published in the *Meerut College Magazine*, January, 1924, p. 94).

3. "The self, in its pure essence, is the *object* of self-apprehension, and the *pure intelligence-stuff* of the mind which takes in the reflection of the self and is modified into its form is the *subject* of self-apprehension.

बुद्धिस्वरूपगतपुरुषप्रतिबिम्बाऽलम्बनान् पुरुषालम्बनम् । बुद्धि-
स्तमेव तु तेन प्रत्ययेन सकान्तपुरुषप्रतिबिम्बं पुरुषश्चापन्नं
चेतन्यमालम्बते ।

(Tattvavaisaradi, III, 35.) (Published in the *Meerut College Magazine*, January, 1924, pp. 94—95).

Extracts from Prof. S. Radhakrishnan's *Indian Philosophy, Vol II.* first published in 1927.

1. "The puruṣa can know itself only through its reflection in the buddhi, modified into the form of the object." (In small type, p. 299.).

2. "According to Vācaspati, the self can know itself only when attention is entirely withdrawn from the mental function in which the self is reflected, and is wholly concentrated on the reflection of the self in the sattva nature of buddhi." (In small type, p. 299).

3. "In this act the subject of self-apprehension is said to be buddhi in its sattva nature, rendered consciousness by receiving the reflection of puruṣa in it; and the object is the self in its purity. *Tattvavaiśārādī*, IV (?). 35." (In small type, p. 299).

(Though in actual wording there is not a great similarity in these two parallel passages, the two sentences preceding it and the four sentences succeeding it appear very much like each other. So this passage also in *Indian Philosophy (Vol. II)* may owe its origin to the same source

4. "Vyasa says in his Yoga-Bhashya that the self cannot be manifested or known by the intelligence-stuff of the mind in which the self is reflected, as the mind is unconscious; it is the self which knows itself through its reflection in the pure intelligence-stuff of the mind.

न च पुरुषप्रत्ययेन बुद्धिस्तत्त्वानना पुरुषो दृश्यते, पुरुष एव त्वयं स्वात्मावलम्बनं पश्यति । (Vyasa-Bhashya, III. 35)" published in the *Meerut College Magazine*, January, 1924, p. 95).

5. "Thus, according to Vijñānabhikṣu, the self knows itself through the reflection, in itself, of the mental mode, which takes in the reflection of the self and is modified into its form, just as it knows an external object e. g. a jar through the reflection, in itself, of the mental mode or psychic union which assumes the form of the object.

स्वशक्तिविभक्तवशाकारबुद्धिदर्शनमेव पुरुषज्ञानम् । यथा स्वशक्तिविभक्तवशाकारबुद्धिदर्शनमेव पुरुषस्य घटदर्शनमिति ।

(Yogavartika, III. 35)" (Published in the *Meerut College Magazine*, January, 1924, p. 95).

6. "But how does he avoid self-contradiction, if the self knows itself through the reflection, in itself, of the mental mode which assumes the form of the self? He says that there is no contradiction in the cognition of the self by the self, inasmuch as the self is essentially self-luminous. (Published in the *Meerut College Magazine*, January, 1924, p. 95).

7. "Vijñānabhikṣu holds that the self as determined or qualified by the mental mode, which is modified into the form of the self, is the knowing subject, and the self, in its pure essence, free from all determinations, is the known object.

विशिष्टाविशिष्टरूपेण ज्ञातृज्ञेययोर्भेदस्तत्त्वात् । आत्माकारबुद्ध्यवच्छिन्नस्य ज्ञातृत्वात् केवलस्यज्ञेयत्वात् ।

(Yogavartika III. 35)." (Published in the *Meerut College Magazine*, January, 1924, p. 96).

8. "According to the Bhatta Mimamsaka, the self is not manifested in every consciousness of an object; the object-consciousness (विषयवित्ति) is not always appropriated to the self. For instance, sometimes I know that 'this is a jar,' but I do not know that 'I know the jar.' So the Bhatta holds that though the self is manifested when an object is known, it is not manifested either as the subject (कर्ता) or as the object (कर्म) of this object-consciousness (विषयवित्ति), but along with this object-consciousness there is sometimes another distinct consciousness viz., self-consciousness of which the self is the object.

यद्यपि विषयवित्तिलेलायामेवात्मावभासस्तथापि न विषयवित्तिकर्तृत्वात् न वा विषयवित्तिकर्मतयाऽवभासो भवत्यव्याप्तेः किं तु मानसाहंप्रत्ययकर्मतयाऽवभासः । Shastradipika P. 482 (Ch. S. S.)

Prabhakara is right in so far as the self is always implicitly involved in the consciousness of the not-self or object; and the Bhatta Mimamsaka is right in so far as the self is not always

4. "Vyāsa holds that the self cannot be known by the buddhi in which it is reflected, but it is the self which knows itself through its reflection in the pure nature of buddhi. (Y. B., III. 35)." (In small type, p. 299).

5. "Vijñānabhikṣu thinks that the self knows itself through the reflection in itself of the mental modification, which takes in the reflection of the self and is modified into its form, even as it knows an external object through the reflection in itself of the mental modification which assumes the form of the object" (Yogavartika, III. 35)" (In small type, p. 299).

6. "Since the self is essentially self-luminous, it can know itself through the reflection in itself of the mental mode which assumes the form of the self." (In small type, p. 299).

7. "Vijñānabhikṣu regards the self as determined by the mental mode which is modified into the form of the self as the subject, and the self in its pure essence as the object." (In small type, p. 299).

[The above seven sentences consecutively occur in a paragraph on page 299 of *Indian Philosophy*, vol. II, without any intervening sentence. The author has referred only to those commentaries on *yogasūtras* to which I referred in my thesis. He has made verbal changes here and there in these sentences. This clearly shows that he had an intention to pass them off as his own.]

8. "According to the followers of Kumārila, the self is not manifested in every cognitive act. The object of consciousness is not always appropriated by the self. One sometimes knows the object 'this is a jar,' but one does not know that he knows the jar. While the self is not manifested as the subject or the object of the object-consciousness (viśayavrtti?), sometimes there occurs along with the object-consciousness another distinct consciousness, viz., self-consciousness (ahampratyaya), of which the self is the object. Prabhākara is right in holding that the subject is always involved in the consciousness of not-self, but it is not always explicitly manifested. It is manifested only in self-consciousness, which cannot be identified with object-consciousness. Self-consciousness marks a higher degree of conscious life than the mere consciousness of the object."

[This entire paragraph occurs on p. 411 of *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, in small type. The author does not give any reference here. The close similarity between these two long passages is really startling! How could they closely resemble each other, which interpret the doctrines of Kumārila and Prabhākara? And still there is a fruitless attempt to make slight changes here and there

explicitly manifested in the consciousness of the not-self, but it is *explicitly* manifested only in self-consciousness or 'I'-consciousness which can not be identified with mere object-consciousness. Self-consciousness is certainly a higher degree of conscious life than the mere consciousness of an object; it involves an additional factor of self-appropriation."

(Published in the *Meerut College Magazine*, January, 1924, in the same article, pp.89-90.) [This is *my own interpretation* of Kumarila and Prabhakara's doctrines of the preception of the self. It is not a mere translation of a Sanskrit passage.

All the above passages (items 1-8) occur in the chapter on *Perception of the self* which was published without any change in the *Meerut College Magazine*, January, 1924, from my thesis submitted to the Calcutta University in October, 1922, which was examined by Prof. Radhakrishnan.)

Extracts from the original manuscript of my thesis entitled "Indian Psychology of Perception" (Vol. II), submitted to the Calcutta University in December, 1923, and examined by Prof. Radhakrishnan :—

1. "If by 'objectivity' we mean that a cognition is produced by it, then objectivity would belong to the sense-organs and other conditions which produce a cognition.

2. It is not possible for a property to be produced in an object at a time when the object does not exist.

3. Apprehendedness is a property of the object; hence it can never be produced in past and future objects, though they can be apprehended. (*Vide Tarkabhāṣa*).

4. The Bhatta argues that after the cognition is produced, there is produced in the object a peculiar condition known as 'cognisedness' or 'apprehendedness' (*jñātata*), just as the action of cooking produces in rice the condition of *cookedness*. But this is a false analogy. In the case of rice, we distinctly perceive *cookedness* in the rice in its being changed from *tandula* (uncooked rice) to *odana* (cooked rice); but in the case of the object in question, we do not perceive any such *cognisedness*.

5. Then, again, just as when an object is cognised, there is produced in it a peculiar property called *cognisedness*, so when this *cognisedness* is known, there would be a *cognisedness* produced in that *cognisedness* also, and so on *ad infinitum*.

6. If *cognisedness* be regarded as self-luminous, in order to avoid this *regressus ad infinitum*, then why should you not admit the self-luminosity or self-cognisability of the cognition itself?

7. It may be argued that an object has existence extending over the past, the present, and the future; but when it is cognised, it is cognised as belonging to the *present*.

8. And *cognisedness* is nothing but the condition of the object determined by the *present* time; and this being an effect of the cognition is the 'mark' for the inference of the cognition.

9. But this argument is unsound, because by 'the condition of the object determined by the present

to give the above extract an appearance of originality.

Extracts from Radhakrishnan's *Indian Philosophy vol II*, first published in 1927.

1. "If objectivity means that a cognition is produced by the object, then even sense organs and other conditions producing the cognition have to be regarded as objects.

2. Again, it is not possible for a property to be produced in an object at a time when the object does not exist.

3. Apprehendedness is a property of the objects, though it cannot be produced in past and future ones, which are also apprehended.

4. The argument that the object acquires the new property of apprehendedness after the cognition is produced, even as the act of cooking produces in the rice the condition of *cookedness*, is untenable, since we distinctly perceive *cookedness* in rice which changes from *tandula* (uncooked rice) to *odana* (cooked rice)-while we do not perceive the property of *cognisedness* in the object.

5. Besides, when an object is cognised, there is said to be produced in it a peculiar property called *cognisedness*, and so, when this *cognisedness* is known, there will be produced another *cognisedness*, in that *cognisedness* and so on *ad infinitum*.

6. If *cognisedness* be regarded as self-luminous, to avoid infinite regress we may as well admit that the cognition itself is self-luminous.

7. It may be argued that an object has existence extending over the past, present and the future, and when it is cognised it is cognised as belonging to the present.

8. *Cognisedness* is just the condition of the object determined by the present time, and from the possession of this mark we infer the cognition.

9. But it is not so, since determination by the present time belongs to the object and is not

time' we mean its condition *qualified* by that time; and this belongs to the object by its very nature; and by cognition this condition is not produced, but only *known*.

10. It may be argued that cognition is *inferred* from the 'cognition of objects' (विषयसंवेदनानुमेयं ज्ञानम्). If so, does 'the cognition of objects' (विषयसंवेदन) inhere in the self, or in the object? It cannot inhere in the object, as it is unconscious. If it inheres in the self, then what other cognition is there, which is inferred from the cognition of objects?

11. It may be argued that what is inferred from the 'cognition of objects' is its cause in the shape of the *action* (i. e. cognitive act) of the *cogniser* (jñātṛvyāpāra). But Śrīdhara asks,—Is this cause viz. the action of the cogniser (jñātṛvyāpāra) eternal or not? It is not eternal, then what is the cause of the operation of the self, which is supposed to be the cause of cognition? If the cause of this is the contact of the mind with the cogniser (or self), which is an auxiliary cause in the contact of the sense-organ with the object, then let all this contact be the cause of the cognition. What is the need of assuming an intermediate cause in the form of 'the operation of the self' or the activity of the cogniser (jñātṛvyāpāra)? If, on the other hand, it is held that 'the cogniser's action' is eternal, and that the appearance of a cognition at certain times and not always is due to the operation of the sense-organs and other accessory causes, then as these causes are sufficient to bring about the cognition, it is absolutely useless to postulate the 'action of the cogniser' (jñātṛvyāpāra). *Nyāyā-kandaḥ* pp. 96-98.

12. "When an object is apprehended, what is the meaning of *apprehendedness* from which the cognitive act is supposed to be inferable by the Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṃsaka? Is it a property of the object (arthadharmā)? Or is it a property of the cognition (jñānadharma)?"

13. It cannot be a property of the object;—*cognisedness* does not persist in the object at any other time than when it is cognised; and moreover, when the object is cognised by a person, its *cognisedness* appears at that time as the 'private property' of the particular person (svāsādhāraṇa-vishaya).

14. Nor can the *cognisedness* of an object be a property of its cognition (jñānadharma), as the (instrumental) cognition or cognitive act of which it

produced by the cognition, but *only* apprehended by it.

10. If it is argued that the cognition is inferred from the cognition of objects (viśayasaṁvedanānumeyam jñānam), we may ask whether the cognition inheres in the self or the object. It cannot reside in the object, which is unconscious. If it is in the self, what is the cognition which is inferred from the cognition of objects?

11. If it is argued that what is inferred from the cognition of objects is its cause in the shape of the action of the cogniser (jñātṛvyāpāra), then we may ask whether this cause is eternal or transitory. If the latter, what is the cause for it? If it is due to the contact of the manas with the self, which aids the contact of the sense-organ with the object, then let all this be taken as the cause of the cognition. There is no need to assume an intermediate cause in the form of the self's activity. If it is held that the action is eternal and the occasional appearance of cognitions is due to accessory causes, then, since these are sufficient to bring about the cognition, it is unnecessary to postulate the action of the self. (Śrīdhara *Nyāyā-kandaḥ* pp. 6-98.)

[This entire paragraph appears in the footnotes on pages 401-402 (*Indian Philosophy*, vol. II). None of these sentences like mine is a close translation of any Sanskrit passage in *Nyāyā-kandaḥ*. We must note three things here. In the first place, the first three passages are nowhere to be found in *Nyāyā-kandaḥ*, pp. 96-98 to which the author has referred, I took them from *Tarkabhāṣā* and referred to it in my thesis which perhaps escaped the notice of the great author in a hurry. In the second place, the passages (4-11) occur in *Nyāyā-kandaḥ* on pages 96-97 and not on pages 96-98 to which the author has referred. But by mistake I gave that reference in my thesis, and somehow mysteriously this mistake of mine has found its way into the book of the learned author. In the third place, only that Sanskrit passage which I quoted from *Nyāyā-kandaḥ* in passage (10) has found its place in the book of the author, and no other passage has attracted his notice. The passage (11) in the book is a summary of the corresponding passage in my thesis.]

12. "Prabhācandra asks whether this apprehendedness is a property of the object (arthadharmā) or of cognition (jñānadharma).

13. It cannot be the former, since it does not persist in the object at any other time than when it is cognised, and it appears also as the private possession of the cognising self.

14. It cannot belong to cognitions, since the cognition, of which it may be said to be the property, is not, according to Kumāṛila, percep-

is supposed to be a property, is absolutely imperceptible, according to the Bhatta, and that which is absolutely imperceptible can never be the substrata of the property of cognisedness...

15. But is this cognisedness of the nature of consciousness (*jñāna-svabhāva*), or of the nature of an object (*arthasvabhāva*)? If the former, then as consciousness it is unknown... It is foolish to argue that though the act of cognition (*karana-jñāna*) is not an object of perception, cognisedness, though of the nature of consciousness, is an object of perception...

16. If cognisedness is of the nature of an object (*arthasvabhāva*), then it is nothing but the manifestedness (*arthaprākātya*) of the object.

17. But an object cannot be manifested, if the cognition, by which it is manifested, is itself unmanifested.

18. The cogniser (*pramātr*), the instrumental cognition or cognitive act (*pramāṇa*), and the resultant cognition (*pramiti*) are as perceptible as the object of cognition (*prameya*), for we distinctly perceive these factors of knowledge in our experience.

19. There is no hard and fast rule, that whatever is perceived must be perceived as an object (*karma*) of perception, for, in that case, there would be no perception of the self which is never perceived as a cognised object (*karma*), but always as a cogniser (*kartr*). And if you admit that the self can be perceived as a cogniser, and not as a cognised object (*karma*), why should you not admit that the cognition, through which the self knows the object, is perceived not as an object of perception, but as an instrument of perception?...

20. Moreover, if the self is perceptible, it can cognise an external object by itself; what, then, is the use of postulating an imperceptible cognition?...

21. If it is urged that an agent can never produce an action without an instrument... then the instruments of internal and external organs are quite adequate to bring about the consciousness of an object: there is no use of assuming an imperceptible cognition, to serve the purpose of an instrument here.

22. If no action is possible without an instrument, then what is the instrument in the cognition of the self by itself?

23. If it is said that it is the self itself that is the instrument of self-cognition, then let it be the instrument of object-cognition too...

24. If the Bhāṭṭa admits that both the self or the cogniser and the resultant cognition (*phalajñāna*) of the object can be perceived, though they do not appear in consciousness as an object (*karma*) of cognition, then he must also admit that the instrumental cognition, (*karana-jñāna*) too, can be perceived, not as an object of cognition, but only as an instrument of cognition...

25. Moreover, the instrumental cognition (*karana-jñāna*) is not entirely different from the cogniser (*kartr*) and the resultant cognition (*phalajñāna*), and hence if the latter are admitted to be perceptible, the former also must be regarded so...

26. Moreover, the self and the cognition through which it knows an object are directly revealed in

perception, and what is imperceptible cannot be the substratum of cognisedness.

15. On the other hand, if the cognisedness, which is of the nature of knowledge (*jñānasvabhāva*) is perceptible, then even the cognition may be allowed to be perceptible.

[This is the gist of the corresponding passage in my thesis.]

16. If cognisedness is of the nature of the object (*arthasvabhāva*), it only means the manifestedness of the object (*arthaprākātya*).

17. The object cannot be manifested if the cognition, by which it is manifested, is itself unmanifested...

18. The cogniser (*pramātr*), cognitive act (*pramāṇa*), the resulting cognition (*pramiti*), are as perceptible as the object of cognition (*prameya*). We distinctly perceive the different factors of knowledge in our experience.

19. Nor is there any necessity why what is perceived must be perceived always as an object of perception. The self is perceived as a cognition, and not as an object of cognition. So, the cognition may also be perceived as an instrument of perception. [This is a beautiful summary of the corresponding passage in my thesis.]

20. If the self is perceptible, it can cognise an external object by itself without the aid of an imperceptible cognition.

21. If it is said that an agent cannot produce an action without an instrument, the internal and the external organs may serve as the instruments of the cognition.

22. Besides, if no action is possible without an instrument, what is the instrument in the cognition of self by itself?

23. If the self is the instrument in the cognition of self, it may serve as the instrument in the cognition of objects also.

24. If it is admitted that the self and the resultant cognition (*phalajñāna*) are perceived, though they do not appear in consciousness as the object of cognition, it may also be admitted that the instrument of cognition is also perceived not as an object of cognition but as an instrument.

25. Again, the instrumental cognition (*karana-jñāna*) is not entirely different from the cogniser (*kartr*) and the resultant cognition (*phalajñāna*), and so it cannot be imperceptible while the other two are perceptible.

26. Moreover, the self and the cognition through which it knows an object are directly

r experience. Hence they cannot but be regarded as objects of our consciousness; for whatever is revealed in our experience is cognised, and whatever is cognised is an object of consciousness.

(प्रतीयमानत्वं हि ग्राह्यत्वं तदेव कर्मत्वम् ।)

27. In the cognition 'I know the jar' I am directly conscious of myself as qualified by the cognition of the jar; hence my cognition of the jar is as much an object of perception as my self and the jar.

[Chapter on Perception of Cognition, pp. 67-69, d pp. 71-75.]

revealed in our experience, and so they should be regarded as objects of consciousness (prattiyamanatvam hi grāhyatvam, tad eva karmatvam.) Whatever is revealed in consciousness is an object thereof.

27. In the cognition "I know the jar," the subject is conscious of himself as qualified by the cognition of the jar. The subject's cognition of the jar is as much an object of perception as the self and the jar."

[This long extract appears in the foot-note on pages 402-403 (*Indian Philosophy, vol II.*) as a splendid specimen of the world-renowned scholar's specialised knowledge! None of his sentences like mine is a literal translation of a Sanskrit passage from *Prameyakamalamārtanda*. Still so many sentences are exactly alike! And so many are undisguised summaries of the corresponding passages of my thesis! He has quoted the very same Sanskrit words within brackets! He has quoted the same solitary sentence in Sanskrit as I quoted in my thesis! How else could he show his first-hand acquaintance with the original source?]

28. "The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika holds that a cognition is not inferred from the cognisedness of its object, the Bhātta holds. Nor is it cognised by itself, the Buddhist idealist, the Jaina, and the Kantian hold. According to the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika cognition can never turn upon itself to make itself the object of cognition. Though a cognition manifests another object (*paraprakāśaka*), it can never manifest itself (*svaprakāśaka*)....

29. A cognition is perceived by another cognition, as it is an object of valid knowledge like a cloth. (*Jñānam jñānāntaravedyam prameyatvāt adivat*).

30. The Jaina criticism of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika trine: The Jaina argues that just as pleasure is not cognised by another cognition but by itself, the divine cognition is not cognised by another cognition, but by itself, so a cognition too in the end must be regarded as self-cognised, and not cognised by any other cognition. If a cognition is cognised by another cognition and so on *ad infinitum*.

31. The Naiyāyika may argue that there is no infinite regress here. For in God there are two cognitions, one of which apprehends the entire universe, and the other apprehends that cognition; there is no need of postulating any other cognition beyond.

The Jaina contends that if there are only two cognitions in God, is the second cognition in God, which apprehends His first cognition of the entire universe, perceived or not?

32. If the second cognition in God also is perceived, is it perceived by itself, or by some other cognition? If it is perceived by itself, then why did you not admit that the first cognition too is perceived by itself? If the second cognition in God is perceived by another cognition, then this second cognition too would be perceived by another cognition and so on *ad infinitum*. If the second cognition of God is perceived by the first cognition, there would be a circular reasoning; for, in that case, the first cognition would be perceived by the second cognition, and the second cognition would be perceived by the first cognition.]...

28. "The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika view differs from that of Kumārila, who holds that a cognition is inferred from the cognisedness of the object. The Jainas, the Vedantins, and some Buddhists believe that a cognition is cognised by itself. A cognition, according to the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, cannot turn on itself and make itself the object of cognition. A cognition manifests another (*paraprakāśaka*) and not itself (*svaprakāśaka*).

29. It is manifested by another cognition, since it is an object of knowledge like a cloth (*Gñānam jñānāntaravedyam prameyatvāt paṭadivat*).

30. The Jaina criticism of this view may be briefly stated: As pleasure is cognised by itself and not by another, as the divine cognition is cognised by itself and not by another, so every cognition of the self must be regarded as self-cognised; otherwise one cognition has to be cognised by another, and that by still another, and this would lead to infinite regress.

31. A flimsy argument that in God there are two cognitions, one which apprehends the entire universe and the other that cognises this apprehension, is easily criticised. Is the second cognition perceived or not?

32. If perceived, is it perceived by itself or by another? If by itself, then why should we not allow that capacity to the first? If by another, we are committed to an infinite regress. If we say that the second is apprehended by the first, then we are involved in circular reasoning.

33. If it is not perceived, then how is it possible for it to perceive the first cognition? If the second cognition of God can perceive His first cognition, though it is not itself perceived, then why should you not admit that the first cognition of God can perceive the entire universe, though this cognition is not itself perceived?...

34. Hence the divine cognition must be regarded as self-luminous or self-cognising; it must apprehend itself in apprehending the entire universe....

35. It may be argued that if the human cognitions are of the nature of the divine cognition, then the former would be as omniscient as the latter. But this argument is unsound. Omniscience is not a general characteristic of all cognitions, like *svaparaprakāśakatva*, but it is the special characteristic of the divine cognition.....

36. The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika holds that the cognition of an object is cognised by another cognition (*anuvyavasāya*). But the existence of the second cognition (*anuvyavasāya*) can never be proved by valid knowledge. If it does exist, is it known by perception or by inference? [Then follows the argument to prove that *anuvyavasāya* cannot be known by perception or inference.]...The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika argues that the mind is in contact with the self, and the cognition inheres in the self...The Jaina replies that this argument is not right, for the existence of the mind cannot be proved...

37. Even supposing that a cognition is perceived by another cognition, does the second cognition arise when the first cognition continues to exist or when it is destroyed? The first alternative is impossible, for, according to the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, cognitions are always successive; they are never simultaneous. The second alternative also is impossible; for if the second cognition arises when the first cognition is no longer in existence, what will be cognised by the second cognition? If it cognises the non-existent first cognition, then it is illusory like the cognition of the double moon.

38. [Then, again, is the second cognition perceived or not? If it is perceived, is it perceived by itself or by some other cognition?]...If the second cognition is perceived by another cognition then that cognition also would be perceived by another cognition and so on *ad infinitum*; thus there would be a *regressus ad infinitum*.

39. If the second cognition is not perceived, then how can this unperceived cognition perceive the first cognition? If a cognition can be perceived by another cognition which is not perceived, then my cognition can be perceived by another's cognition unknown to me. [But this is absurd.]

40. The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika may argue that just as the sense-organs, which are not themselves perceived, can produce the apprehension of an object, so the second cognition can produce the apprehension of the first cognition, though it is not itself perceived. [But this is a childish argument.] For, in that case, it might as well be argued that the first cognition of an external object apprehends its object, though it is not itself perceived. But this is not admitted by the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika," (pp. 69-70; pp. 75-78; pp. 80-81).

33. If the second is not perceived, then if it can perceive the first, without itself being perceived, then may not the first perceive the entire universe without itself being perceived?

34. We must admit that the divine cognition is self-cognising. It apprehends itself in apprehending the entire universe.

35. There is no distinction between the divine and the human cognition on this question. The character of manifesting itself and another (*svaparaprakāśaka*) belongs to the essence of consciousness, human or divine, while omniscience is not a general characteristic, since it belongs to divine consciousness alone.

36. There is no proof of after-cognition (*anuvyavasāya*) by means of perception or inference. The Nyāya view that the self is in contact with *manas* in *anuvyavasāya* is not accepted, since the existence of *manas* is unproved.

37. If a cognition is perceived by another, the second cannot arise when the first continues to exist, since cognitions are successive. It cannot arise when the first is destroyed, since there is nothing to be cognised. If it cognises the non-existent first cognition, then it is illusory, like the cognition of the double moon.

38. If the second cognition is perceived, it must be by another, which leads to infinite regress.

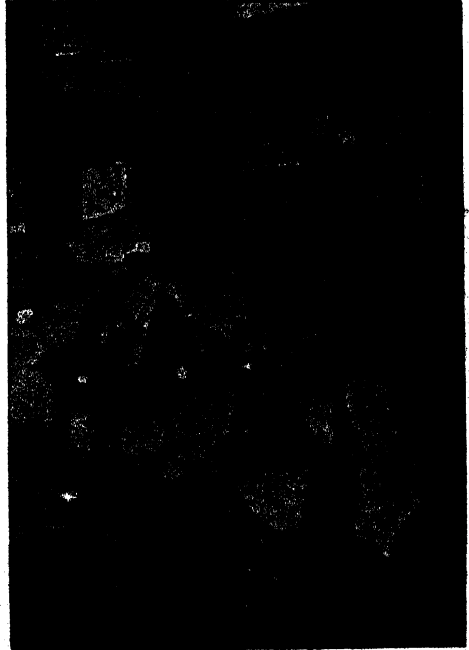
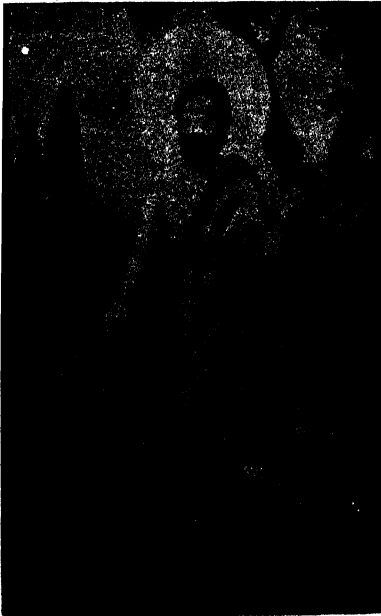
39. If the second is not perceived, then how can an unperceived cognition perceive the first? This would mean that my cognition can be perceived by another's unknown to me.

40. The argument that as sense-organs are not perceived, though they produce the apprehension of objects, so the unperceived second cognition may produce the apprehension of the first cannot be seriously pressed, since it must then be allowed that the first cognition of an external object apprehends its object, though it is not itself perceived, a position which the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika repudiates. (*Prameyakamalamārtaṇḍa* pp 34)

Indian Philosophy, Vol. II, foot-note pp. 67-68.

[This long extract also is another admirable sample of the learned author's highly specialised knowledge! It is a beautiful specimen of paraphrasing and summarising. He has taken the pains only to invert the order of arguments

given in my thesis in two or three places. *Prameyakamalamārtanda* is a pretty stiff book. Unfortunately there is no English translation of it as yet. The author has not followed the book closely in his book. In my thesis I closely followed the book, and gave the translation of many important Sanskrit passages. In passages (28-40) I quoted only one Sanskrit sentence which has appeared in Prof. Radhakrishnan's book. All the above passages (1-40) have been also bodily taken from the chapter on *Preception of Cognition* in my thesis which he examined in 1924. It passes one's imagination how he could smuggle into his book one complete chapter of my thesis. This is, indeed, a magnificent monument of his highly specialised knowledge! Shall I now cut out the whole chapter from my book on the extra-ordinary consideration that it has already appeared in the bulky volume of the ponderous scholar of international repute?





INDIAN PERIODICALS



The Message of Sriniketan

Lofly in its high spirituality and sound in the grasp of reality is the thought with which the Poet Rabindra Nath Tagore illuminates his "Notes and Comments" in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*. The "message of Sriniketan," where agricultural experiments are in progress, may be gathered from the excerpts :

The task that lies before us to-day is to make whole the broken-up communal life, to harmonise the divergence between village and town, between the classes and the masses, between pride of power and spirit of comradeship. Those who rely on revolution, seek to curtail truth in order to make it easy. When they are after enjoyment, they shun renunciation ; when they incline to renunciation, they would banish enjoyment from the land and subdue man's mind by cramping it. What we, of Visva-bharati, say is, that the nature of man is but deprived if truth be not offered to him in its wholeness, and from such deprivation comes his disease and his despair.

The very factory of which I was complaining, though it has been the instrument of much wrong doing, is not a thing of which we can say we would be rid. The machine is also an organ of our vital force,—it is man's very own. If we have caused our hands to commit robbery, the remedy does not lie in cutting them off,—they must be purged of their sin. To try to improve ourselves by crippling ourselves is a counsel of cowardice. All the powers of man seek development and expansion,—we have not the right to ignore any of them. From the earliest times man has sought to make tools. No sooner has he discovered any new secret of Nature than he has tried to capture it with the help of some machine and make it his own, whereby his civilisation has entered on each successive stage.

The day man first drew out the fertility of the soil by making the plough, a screen was lifted off the path of his life's progress,—a lifting that not only revealed the store-room of his food, but also let the light into many an obscure chamber of his mind. When he first devised the spinning wheel and the loom, they not only enabled him to cover his body, but also roused that sense of beauty which was to extend its domain over so much of his life. For if, to-day, man's body is clothed, so is his mind, and the Kingdom of Man that he is busy creating, depends largely for its material on this clothing, which serves both as covering and language,—for it has given man's mind a new means of self-expression.

Science has given man immense power. The golden age will return when it is used in the service of humanity. The call of that supreme age is already heard. Man must be able to-day to

say to it : "May this power of yours never grow less ; may it be victorious in works and in righteousness !" Man's power is divine power ; to repudiate it is blasphemy.

This latest manifestation of man's power must be brought into the heart of our villages. It is because we have omitted to do so that our water-courses and pools have run dry ; malaria and disease, want, and sin, and crime stalk the land ; a cowardly resignation overwhelms us. Whichever way we turn, there is the picture of defeat, of the penury due to the depression of defeat. Everywhere our countrymen are crying : *we have failed. From our dried-up hollows, our fruitless fields, our never-ceasing funeral pyres, rises the wail : We have failed, we have failed, we own defeat !* If but we can gain the science that gives power to this age, we may yet win, we may yet live.

The cry has been raised in our country : *We shall have nothing to do with Western Science,—it is Satanic.* This we of Sriniketan, must refuse to say. Because its power is killing us, we shall not say that we prefer powerlessness. We must know that in order to combat power, power is needed ; without it, destruction cannot be staved off, but will come all the faster. Truth kills us only when we refuse to accept it.

Wherever truth is discovered, anywhere, by any scientist, holds good irrespective of hemisphere or nationality. May this truth help to unite us.

In point of fact, wherever science has been truly acknowledged and cultivated it has given men the means of union. The strife into which men have been led by its misuse is not of science but of man's nature. The untruth, the weakness that is in man has been responsible for this misuse. That is why the verse of the Upanishad ends thus. May He unite us and our powers in right under standing :

So no buddhyā subhayā samyunaktu.

A Poem from Mrs. Naidu

A poem from Mrs. Sarojini Naidu is a rare thing now-a-days much to the regret of Indians and Englishmen alike, *Shama'a* however presents one :

CHILD FANCIES

To Prahlad Rajam

When I put in the earth, Poppy seed

Poppy seed

I wonder are you cold. Are you lonely, do you need

A Little glow-worm spark

Near your cradle in the dark

Till you fall asleep and dream yourself a flower

Poppy seed ?

When dewy sunbeams call Dragonfly

Dragonfly

The bumble bees and humming birds I wonder
 are you shy
 In such a crowd to spread
 Four wings of green and red
 And go gathering golden honey from the lotus
 Dragonfly?
 When you reach the shining sky *Ababeel*
Ababeel
 Do you touch the stars behind the clouds
 do you feel
 Brave enough to talk
 With the eagle and the hawk
 Tho' you are just a tiny singing bird *Ababeel*

Rolland on Vivekananda

M. Romain Rolland who is devoting much time and attention to prepare a study of Swami Vivekananda, presents in *Prabuddha Bharata*, a glimpse of his dynamic personality and its deep significance to humanity. M. Rolland begins :

The great thought of India seeks to realise the spiritual unity of the universe. It does not work itself along the paths of European religious thought which aims at literally "converting" other beliefs that is to say, at despoiling them of their essence and substituting its own instead. The philosophy of India seeks to enter into all divergent forms of the spirit and, while honouring their individuality, wishes to embrace them all in order to harmonise them in the supreme unity.

The intimate *rapprochement* that has been existing between Europe and India for one century and the influx of European thought into Indian universities and its fascination for Indians, have not resulted in making them renounce to the slightest degree their ancient and vast wisdom, but have only led to the revival of their ardent intellectual curiosity and their genius for metaphysical conquest which enables them to combine foreign ideas into new accords and organise them in their appropriate symphony.

No son of modern India has worked so much, in this sense, as Vivekananda, and his powerful action owed its first impetus and irresistible *elan* to the intuitive genius of his master Ramakrishna.

M. Rolland, like many others, however, perceives that there is some difference in the tranquil spirituality of the master and the dynamic energy of the disciple :

Vivekananda was very different from his master in his entire nature,—in the consuming impetuosity of his temperament, in the violence of an energy which created more energy just as the wind fans up the fire, in his avid intellect which never knew repose, in the vastness of his knowledge which he augmented unceasingly, and lastly in an inquietude—new amongst the meditative thinkers of India, although Buddha had known it but fled from it—about the ever-gaping wound of universal suffering, of the misery of man, of the poor, of the stricken and even of the criminals (for these are only the afflicted in another sense.) This brood-

ing uneasiness—not abstract but vital and ever present—about the suffering of the sacrificed people, and first of all of his own, of the people of India was to direct his action and that of his disciples and of the orders which he founded not less towards the service of others, the service of charity, than towards meditation. And for the first time, I think, in an Indian religious order, the supremacy of meditation was broken. Suffering cannot wait; and for its sake must have to be sacrificed repose and meditative dream and even health (if this was necessary) in order to lighten the universal pain.

Christianity and Institutions

The National Christian Council Review writes editorially.

Those who wish to see the growth of Christian work in India along Indian lines might do well to study the development of philanthropic institutions initiated and carried on by non-Christians. In practically all the large cities of India, and in many smaller towns, such institutions are to be found, sometimes fostered by a religious organization, such as the Arya-Samaj or Ramkrishna Mission; sometimes by a secular body, such as the Servants of India Society; or again due directly to the efforts of individual, such as Tagore's educational centre at Shantiniketan, or Mahatma Gandhi's *ashram* at Sabarmati. Some of these institutions are purely educational in purpose; some have as their objective various forms of social service; some unite social with political reform. While varying widely in aim and in external details, practically all of these efforts have two common characteristics; first they are purely Indian in initiation, management and financial support, and are an expression of national ideals; and secondly, those who serve in them in the capacity of administrators or social workers do so at a real financial sacrifice.

To some missionaries there may come a startling realisation that organising ability of a high order is not peculiar to themselves or their nationality. Many missionaries will appreciate the chance to study the buildings, gardens and living arrangements of schools that are the genuine expression of Indian ideals; in them they will find differences in emphasis which may well be noted and followed in mission institutions. To all such acquaintance will bring opportunities for friendship and co operation with men of good-will—the chance to regard them not as rivals, but as fellow-workers in India's struggle against 'secularism' and self-seeking.

Nor is the study of such institutions without significance to the missionaries.

Influence of Indian Thought on German Literature

"In no country of the Continent a greater interest exists in Indian thoughts and ideas than in Germany," declares Prof Helmuth von Glasenapp in *The Calcutta Review* (Nov. and Dec.) in an interesting and instructive study of the influence of Indian thought on

German philosophy and literature. In literature India has left many traces :

A glance at the works of our German classical writers shows how amazing was the influence of Indian ideas on the great men from the very first when they became acquainted with them. Already Herder (1774-1813), the prominent poet and philosopher who lived as a divine in Weimar, showed a great and so to say loving interest for India ; in his "Thoughts on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind" (1784-1791) and other writings of his he speaks of his admiration for the "tender Indian philosophy," which cannot but ennoble mankind ; he describes the Hindus, on account of their ethical teachings, as the most gentle people on the earth, who, as he says in consideration of their doctrine of "ahimsa," will not offend a living creature, he praises their frugality, their loathing of drunkenness. In his "Scattered leaves he speaks more than once of the Indian Wisdom, he mentions the transmigration of souls and in his "Talks on the Conversion of the Hindus by our European Christians" he allows an Indian to defend his religious ideas and praises their humanity, although he himself was a Protestant theologian.

A great interest for Indian ideas we also see in Herder's friend Goethe, the greatest of all German poets. Well known are his inspired verses on the Shakuntala, where he says (I am giving a proof translation) :

Wilt thou unite in one name heaven and earth,

Then I name you, Shakuntala, you, and all is said !

That this impression conceived at the first reading—the distich dates from the year 1791—was not evanescent is proved by the following letter addressed to the French Sanskrit scholar Chezy, to whom Goethe wrote 40 years later, on the 9th October, 1830. He says : "The first time when my notice was drawn to this unfathomable work, it aroused in me such an enthusiasm, it attracted me in such a way that I could not be quiet until I studied it profoundly and felt myself drawn to the impossible, undertaken to gain it for the German stage in some way.....I grasp only now the inconceivable impression which this work formerly made on me."

Schiller also has expressed the opinion that the whole Greek antiquity has produced nothing equal to the beautiful womanliness and the tender love that comes near to the Shakuntala in any way. Of other Indian poems Goethe, as can be gathered from his letters, has especially admired the Meghaduta and the Gitagovinda. The impulses coming from India gave a good deal of stimulation to Goethe's own political works. Indian subjects were treated in his poems "Der Gott und die Bayadere" (1797) and the "Pariah-trilogy." The Indian drama has influenced his "Faust" technically, as his Prologue on the Theatre shows.

Goethe himself did not know Sanskrit. Still it attracted him so much that he made attempts in writing in Devanagari letters, which one can still see in the Goethe-Archive.

In Indian thought they found their ideal of the absolute union of poetry and philosophy realised. The first to be mentioned here are the three brothers Schlegel. One of them, Karl August, who has made no name in literature, visited India and died young in Madras in 1789. Another, Friedrich

(1772-1829) is the first German, who endeavoured to really study Indian literature and its problem.

The result of his study was his epoch-making treatise "Ueber die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier. Ein Beitrag zur Begruendung der Altertumskunde". (On the language and wisdom of the Indians. A contribution to the foundation of antiquity), which appeared in 1808.

Friedrich Schlegel was the first man in Germany who declared that a regular history of the literature of the world is only possible, if the Asiatic nations get their due place in it. But still more than Friedrich Schlegel, who soon ceased to take an interest in India, his elder brother August Wilhelm Schlegel (1767-1845) influenced the study of Sanskrit. As he had formerly distinguished himself as the translator of Shakespeare, Calderon, Dante, and Petrarca and as a poet of ballads and satires, he in his later years took up in 1814 the study of Sanskrit. His standard editions of the Bhagavad-gita, the "Hitopadesa," and the "Ramayana" (unfinished) with critical commentaries and translations in classical Latin were the first works of this kind in Germany printed in Devanagari letters, and show that this romantic poet was equally gifted as a first-class philologist. At the same time Franz Bopp (1791-1867) devoted his time to linguistics.

Bopp became the founder of the Indo-German science of languages, which was cultivated for a long time by the Indologists together with Sanskrit philology and had a most useful influence on it in many ways. We see here that India has also greatly stimulated German science in the domain of linguistics. The thanks which comparative philology owes to India, is expressed by the fact that a number of Indian *termini technici* are still in use employed in comparative grammars. Indian philology as founded by Schlegel and Bopp has enjoyed a cultivation since their time as is found in no other European country. The number of Sanskrit scholars and professors is greater in Germany than in any occidental country. This is significant in so far as the Germans are swayed only by ideal, not by practical reasons, as they have no political ambitions to follow. They share Heinrich Heine's opinion, who says in a note to his "Buch der Lieder" (Book of Songs) : "Portuguese, Dutchmen, and Englishmen have brought home from India the treasures in their big ships, we were only lookers-on. But the spiritual treasures of India shall not escape us." The work of Schlegel and Bopp has been continued by Lassen, Weber, Roth, Boehtlinck, Max Mueller, Buehler, Kielhorn, Oldenberg and numerous other eminent scholars.

The accomplished poet Friedrich Ruckert (1788-1866) has won immortal fame by his congenial and absolutely perfect translations from the Sanskrit. He has bestowed his attention on the Vedas, the Epics and Puranas and also above all to the learned poetry. Of all the versions of Indian originals the best known is perhaps that of the "Nala and Damayanti" episode from the Mahabharata, but his art of translation is best proved by his translation of the "Gitagovinda." Here he has succeeded in giving a true version of the original text but also in recreating the rhythm and the plays on words and rhymes in perfect imitation till no wish is left unsatisfied. As a poetic interpreter of Indian poetry Ruckert is still supreme in Germany, and the attempts of others to

metrically rendered Indian works show plainly that Ruckert is not to be surpassed—I am thinking of Adolf Holtzmann (1840-1870) and Count A. F. Von Schack.

On philosophy, however, the stamp of Indian thought is deeper and more pronounced—though the parallelism of thought, traced by Strocherbatsky between that of Kant and the Buddhists, of Fichte and the Vedantists, of Hegel and Nagarjuna, are merely accidental. Schelling, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche are wellknown students of Indian thought, which has in recent years found its voice in Tagore and Gandhi, according to the Professor. Reminds the writer in concluding :

It is little more than a century that Indian wisdom and Indian poetry have extended their "Digvijaya" to the West. At the beginning of the last century India was no more than a word, except to a few, but to-day its spiritual treasures are wellknown to all the educated people and are estimated at their full worth. Much however, is still to be done to make known the great creations of the Indians more and more to the general public.

The Indian States and the Nehru Report

Mr. C. N. Zeutshi thus summarises in the *Indian Review* the attitude of the Nehru Report on the question of the Indian States :

The Committee has summed up its main position in regard to the Indian States in these two fundamental recommendations, viz., "that (a) all treaties made between the East India Company and the Indian States and all such subsequent treaties so far as they are in force at the commencement of this Act, shall be binding on the Commonwealth, and (b) the Commonwealth shall exercise the same rights in relation to, and discharge the same obligations towards, the Indian States as the Government of India exercised and discharged previous to the passing of the Act."

The theory of direct personal relation between the Princes and the Crown propounded by Sir Leslie Scott, the eminent and learned counsel engaged by the Princes, is apparently absurd, and an ingenious attempt to sidetrack the real issues of the case. As the Committee points out, "it is obvious that the Crown under the constitution does not mean the King alone. It is a convenient constitutional phrase used to indicate the King-in-Parliament."

"We have shown that so far, the "contract" has been performed by white agents to the apparent satisfaction of the brown Princes. On what principle of law, we ask, may that "contract" not be performed by brown agents to the equal, if not greater, satisfaction of the brown Princes."

Wise and judicious is the observation of the writer on the attitude of the Princes as indicated by their advocate Sir Leslie Scott :

The plain fact is that by setting up the theory of their direct relation with the King, the Princes

are out for a double game of keeping India for ever in a state of subjection on the one hand and perpetuating their autocratic rule on the other.

The reason is simple. The Indian Princes are unwilling to part with their influence and cannot tolerate any curb being put upon their autocratic powers. They are afraid that if India becomes a Dominion, their subjects will no longer remain tied down by their noses and they themselves will become constitutional rulers, the real power being in the hands of the people. Let it be clearly borne in mind by the Princes that their abortive attempts to put obstacle in the way of India becoming a Dominion is not likely to prove productive of good results to them. It would be poor statesmanship and short-sighted policy to ignore the historical, religious, sociological, and economic affinities which exist between the people of British India and the people of Indian States, so that if a stir is caused in the political atmosphere, in the one it cannot fail to have its reaction in the other. Hence in the interests of their own order, their subjects and India as a whole, it is high time that the Indian Princes should read the sign of the times and act accordingly. All sides considered the recommendations of the Nehru Committee afford the best solution of the vexed problem of the Indian States; and the Indian Princes will do well-advised to accept them to stave off the day of reckoning which is fast approaching. As Dr. Sapru, in the course of his statement to the Associated Press, replying to the criticisms of the Maharaja of Bikanir, rightly said, "A sheltered existence either for the Raj or for any Prince, however exalted, is becoming impossible these days."

International Labour Organisation

Mr. Shanmukham Chetty, M. L. A. contributes an interesting account of the International Labour Organisation in *The Indian Labour Review* for November. The preamble to part XIII of the Peace Treaty of 1919 which set up the organisation reads as follows :

"Whereas the League of Nations has for its object the establishment of universal peace, and such a peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice ;

"And whereas conditions of labour exist involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled ; and an improvement of those conditions is urgently required ; as, for example, by the regulation of the hours of work, including the establishment of a maximum working day and week, the regulation of the labour supply, the prevention of unemployment, the provision of an adequate living wage ; the protection of the worker against sickness, disease and injury arising out of his employment, the protection of children, young persons and women, provision for old age and injury, protection of the interests of workers when employed in countries other than their own, recognition of the principle of freedom of association, the organisation of vocational and technical education and other measures ;

...the failure of any nation to adopt the conditions of labour is a staple in the of organisations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries.

The high contracting parties, moved by sentiments of justice and humanity as well as by the desire to secure the permanent peace of the world, came to the following:

The following nine sections embodying the methods and principles of the organisation may be rightly regarded as Labour's charter.

First.—The guiding principle above enunciated that labour should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce.

Second.—The right of association for all lawful purposes by the employed as well as by the employers.

Third.—The payment to the employed of a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life as this is understood in their time and country.

Fourth.—The adoption of an eight hours day or a forty-eight hours week as the standard to be aimed at where it has not already been attained.

Fifth.—The adoption of a weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours which should include Sunday whenever practicable.

Sixth.—The abolition of child labour and the imposition of such limitations on the labour of young persons as shall permit the continuation of their education and assure their physical development.

Seventh.—The principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value.

Eighth.—The standard set by law in each country with respect to the conditions of labour should have due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein.

Nine.—Each State should make provision for a system of inspection in which women should take part, in order to ensure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of the employed.

Commenting editorially on the opening of the branch of the Organisation in India by Dr. P. P. Pillay of the I. L. O., the same journal for December says:

India is now passing through a serious crisis of economic as well as of political unrest. Long-drawn-out strikes, started with ill-defined reasons, and lock-outs which are frequently the results of hasty managerial judgments indicate the strained relations between labour and capital. The insidious entrance of disruptive revolutionary ideas into the labour world is already more or less deflecting Trade Unionism from its legitimate paths; and Moscow has no use for Geneva. But to all thinkers and workers, anxious not for publicity and lime-light, but for solid and substantial constructive work, the establishment of the Indian branch of the I. L. O. will come as a sign of good augury.

It is not generally realised that the great success that has attended the work of Geneva is largely due to the careful and meticulous preliminary study that has been devoted to questions taken up for consideration at the various Conferences. In this mass of information is now thrown open

to India through the portals of the Indian branch of the I. L. O.; and economic and social investigators in India cannot do better than put themselves in touch with the new Delhi Office of the I. L. O. and avail themselves of the information already collected at Geneva before they try to formulate their conclusions. In return, all bodies interested in the study of Indian industrial and labour conditions will be performing an extremely useful service in keeping the Indian branch informed of their activities and in communicating to it the results of their special investigations, so that Geneva may keep itself au courant with the day-to-day developments in Indian economic and social life. We therefore advise the Unions to lose no time in getting into touch with Dr. Pillay who is to be heartily congratulated on his appointment which carries with it great opportunities and great responsibilities.

The Club and Factory Theatres of Russia

Mr. Harindra Nath Chattopadhyaya, the poet, gives an account of the club and factory theatres that he visited in Russia in a special article for *The Indian Labour Review* (December). We learn:

There are twenty-three factory theatres in Leningrad—and perhaps many more by now—for theatres full of a superb quality are growing up all over the Russia of to-day and are becoming as common almost as mushrooms. In addition to all these there are over two hundred clubs with worker—actor, dramatic, musical and other circles.

The factory theatres have for its board of critics an organising committee, representatives of the biggest factory theatres. The repertory consists of classical plays as well as plays of the workers, theatres. Ostrovsky, Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Shakespeare, Goldoni, Synge, Toller and Upton Sinclair—but it must be remembered that only such classic plays are enacted which present the possibility of showing the utterly pathetic humour of the life of the bourgeois, or which contain the message of the revolution for the masses of the world.

The peasant theatres are numerous. In Nishni Novogorod alone there are about a 1,000—in Kostroma alone about eight hundred—the peasants are fast working out a theatre of their own. Probably they will not be free from the touch of religious mysticism—in which they resemble our own Indian peasants. We have such a great deal to learn from this movement. In India there are innumerable village theatres already in existence. If only we could gradually convert them into platforms for the expression of the people in new and vital way. This can only be brought about by the displacement of played out religious and mythological themes by themes that deal with the terrible problems which face them at every turn in 'daily life'—themes such as, hunger, cholera plague, fire, flood, famine, snake-bite, uncleanness, foul tanks, child-birth.

Art always runs a danger in the company of propaganda. But, Indian theatres know little of art and less of propaganda.

Indian Agriculture and Indian Peasants

Prof. Findlay Shirras who is of opinion that the recommendations of the Commission (Linthgow), if accepted, will revolutionize Indian agriculture to the great benefit of the cultivator," sketches the policy outlined by the Agricultural Commission in *Indian Journal of Economics* (October). Says Mr. Shirras on the question of the education of the ryot:

The peasants' great hope of salvation, the Commission rightly believes, lies in the extension of well-organized co-operation based upon careful education and scientific training. In the view of the Commission the progressive adoption of compulsory education is the best basis of co-operation. Official action in this direction, aided by educated Indian opinion, will in the meantime be necessary. The spread of literacy among women will result in lasting literacy among the young. Compulsion should be introduced as rapidly as local conditions permit, and should be preceded by a campaign of explanation and persuasion. Wherever possible the policy of establishing 'central' schools should be adopted and 'single teacher' schools converted into 'branch' schools. Teachers should be recruited to the utmost practical extent from men of rural origin and upbringing. No attempt should be made to teach agriculture to boys in primary schools, but vernacular middle schools, on the lines of the Punjab experiment, which include agriculture as an optional subject in the curriculum, should be encouraged. The addition to the curriculum of high schools in rural areas of a course in agriculture on the lines of that given in vernacular middle schools of the Punjab type, but of a more advanced character, would be productive of good results. Agricultural Colleges should be affiliated to Universities.

On the Commission's proposals for correct statistics, we read:

The writer remembers a study of the statistical machinery in the Department of Agriculture in Washington, where the statistical department is perhaps one of the largest and best in the world. No real progress in agriculture can be made without full and accurate statistics, and the value of these statistics both to the farmer and the trader is universally recognised. In the Dominions there is a strong central bureau and, as in Australia, also provincial offices. If the Council of Research is created, it will, like other bodies be engaged in the problem, require statistical information, and the value of an efficient central department to the provinces is also clear. The Commission recommends that the present statistical organisation of the Government of India should be strengthened by the appointment of a statistician of first rate ability as head of a separate Department of Statistics, and the appointment of this officer should precede any changes in the present arrangements for statistical work. It is hoped that as a result of his appointment a Bureau of Statistical Information would be created, with the administration of which leading econo-

mists, scientists, and business men would be closely associated (paras. 598-639).

The Friend of Freedom

Raja Ram Mohun Roy is the pioneer of Modernism in India, and Mr. N. C. Gangooly concludes his article on 'Ram Mohun Roy and Christian Missions' in the *New Era* for December with the following which must be known to all, but which we quote again lest we forget the pioneer of our nationalism:

Amidst the engrossing activities to which Ram Mohun was incessantly committed, he was visibly moved at this time by an event, which had nothing to do with India, but which showed how universal was his sympathy and how intense his love of freedom. The people of Naples who were fighting for their liberty were forced back to their former state by the combined influence of the kings of Russia, Prussia, Austria and Sardinia, even after they had succeeded in wresting a suitable constitution from their own King. The large heart of Ram Mohun which conceived and formulated a universal religion for the world felt it keenly and deeply, and he expressed himself to Mr. Buckingham in a letter dated August 11, 1821.

"I am obliged to conclude that I shall not live to see liberty universally restored to the nations of Europe and Asiatic nations, specially those that are European colonies, possessed of a greater degree of the same blessing than what they now enjoy. Under these circumstances I consider the cause of the Neapolitans as my own and their enemies as ours. Enemies to liberty and friends of despotism have never been and never will be ultimately successful."

Miss Collet says that this trait of his character is a mark of the universal spirit that was in him and that raised him above his fellowmen, and quotes the ideal superbly portrayed by Lowell—

"In the gain or loss of one race all the rest have equal claim,.....wherever wrong is done to the humblest and weakest 'neath the all-beholding sun, That wrong is also done to us".

Mass Education—the Best form of Social Service

Mr. Maneklal H. Vakil writing in the *Social Service Quarterly* (October) is of opinion.

Mass literacy is the only remedy which will do the work in this direction. If all poor men and women know how to read, write and count, they will be able to understand better the rules of sanitation and the price of their work in wages. They will be less liable to be deceived by the money lenders. Co-operative credit societies can flourish without outside social workers after the initial stages. They will demand adult suffrage from the State and primary education for their children. They will not fight unjust or aggressive wars but only defend their homes. Their standard of social morality will be raised and mutual co-operation and goodwill

will displace blind competition. Woman would be an equal partner with man and her services as a mother will be better appreciated by the general public. A literate woman will be able to demand her dues and less liable to be seduced into prostitution by profiteers of vice who are far more numerous than vigilance workers.

Vedic Principles of the Constitution of a State

Thus Pandit Chamupati concludes his well documented article on the above subject in *The Vedic Magazine*.

This kind of constitution of which the fundamentals seem to have been laid down in the Vedas, has in an applied and developed form, continued to be in vogue up to comparatively very recent times in the history of India. Mahatma Buddha organised his Samgha on democratic principles in imitation professedly of the system of administration in vogue in the states of those days. In ancient inscriptions of which copies have been obtained and collections of these made in the epigraphical records of India we come across not only cursory and occasional hints as regards the existence of *Sabhas* but sometimes also a detailed description of the qualifications of voters and candidates and the process of election followed. Greek writers, too, who came to India, and made personal observation of the working of the administrative systems of this country, mention states that were being governed on republican and democratic lines.

Democracy therefore, is nothing foreign to the genius of the Indian people. The framers of the draft constitution which the All-Parties Conference has just approved have done well in keeping before them the constitutions of self-governing countries of modern days. It would not have been amiss on their part to have studied side by side with these the ancient constitutional practice of India. Two very important peculiarities of the Vedic constitution of a state are (1) that the place of a king in it is that simply of the highest member of the assembly, and (2) that every village and town has complete autonomy in its local management, and thus internally free, it forms an organic part of the body politic of the whole country.

Reforms for Women

Sir T. B. Saprú in a well-balanced plea for 'The Emancipation of Women' in *Stri-Dharma* for October suggests the following reforms to ameliorate their conditions :

(a) Every local legislature should be asked to undertake the obligation for the establishment of Girls' Schools and Colleges in every province and to set apart more ample funds than has hitherto been done.

(b) If the legislators are found to be conservative to legislate with regard to the marriage of girls, the educated youth of the country should form themselves into a league and refuse to be married to girls below a certain age.

(c) Educated girls should be encouraged to follow independent professions, as far as they can.

(d) In all matters affecting social reform, we should take care to see that a certain number of women are always included in our representative bodies.

(e) Sex disqualifications, so far as representation in local bodies and legislatures is concerned, should be absolutely removed.

(f) Our personal laws should be modified so as to give the woman a stronger legal position than she occupies to-day. It is, to my mind, absurd that we should allow the inferior position which the Hindu Law assigns to her in the matter of property rights to continue indefinitely. It is perpetual source of litigation and I have, in actual practice found that even where the law gives her some definite position, the woman is victimised by unscrupulous male relatives and hangers-on. This is probably due more to her want of capacity to protect her own interests, than to any other cause. This can, however, partly be remedied by better education, but it seems to me that a radical cure can only be supplied by a fundamental change of our law.

These suggestions of mine are by no means exhaustive. I fully believe that if India is ever to attain freedom in the political sphere, we must be prepared first to liberate in the fullest measure our women and do justice to them.

Low Rate of Widow Marriage in Britain

The *Stri Dharma* of November informs us in its 'Notes and Comments' :

That marriage is more popular than even in Britain and that there are more boy and girl weddings are two facts revealed in a mass of statistics regarding increase in population and decrease in birth-rate contained in the second part of the annual return of the Registrar-General. The marriage rate of 15.7 per thousand in 1927 is the highest in five years representing an increase of 28,500 weddings.

The growth of the "get married early" has been evidenced by the fact that 58,000 bridal couples were under 21 while of the remainder most of the brides were under 23 and most of the bridegrooms under 24. 34 brides were aged only 15, while bridegrooms were only 16.

97 per cent. of the wedding were between bachelors and spinsters. Only 33 unmarried men took widows as wives. The birth-rate is the lowest ever recorded and shows a decrease of 40,000.

The New Germany—War Dangers

Apparently the Berlin Correspondent of *Welfare* (Nov. 26) who takes stock of 'Latent War Dangers' the New Germany speaks with confidence and knows much more than he speaks. Some of these dangers may be seen from the following extracts.

The German delegation to the present Assembly and Council Meeting of the League of Nations intent on two main problems : the hastening of evacuation of the Rhineland and the hastening

general disarmament by means of the long-delayed World Disarmament Conference. These two questions have been for some time to be the mainsprings of Germany's foreign policy. The desire for an early evacuation of the Rhineland where some 50,000 French, British and Belgian troops are still garrisoned, is a very natural and straight-forward feeling, shared in equal measure by all the many German political parties.

It was agreed at Versailles that Germany's disarmament would be followed by a voluntary disarmament of the other signatories in so far as their national safety allowed. It is felt in Germany that, while the first part of this excellent programme has been drastically carried out. The disarmament of the ex-Allies has not followed in accordance with the Treaty. In other words the Germans rightly or wrongly—consider themselves to have been let down, and they claim that the Treaty of Versailles binds the ex-Allies as much as it binds Germany. But German interest in the disarmament question does not end there.

A glance at the map reveals the main reason why Germany above all other nations, is anxious to see the means of war as widely and as drastically curtailed as possible. It shows that Germany is blessed with more neighbours than any other country—10 in all—of which most are very heavily armed. Several of these neighbours are potentially hostile to Germany. Indeed, some of them—with all due respect one might here mention Lithuania—appear to be boiling for war with anybody and everybody. And four of them—France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia and Poland—are bound to one another by military treaties which make of them by far the most powerful military combination in the world. Czechoslovakia, a comparatively small state, is numerically more than twice as strong in armed force as Germany, and probably fifty times as strong in real striking power, as Germany has been deprived of much modern necessities as heavy guns, tanks and military aeroplanes. In this connection it is of interest to recall the manoeuvres which French and English troops have carried out jointly in the Rhineland within recent days. These exercises on the actual territory which, in the event of another war in the West, Germany would have to dispute, put Germany at a tremendous military disadvantage in the matter of defence. The storm of protest which the manoeuvres have aroused may however, be more properly ascribed to sentimental feelings than to consideration of national security.

It follows that Germany is vulnerable and, unfortunately for the Germans, it is rendered more so by the commitments of the Peace Treaty. The occupation of its richest, most developed and densely populated districts (the Rhineland, the Saar and so on) and compulsory disarmament have bound Germany's hands. But the Peace Treaty did not stop there. It severed Germany into two parts by the famous Danzig Corridor which besides cutting out a broad strip of German territory in order that Poland might have access to the sea, separated East Prussia entirely from Germany proper. This arrangement is unfortunate since East Prussia is now entirely enclosed by Poland and Lithuania Poland whose hostility to Germany quite passes the bounds of foreign comprehension and Lithuania which, as it has been inferred above, has been heading for trouble for some years past.

Possible Combinations in a Possible War

War dangers are not latent, but a certainty, believes Mr. D. Trivikrama Rao, an Indian Delegate to the Youth Congress who fore-shadows in *Triveni* (November) even the possible combination of parties in that possible—or impossible?—war. Says the writer :

Allowing that the course of foreign relationship is liable to change, we can visualise the combinations that are in process of formation.

1. The combination of Italy, Hungary, Spain, Albania, with the probable arrival of Bulgaria, Greece and Rumania. This group has the cordial support of Great Britain.

2. In spite of the controversy over the Vilna question between Lithuania and Poland, Britain is encouraging the formation into a distinct group of the border states of Finland, Esthonia, Lithuania, Poland and Russia.

3. France and the Little Entente of Rumania, Czechoslovakia, and Jugoslavia.

4. The Soviet Union, Turkey, Afghanistan and Persia.

In a prospective grouping of the European states, the position of Germany is uncertain. Since the last war, she has been shrewdly adjusting her affairs and prefers to follow a realistic policy gaining her own ends rather than range herself on one side or the other. The neutrality of the Scandinavian and Dutch nations was a source of gain to them in the Great War, which Germany appreciates more than others.

Indian Freedom and the Women's League

Gratitude must be felt for Mrs. Margaret E. Cousins, the champion of Indian womanhood and Indian freedom, who was invited to Geneva to speak on behalf of the Indian women's movements, and who furnishes an interesting account of their activities in *Stridharma* for December. We learn from her :

I felt it a great honour that I was invited to be a member and speaker of the first women's deputation to the President of the League of Nations. It was organised by the Women's League of Peace and Freedom with which the Women's Indian Association is affiliated, and its object was to voice the request of women for the holding of a Conference on Disarmament as the immediate next step necessary after the Kellogg Pact. I was able to bring an Indian women friend to that deputation though India could have no voice in formally asking the League for Disarmament because she is not a self-governing nation! Though the President's answer was non-committal and unsatisfactory the occasion was historic.

I was invited by this same League to attend as a consultative representative, its Annual Council, meeting held in Lyons in France. There I met representatives of over twenty countries and in giving greetings from the Women's Association I asked them to give their support to the cause of Indian's freedom. I was quite touched by the eagerness with which they moved the following

resolution, proposed by an English woman seconded by a French-woman and supported by women of many countries:

"That this League welcome the support of Indian women for Peace movements as expressed by the resolutions of women's Day in Madras and by the Delhi Women's League, and it supports the demand of women in India for Self-Government."

School discipline and Medium of Instruction

Mr. M. R. Jayakara's presidential address at the Bombay Presidency Secondary Teacher's Conference, published by *The Progress of Education* (November), is full of liberal ideas and thoughtful suggestions. The speaker comments on the question of discipline:

Speaking of regularity and discipline, you will permit me to sound a note of caution that these two virtues must not be allowed to become a tyrannical fad. In a country situated like India, the main question is to how to spread education. I hold the view—and I am sure a large number of people interested in Indian education share it—that nothing should be allowed, even in the name of discipline and method, to interfere with the spread of education as wide as possible. When education has spread and has become universal, the time may arrive when the field has to be weeded and the plant pruned. But until then, it is strongly felt a many quarters, that we must not make a shibboleth of discipline and method. It is better that the largest number of Indian students should obtain even a defective education than no education at all, which is often the manner in which the choice is presented to the poor Indian student. In a matter like this it is perhaps inevitable that an Indian and an Englishman connected with education would see differently. We are not dealing with a country which has no background in this matter or which has to be reclaimed out of illiteracy and ignorance. We are dealing with a people who have shown tremendous capacity for well-directed and well-diffused education in the past, but who owing to modern conditions have to change their methods and avenues so as to bring about the best results. The one problem before India to-day is universal education cheaply obtained, and the Department would do well to bear in mind that nothing should be allowed to interfere with this growth.

Mr. Jayakar his right and sure as he says:

It is law which is true, beyond the region of alimentary digestion, that the human system cannot assimilate what it had not been previously attuned to. If this is true, then our entire system of examinations through the medium of a foreign language must render our educational course more difficult of assimilation by the Indian boy. It is a truism to say that the educational system of a country varies with the political environments thereof. All that I am pleading for is that our methods and ideals of education should be so fashioned that the public needs, including the political might be fulfilled as rapidly as possible.

Rapidity is of the essence of our experiment. Let this not be forgotten.

Industrial Research

The Mysore Economic Journal (November) publishes Sir William Bragg's presidential address at the Glasgow Meeting of the British Academy on 'Craftsmanship and Science.' The eminent physicist remarks on the work carried on in the industrial research laboratories:

A new class of worker is growing up among us consisting of the men engaged in research associations and industrial research laboratories throughout the country. We must place a high value on their service, for they are actually and personally bringing back with them into craftsmanship the scientific knowledge which is one of its essentials. They bring the interest and the outlook of scientific inquiry into touch with both employer and employed, and I cannot but think that they may be to some extent the flux that will make them run together. For they can speak with the employer as men also trained in University and College, exchanging thought with ease and accuracy. And, at the same time, they are fellow-workers with those in the shops and can bring back there some of the interest and enthusiasm which springs from the understanding of purposes and methods.

Personal Contact

It is to be remembered always that personal contact has, on the whole, thanks to the better qualities in human nature, a marvellous effect in smoothing out differences. I do not think it is unduly optimistic to welcome the growth of this new type of industrial worker because it can, being in personal intercourse with both capital and labour, supply to each a new outlook on their whole enterprise, especially as that outlook is naturally illuminating and suggestive. For, after all, this is but going back to first conditions.

The Rewards of Research

The present number of industrial research workers is relatively small; it seems likely to increase, however, in proportion to the extent to which the province of science is better understood. The better understanding I think of is manifesting in the first place in industry itself. I am sure that here it is happily on the increase. There is also a broader view to be taken. There is a public estimation of the value of any calling which affects the numbers and the quality of those who respond.

India has a small band of research scholars who work under numerous disabilities. But the number of industrial research workers are smaller still; and though there may be willing students for it, they have hardly any scope, most of the industries being under foreign control or under the control of unsympathetic and unimaginative industrialists who do not yet know the immense value of such works.



The Economic Policy of the Co-operative Movement

In the Review of International Co-operation for November, 1928, M. Charles Gide, the distinguished French economist, after pointing out the difference of opinion in matters of principle, which exists, between the Russian and the Western wings of the International Co-operative Alliance, goes on to outline an economic policy for the Alliance with regard to two subjects on which both are agreed. These, M. Gide says, are: the fight against economic nationalism, and the fight against profiteering in business. On both these topics, he has some instructive remarks to offer:

With regard to the first, it is a question of reacting against the autonomous policy, or rather the policy of isolation, which, particularly since the war, has developed in a manner threatening, not only to the interests of the consumers, but also to international peace. Each of the new States created by the Treaty of Versailles has endeavoured to strengthen its political independence by economic independence, and has surrounded its small frontiers with barriers. Those countries which have received as a free gift from Nature certain indispensable raw materials, set up obstacles to their leaving the country in order to prevent other countries from making use of them. The International Co-operative Alliance will undoubtedly associate itself with the resolutions passed by the International Economic Conference at Geneva: the abolition of all prohibitions, the reduction of customs duties, the creation of Customs' Union, comprising the greatest possible number of nations, and the substitution of the bi-lateral system of commercial treaties by genuine Commercial Associations.

No doubt co-operators will not all agree upon the form which the future regime should take, English co-operators wishing nothing more nor less than Free Trade, while French co-operators see in Free Trade a form of competition, and a fight for profit. The question has already been discussed at the Congress at Basle, and, although a transactional resolution was passed, the question has not been settled. But whatever the differences of opinion may be regarding the form of the future regime, co-operators will be unanimous in condemning such a policy as that just defined by the Minister of Agriculture in France viz., "the most prosperous country is that which has no need to ask anything from others." That is a maxim which is essentially anti-co-operative! We believe, on the contrary, that it would be a poor world, as much from the economic as from the moral point of view,

in which no individual, or nation, would have need of others.

As regards the second point which I have indicated—"profiteering"—co-operators who are inspired by Rochdale and Nimes can fight side by side with the co-operators of Moscow. Certainly, it will not be easy to fix the limit which separates legitimate profit—profit which is necessary to the progress of any enterprise—from excess profit, which constitutes profiteering. It is not, however, an insoluble problem for, in certain cases, the Treasury itself, by the establishment of income tax, decides the difference. In France, amongst the recent concessions made to enterprises of public interest, the law distinguishes very clearly between ordinary dividends and those which it calls super dividends.

But the more or less high rate of profit, or of dividends, is not the true criterion of profiteering; the important point is to know how the profit has been obtained. A rate of profit, which may be relatively very high compared with the original capital does not necessarily imply robbing the consumer if it corresponds to a real advantage.

Co-operators should learn to make these distinctions in order to combat profits wherever they are harmful, and to tolerate them wherever they represent services rendered, that is to say, wherever they result in establishing a just price. Also co-operators must observe them in their own undertakings, particularly when they organise international exchanges between themselves.

Metternich's Prophecy

In the *Current History* for November 1928, Mr. Wickham Steed draws our attention to a remarkable historical prophecy of Metternich's, which was first brought to light by a German scholar in the *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna:—

Political prophecy is a thankless task. As a rule it is admitted to be prophecy only after events have borne it out. Yet it is possible to foresee events, as the case of Metternich proves. In July, 1926, on the anniversary of the battle of Sadowa, or Koniggratz, Herr Glaise-Horsteneau, the Director of the Austrian war archives, published a remarkable article in the *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna. In it he summarized a forecast made by Metternich in exile at Brussels about 1851, fifteen years before Bismarck ejected Austria from Germany "with blood and iron." Metternich wrote that, as a consequence of Austrian policy toward the German unitary movement after the revolution of 1848 (which had driven Metternich from power), Austria would be turned out of Germany. Then, he added,

Germany would be absorbed in an aggrandized Prussia, between whom and Austria there would be formed a Central European alliance, against which a world coalition would presently grow up. A war of annihilation between the alliance and the coalition would follow, with the result that the Habsburg and the Hohenzollern thrones would fall and Prussia would be absorbed in a German republic.

World War Foreshadowed in 1909

To the uninitiated the swift catastrophe of the twelve days of July and August, 1914, appeared like the sudden discent of an avalanche on a smiling and peaceful valley. But statesmen and publicists of Europe not only knew that a trial of strength between the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente was coming, but accurately foresaw the occasion which would lead to it. Of them, Mr. Wickham Steed, the former editor of the *Times* was one. He writes in the *Current History*:

This was plain to discerning eyes by the end of 1909. Professor (now President) Masaryk and others besides me then saw it. In November, 1912, when the Serbians defeated the Turks in the first Balkan war the truth was visible to all save the purblind. Had the Turks been victorious, as the Austro-Hungarian General Staff expected them to be, the Habsburg Monarchy might have gained a further breathing space. But the Serbian victories stated the issue so patently that, before the end of November, 1912, I wrote from Vienna to warn the editor of the *London Times* that, if the Austro-Hungarian fleet should bombard the Serbian forces which against Austro-Hungarian injunctions, had crossed the Albanian mountains and reached the Adriatic shore at Durazzo, England would have to land an army in Belgium within ten days.

No special knowledge was needed to prompt this warning. An Austro-Hungarian attack upon the Serbians would have brought about Russian intervention on behalf of Serbia. Germany would have supported Austria-Hungary, and—as M. Clemenceau had informed King Edward at Maricbad in 1908—Germany, trusting to the slowness of Russian mobilization, would have rushed through Belgium into France. Great Britain, seeing the Germans in Belgium, would have been bound by her treaty obligations to defend Belgian neutrality. This I foreshadowed in November, 1912, as the obvious development of an Austro-Serbian conflict. An armed collision was then averted, and was averted again and again during 1913. But the underlying situation changed so little that in January, 1914, I restated publicly in London the reasons why the peace of Europe would be at the mercy of any serious quarrel between Vienna and Belgrade. Six months later the quarrel came over the Sarajevo assassinations, and the European equation worked itself out to its inevitable result.

War Guilt

Continuing, Mr. Wickham Steed arrives almost to the same conclusion about the res-

pensibility for the World War as Dr. Gooch, Mr. Lowes Dickinson and many other thoughtful historians had already done, that the causes of the catastrophe of 1914 were not to be sought in the conduct of this particular state or that, but in the general international situation and the international anarchy which prevailed in the family of nations in pre-war days.

How far Vienna and how far Berlin was to blame for thus upsetting the old order in Europe it is hard to decide. The more the blind rage of Austria-Hungary against Serbia and the vacillations of Germany are studied in the light of the German and Austrian documents, the clearer does the conclusion emerge that their conduct was not so much deliberately criminal as governed by a fatal concatenation of circumstances acting upon incompetent men. The real answer to the "war guilt" question may be given by some supreme dramatist who will gather into one compelling tragedy the threads in which destiny crushed the rulers and the peoples of Europe.

Dr. John Dewey's Impressions of Soviet Russia

Dr. John K. Dewey, the famous American philosopher and educationist is giving his impressions of life in Soviet Russia in a series of articles in the *New Republic*. After pointing out the difficulty of getting reliable information about Russia without a prolonged stay, wide contacts, and a knowledge of the language, and emphasizing the fact of change and flux in that county, (Russia, it was put to Dr. Dewey, lives in all its internal problems and policies from hand to mouth) Dr. Dewey gives two of his impressions which would remove some of the current misconceptions which prevail even in educated circles about life in Russia. Of the security of life in Soviet Russia, Dr. Dewey says:

But there are other preconceptions—most of which I am happy to say I do not share—which seems after a visit even more absurd. One of them is indicated by the question so often asked both before and after the visit: How did the party dare to go to Russia?—as if life there were rude, disorderly and insecure. One hesitates to speak of this notion to an intelligent public, but I have found it so widely current that I am sure that testimony to the orderly and safe character of life in Russia would be met with incredulity by much more than half of the European as well as the American public. In spite of secret police, inquisitions, arrests and deportations of *Nepmen* and *Kulaks*, exiling of party opponents—including divergent elements in the party—life for the masses goes on with regularity, safety and decorum. If I wished to be invidious, I could mention other countries in Eastern Europe in which it is much more annoying to travel. There is no country in

Europe in which the external routine of life is more settled and secure. Even the "wild children" who have formed the staple of so many tales have now disappeared from the streets of the large cities.

Here is an impression of a children's colony in Leningrad.

Of the "sights" contained in the official program, the one enduringly impressed in memory is a visit to a children's colony in a former Grand Duke's summer palace in Peterhof—up the Neva from Leningrad. The place marks the nearest approach of the White Armies to Leningrad; the buildings were more or less ruined in the warfare, and are not yet wholly restored since the teachers and children must do the work; there is need still in some quarters for the hot water and whitewash. Two-thirds of the children are former "wild children," orphans, refugees, etc., taken from the streets. There is nothing surprising, not to say unique, in the existence of orphan asylums. I do not cite the presence of this one as evidence of any special care taken of the young by the Bolshevik government. But taken as evidence of the native capacity of the Russian stock, it was more impressive than my command of words permits me to record. I have never seen anywhere in the world such a large proportion of intelligent, happy and intelligently occupied children. They were not lined up for inspection. We walked about the grounds and found them engaged in their various summer occupations, gardening, bee-keeping, repairing buildings, growing flowers in a conservatory (built and now managed by a group of particularly tough boys who began by destroying everything in sight), making simple tools and agricultural implements etc. Not what they were doing, but their manner and attitude is, however, what stays with me—I cannot convey it; I lack the necessary literary skill. But the net impression will always remain: If the children had come from the most advantageously situated families the scene would have been a remarkable one, unprecedented in my experience. When their almost unimaginable earlier history and background were taken into account the effect was to leave me with the profoundest admiration for the capacities of the people from which they sprang, and an unshakable belief in what they can accomplish. I am aware that there is marked disproportion between the breadth of my conclusion and the narrowness of the experience upon which it rests. But the latter did not remain isolated though it never recurred in the same fullness, it was renewed in every institution of children and youth which I visited.

Flaming Youth

In these days of universal juvenile rebelliousness, it is delightful to come across an essay on the psychological evolution of American Youth in one of the latest numbers of the *New Republic*. First of all, the writer sums up the pre-war and the post-war Youth in a neat paragraph:

Before the War we had with us a generation which we like to look back and down on as eager-

eyed, idealistic, slightly silly: this little band of brothers was succeeded by a tribe of Ishmael, armed with torches, it is true, but intent not on such social ends as arson or enlightenment, but on turning night into day. By some Fannie Hurst of the tabloids, these idealists-in-spite-of-themselves were dubbed "Flaming Youth." They were not attractive to their parents, nor to their parents' friends. Their stomachs were lined with copper, luckily, for they lived almost entirely on synthetic gin; they were all jazz-babies, for their parents were church-members and they had no moral sense. They spent their days in eluding work, and their nights in driving high-powered automobiles at a rate far exceeding the legal, at the same time indulging in protracted and passionate kisses; they raised hell at road-houses, were rude to their elders, and never came home until morning.

But today's fashions turn speedily into yesterday's foibles, and even American fashion is no exception to this universal law:

Time, if not the blush of shame, will bring most of these rosters to their social senses. Perhaps already their gin is losing a little of its fiery savour perhaps, with repetition and the dull passage of years, their curiously indecisive embraces are becoming a little more automatic, a little absent-minded. It is rumoured that an even younger generation is arising. These newcomers, lately embryonic, more recently in diapers, are now growing into adolescence, and very shortly the tireless hopes of the nation will be transferred to them. Of this new army of youth what can we expect?

Alas, what can we expect? If the modern fancy is correct: if, indeed, each generation takes retributory vengeance on the one before it, we can look for only the sternest children, from such lax parents. It may easily be imagined what manner of citizens these will be. They will be so conservative in their social instincts that we may look for a weakening of democratic institutions, all along the line, possibly resulting in a constitutional monarchy. The Democratic party may somehow continue to drag on a miserable existence, but it will no longer be even partially respectable, and the Socialists will disappear altogether. Theaters will be shut down, holidays will be done away with, dancing, laughing and reading for pleasure will be made punishable offenses. Prohibition will cease to be a problem, for the new race will have neither the time nor the inclination to drink; and those boot-leggers who do not commit suicide or die of broken hearts will be put to death, in company with artists, writers and other vagrants, by state euthanasia. Fashions will become even more standardized, and loud colours will fade away like the Snark. There will be a tremendous boom in organized religion. Sermons and skirts will be much longer. In short, we shall have a Sparta, though no Lycurgus will be necessary, for every citizen will be law-abider from his cradle.

Here again, youth maintains its reputation for youthfulness by doing the unexpected,—proving incidentally that it is the most stereotyped, the most unchanging and unchangeable thing in this shifting Kaleidoscope of time and space.

But perhaps we have presumed too much; perhaps in our enthusiasm for generalizing—that last infirmity of speaking your mind—we have gone a little too far. As Al Smith says, what are the facts? After making a careful survey of all the news items from the more important universities for the current year, we have selected the following as a significant instance:

A couple of weeks ago, in a university town not a hundred miles from New York, the citizens were registering for the presidential election. It has been the custom there for many years to allow the undergraduates to register as well, as a great many of them, not being able to return to their homes on Election Day, would otherwise lose their right to vote. This year, for some Republican or Democratic reason, the local board of registration refused to allow undergraduates to register, alleging that they were not legal residents of the town, and so had no right to vote there. When news of this action got around the campus, there was general indignation, and that evening some of the more serious-minded spirits collected and began a parade of protest. The procession, which soon numbered several hundreds, set out up the main street of the town. Across this street, at a decent interval, were displayed the campaign banners of the Republican and the Democratic parties. The paraders, with great seriousness and good humour, demolished the Republican emblem, and then, with praiseworthy impartiality and equal seriousness, the Democratic. The university authorities soon got wind of the affair, and sympathizing with the undergraduates' grievance and recognizing the high motives that lay behind their demonstration, attempted to persuade the protestants to come back to the campus and hold a mass meeting; offering the college auditorium for the purpose. All their attempts, however, were in vain. The crowd continued to surge back and forth up the main street, blocking the traffic and now and then attempting, in a friendly way, to upset passing motor cars, and making an unsuccessful try at demolishing the jail, but doing on the whole little or no damage. Finally, however, even high seriousness must go to bed, so they did.

Schubert

Schubert died on November 19, 1828, and this year they are celebrating his centenary in Europe. The *Times Literary Supplement* pays tribute to his memory in a very fine leading article from which we quote the following character-sketch:—

His fluent, copious, yielding music is commonly compared to water; but he himself, in his universal benevolence, resembles rather the genial summer sun. He has a beaming, glowing countenance; his spectacles cannot dim the light of the eyes behind them; his shock of hair stands out about his face like a corona; his compact frame shows no angles; and in his short round body the mind is round, round as the world. So observant, so responsive is he, he has so much to give and to take, that in the society which revolves about him and

drinks virtue from him he is often confused, retiring, awkward. All he does is of a piece. He writes a letter; the simple sentences are like his songs, showing, as Mr. Newman has said, the same "welling over of joy into sadness or of sadness into joy" and beyond this the same perfection of sweetness. The reciprocating wholeness of his nature, by turns receptive and expressive, keeps him to the end a child. He balances experience and creation like a child at play escaping ten years longer than most men that return of the mind upon itself which heralds maturity; and when he dies at thirty-one he has still barely completed the first stage of his journey and dies, as a child dies, of love. He has trusted the world more than it can be trusted, giving everything, expecting nothing in return, and getting so little that his strength is undermined and the way clear for disaster. Nothing in his work suggests exhausted faculties; his last is his most significant year. Indeed, the tragedy of his death is precisely this; that it cut him off on the threshold of manhood and of manhood's incalculable enrichments. His calamities, had he survived them, would have given him the one thing he still needed, a *point de repere*, a self-reliance in vision, such as came to Beethoven through his deafness. And the goal was near. Out of the world's rejection of him, signified by his poverty, out of the sickness, the bitterness of degradation which poverty had brought in its train—there was dawning upon his mind that sense of the separateness, the otherness, of the world from which spring irony, philosophy, and self-consciousness, the man's deliberate measuring and knitting of his power against indifferent fate. We feel decision rising in him as the last months go by; he recognized that his reputation is in his own hands, that for his work's sake he must concern himself for a livelihood. He has discovered even the defects of his musicianship, and in the grip of his last illness goes to a master. Then, feeling the approach of death, he fights convulsively and in the anguish of the struggle reveals his full knowledge of his stature and his claim: "Put me in my room," he cries to his brother Ferdinand, "don't leave me in this corner under the earth," and, on receiving his brother's reassurance, "It is not true. No. Beethoven is not lying here."

Tolstoy and his Wife

The centenary of Tolstoy's birth has witnessed the publication of many important documents about his life and work, of them none more important or revealing than the diary of his wife, relating to the years 1860—1891. In an article published in the *Observer* (quoted in the *Literary Digest* for November 10, 1928.) a Moscow correspondent writes:

"His wife did not share his new sense of the essential wrongness of private property, his feeling of moral responsibility sometimes rising almost to a sentiment of personal guilt before Russia's tens of millions of oppressed and poverty-stricken peasants. The compromise by which Tolstoy turned over the management of the Yasnaya Polyana estate to his wife may have held the family together, but it

placed a fatal strain on the already difficult marital relations. The role of an unappreciated Martha is never very agreeable for the person who assumes it, and it proved peculiarly intolerable for the nervous, highly strung Countess, who was already labouring under a sense of neglect and injustice. She states her side of the case vigorously in her diary for October 25, 1896:

"All the people in the house, especially Leo and, after him, like a flock sheep all the children, impose on me the role of a whip. Having cast on me all the weight of responsibility for the children, the estate, all money matters, education, the whole management of affairs, and everything material, profiting by all this more than I myself, they come to me with cold, matter-of-fact faces to ask a horse for a peasant, money, flour, etc. I am not occupied with agriculture—for this I have neither the time nor the knowledge—I can not give orders, not knowing whether horses are necessary for farming at the present moment, and these matter-of-fact requests, combined with ignorance of the state of affairs, confuse and irritate me."

Tolstoy's disciples proved another thorn in the side of his wife:

"Like every great teacher, his personality and views inevitably attracted, along with sincere idealists, a certain number of eccentric persons and some mere hunters after sensation and curiosity. The Countess makes little distinction among them; she is almost morbidly jealous of all these new figures in her husband's life; but her observations on the Tolstoyans are sometimes characterized by the vividness that often marks sketches of persons whom one dislikes. On July 19, 1887, she writes:—

"How unsympathetic are all the types which adhere to the teachings of Leo Nikolaevitch! There is not one normal man. Most of the women also are hysterical. Marya Alexandrovna Schmidt has just left. Formerly she wanted to be a nun; now she is an enthusiastic devotee of the ideas of Leo Nikolaevitch. When she meets or parts with him, she weeps hysterically."

"And on December 17, 1890, she writes:

"Dark figures have come: the stupid Popov, an astern, lazy, weak man, and the stupid, fat merchant Khokhlov. And these are the disciples of a great man! Pitiful offspring of human society, slavers without professions, lazy people without location."

"One can not read through the diary of Countess Tolstoy, sometimes hysterical and bitter, but always telligent and often sympathetic, without feeling at the sorrows of Tolstoy's later years cannot be reduced to such a simple formula as the conflict between an idealistic philosopher and a selfish and coldly woman. The situation possessed subtler and more irreconcilable elements of tragedy, worthy of bodiment in a great novel or drama; there was clash of human personality and world outlook in which neither individual may be pronounced wholly itly or wholly guiltless. Tolstoy's flight was his most eloquent expression of his side of the case; his wife's is perhaps to be found in this poignant excerpt from her diary of December 11, 1890:

"If the salvation of a human being, the salvation of his spiritual life, lies in killing the life of one who is nearest him, then, Leo is saved."

Spending vs. Saving

The modern world is revealing against the idea of thrift as a virtue. We read the following interesting paragraph in the *Unity*:

Bernard Shaw has declared that it is a crime to exhort the poor to be thrifty. "A. E." the distinguished Irish poet, home from his recent visit to the United States, has proclaimed that a spendthrift people is a prosperous people. Henry Ford long ago taught that high wages as the basis of spending power were the secret of good business. Messrs. Foster and Catchings have been building a new economics on this thesis. Thus does our lavish age turn on the old and venerated virtue of Thrift, and rend it utterly! It is high time that this were done, for Thrift is an outmoded virtue. It belonged to the days when, to quote the familiar phrase of the late Professor Patten, "the basis of civilization was deficit." It was in places like Scotland, and New England in the early days, where the margin between production and subsistence was so narrow as to keep starvation always in sight as a possible visitor, that Thrift developed as the greatest of all the virtues. But this situation was limited to no one country. Everywhere in the old days production was slow, painful and inadequate; and it was inevitable, if the race was to survive that waste should be condemned as the unpardonable sin. But those days have passed, as Professor Patten pointed out years ago. The basis of civilization in our time—thanks to machinery, chemistry, intensive agriculture, and improved transportation—has been definitely shifted from deficit to surplus. It is now possible to produce more than we can consume. Once solve the problem of distribution as we have happily solved the problem of production, and there will be more than enough of this world's goods for everybody. Waste remains, even so, a social crime. But on the other hand, Thrift remains nothing but a form of meanness, miserliness, selfishness—well enough in days of scarcity, but today as unlovely as it is unnecessary. Thrift has done its work. Let it now give place to the abundant life!

Ahmet Zogu, Albania's New King

A German correspondent of the *Evening Age* gives the following particulars of the sartorial and other peculiarities of the new King of Albania:

Yesterday a king without a crown, a prince in power without a principality designated as such. But for all this, he is a king to-day in name as well as in fact, with all the trappings of royalty.

Ahmet Zogu, of the house of Zogolli, who bears the title *Pasë i Mat* that is to say, hereditary chief of the Matya district, has been President of the Albanian Republic with a power that is unlimited in spite of Albania's parliament and notwithstanding the League of Nations.

Usually Ahmet Zogu wears the field uniform to which he is entitled by his rank as military commander-in-chief. At receptions and on special occasions when he shows himself to the people, he wears a

parade uniform—a fantastic official dress which in the main he adapted from that worn by his princely predecessor, William of Wied, Albania's pre-war king whose rule lasted so short a time. This under went a number of transformations before it was standardized. Ahmet Zogu first experimented with a white military tunic, white trousers, and white riding boots. For the last two he presently substituted red trousers and black boots. Later he added a black cloak lined with red. One must admit that though he presents in his uniform somewhat the appearance of a musical comedy hero, it is, nevertheless, very becoming and has a tremendous effect upon the ladies.

There is no doubt that he regards Napoleon Bonaparte as a model for his own career, keeping a Napoleonic biography constantly on his writing desk and reading it assiduously. His dream of being king, as was predicted, is drawing near fulfilment. He distributes orders, offices, favours—not to mention an occasional warrant for execution—and has created a corps of officers which is loyal and courageous, but which imitates its war lord by going about in gold-braided uniforms which rival King Solomon in all his glory.

But in spite of all this, a gesture from his patron and protector, Mussolini, would be enough to end all of Ahmet's power before his ambitious dreams reach their fulfilment.

Co-operation of Labour and Capital

1928 was a year of peace moves in industry. Both Trade Unions and Employers seem to have realised that industrial warfare was leading nowhere. In England it was Lord Melchett (formerly Sir Alfred Mond) who invited a joint conference of the leading employers and the representatives of the Trades Union Congress to find out a formula which would lead to a better understanding between the employers and the employed. The interim report of this conference has been approved by the Trades Union Congress which met in September, 1928 in spite of the opposition of the Labour extremists. It appears that a similar tendency is also operating in America, and that there, too, employers and the employed are drawing together for the sake of industrial efficiency and economic prosperity of the community as a whole. We read the following in the *Monthly Labour Review* of the United States Bureau of Labour Statistics:

There are still elements in the organised labour movement which look with misgivings and suspicion upon any co-operation of labour with capital, on the theory that the two are unalterably opposed to one another fundamentally and cannot possibly have any interest in common. In general, however, it may be said that during the past decade a gradual change has taken place in the attitude of, at least, the leaders of organised labour. While

still militant in the sense that it will yield no portion of the advantages already gained, labour prefers peace to warfare in its relations with employers. This change of attitude is due partly to enlightened self-interest, to a very practical realization of the cost of strikes—not only in dollars and cents but in other tangible benefits—and partly to wider vision on the part of the leaders. Whereas formerly only the interests of the men were taken into account by the unions, now the interests of the industry are considered. A few unions are leading the way in practical accomplishments in co-operation with the management for the good of all concerned, and the idea is gradually gaining a more or less general acceptance, even though a still reluctant one in some quarters.

The idea of enlisting the co-operation of the workers on a general scale first appeared during the war, when the universal and whole-hearted efforts of everyone were necessary in the production of war materials. Shop committees were established in a great many plants, though in many of these the trade-union was not a factor, non-union as well as union plants having adopted the idea. The value of the voluntary co-operation of the employees and of their good-will received widespread recognition.

Much of this spirit disappeared after the cessation of the war, due partly to the industrial depression, partly to the reaction from the wartime tension, and partly to the wave of anti-union and open shop activities that swept over the country. In some cases, however, co-operative efforts continued, while what is probably the best-known of all co-operative schemes, the so-called "B. & O. plan," was inaugurated after the close of the war. It had been conceived much earlier but it was felt that war conditions might militate against the success of the plan and the putting into actual practice was therefore postponed.

The new spirit has manifested itself in different ways and along various lines. To-day there are instances in which unions and management are co-operating to improve the operating efficiency of the plant or the industry; to introduce new methods or machinery or to improve the old ones; to reduce operating cost by eliminating wastes, introducing economies, etc.; to improve the quality of work produced; to bring up the total production; to raise the general level of sanitation and safety in the plant; and to increase the skill and efficiency of the workers. In these and other ways employers and workers are demonstrating what can be done when the welfare of the industry is the first concern.

It is not true, of course, that all that is being accomplished through co-operative effort is done for purely altruistic reasons. Each party expects to benefit by the co-operative arrangement. The employer expects greater returns through the increased economy of production, the greater output, the reduction of amount of imperfect work, etc. The union expects by demonstrating the increased value of the services rendered by its members, to gain for them increases in wage rates. But the great accomplishment of union-management co-operation is the change of mental attitude thus brought about and the fact that the results are secured by mutual effort instead of by antagonism, through peace instead of war.

Halide Khanum's Memoirs

In course of a review of a fresh instalment of Halide Edib Khanum's memoirs (published in English under the name of the Turkish Ideal by John Murray) of the Turkish War of Liberation, the *Times Literary Supplement* writes:

In her own person Halide Edib Khanum, the wife of Dr. Adnan Bey, one of the chiefs of the Nationalists, epitomizes the changes which she helped to bring about in her country. From being a novelist, who supported with pen and tongue wild measures of reform calculated to improve the autocratic Sultanate into a constitutional Turkish monarchy, she became a rebel with a price upon her head, a hunted outlaw whose one hope it was to help her nation to survive what she considered to be its betrayal by its Sovereign, and finally turned to Onbashi Halide, a corporal on the fighting front which had to face alike the Greeks and the Caliphists as, apparently, the Nationalists termed those who fought against them to uphold the authority of a Sultan.

Most of the events in which the author, either as Khanum or as Onbashi, took part passed comparatively unnoticed in this country. It was known that there was an Allied occupation of Constantinople and that many Turks had complained of what happened during that occupation. It was known that a nationalist movement was in progress in Anatolia; and it came as a surprise to many that it should become strong enough to drive the Greeks out of Smyrna, to flout the decisions of the Allies, and that should have so far developed its own political theories as to upset the immemorial Ottoman monarchy and devise a new system of Government. Not of the blunders perpetrated during the Allied occupation next to nothing was known over here—and even less about the surprising events of the War of Liberation in which historically minded observers have detected analogies with the uprising of Scottish national spirit against the English six centuries before. Thus, at the time, the European public at large, if it realized at all that a new force which was about to effect such profound changes in so much of the Near East had been loosed, never knew how very nearly at certain moments, that force was to be being crushed and how nearly British valour caught the disguised Turkish authoress for whom they were hunting among the Bithynian hills such as Claverhouse's troopers had hunted for disaffected Covenanters in the "killing time" in Wyndesdale.

She also describes the Ghazi Pasha

Both in the moment of danger and in the hour of triumph, refers to his cynicism, his calculating opportunism based on a careful study of history in keeping in with the Hojas until strong enough to

trample on them in order that the infant Turkish Republic should not follow in the same path as the infant Moslem Republic twelve centuries before and his lack of heart, for, she writes, he considers duty and affection to be useless weaknesses, but, like so many of his race, is influenced by passions and dreams, although he has found it possible to discountenance their professional interpreters.

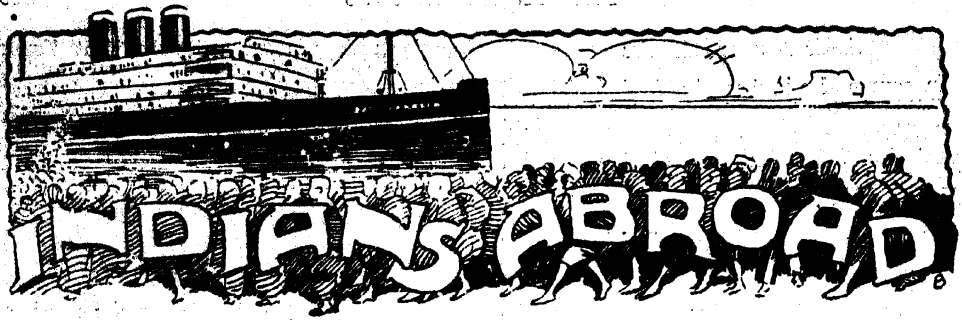
Students' Revolt Against Drink

In one of the latest numbers of the *International Student* we read:

Evidences of a slow but steady growth in student interest in the problem of alcoholic drink and of growing antagonism against old drink customs marked the International Conference of the World Student Federation against Alcoholism at Antwerp, Belgium, during the last week of August.

The special feature of the conference was the first-hand reports by students from the different countries, showing actual situations as they are today; personal and group problems about alcoholic drink in universities and the life of the peoples; the efforts being made to establish better social customs free from drink and the friendly co-operation and strength being developed in universities, colleges and other higher schools by the local and national student and youth organizations of the eighteen countries represented at the conference. In this free discussion of activities and methods, practical suggestions and experiences growing out of present-day reality were exchanged, even over the barrier raised by a difference in the number of languages, nearly as great as the number of countries represented. For the immediate future, emphasis was placed on the exchange of information among the students anti-alcohol movements of the different countries, on the encouraging of broader study of the whole problem, on increased attention to the social and economic meaning of a change in the drink habits of a nation, and on the sense of freedom and strength that comes to young men and women and student groups who refuse to accept the drink customs of the older generations, as many thousands of younger people of central, eastern and northern Europe are now doing.

There was about the Antwerp Conference, as well as those that preceded it, a sense of moral crusade and of earnest struggle against a very real and a very difficult problem in the social and personal life of the individuals and in the national life of their peoples. There was also a sense of conviction that something more aggressive must be done and in an educational way and that from these student organizations and groups must come those who would be the leaders against the drink traffic in their home lands.



By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

An important problem

Here are a few extracts from a letter of an American friend of mine regarding the immigration laws in the United States of America.

"I am writing to you concerning the 'Asiatic Exclusion Act' of the United States of America. I have been in touch with individuals and organisations in the United States who are recognising the injustice of the present immigration law with its offensive racial discriminations, and are prepared to work for its repeal.

"The particular question which I wish to raise for their information, is just what Indian sentiment is in regard to American immigration. Do the Indians desire and seek for an open door in America with the privilege of unrestricted immigration; or would they be content for the present to accept the same quota basis which European nations are now enjoying? In other words is the offence of the American exclusion merely one against the honour of the Indian people, or is it one of more practical import? I have felt that the Indian resentment has been over the matter of being treated as an inferior race, and that they are not actually demanding the privilege of entering the United States in large numbers.

"Indian labour has never created any problem as has been the case with some other nations. If she were to accept the limitations of the present law as applied to European nations, my understanding is that she would be permitted to send one hundred immigrants each year, which is very probably more than she ever sent in the days of unrestricted immigration.

I presume that you will agree with me that American labour may be justified in demanding some restriction of immigration

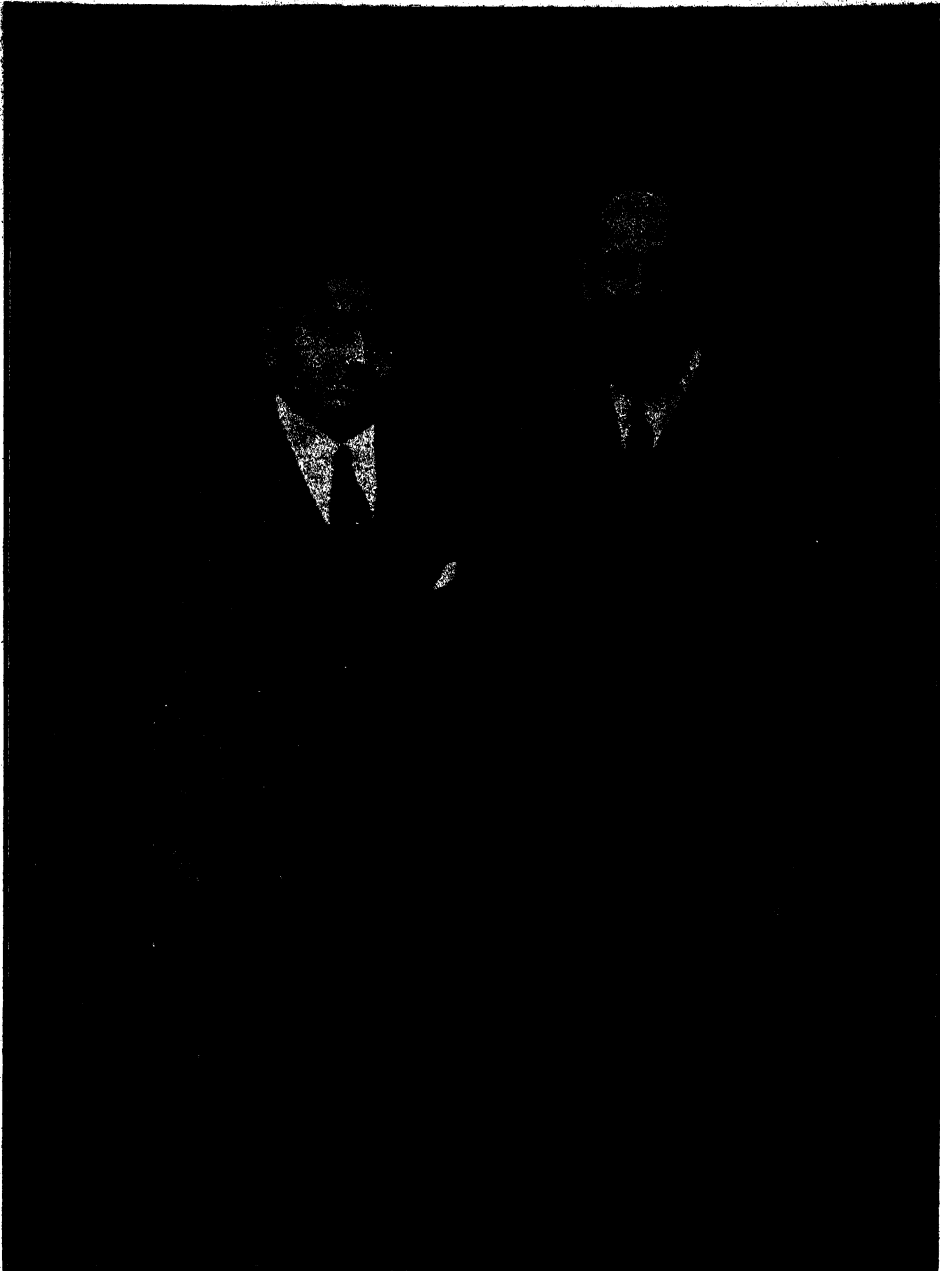
in order to protect themselves against unscrupulous capitalists who would otherwise continuously introduce cheap labour in such numbers as to frustrate all efforts on the part of labour to organise effectively for the securing of proper working conditions, hours, wages, etc. I need not inform you that racial prejudice is unfortunately a fact in America. Perhaps much of this prejudice has an economic basis. Much as we depreciate this attitude of racial antagonism, we must face the facts. It will probably be impossible to gain anything more for the present than to have India recognised as an equal among the Nations, by placing her on the same quota basis as the others.

"I should like to get an expression from you as to whether you feel that Indian public opinion would recognise that a really worth while victory would be scored in such a gain. You may be able to strengthen the hands of those who are fighting the battle by such a statement. Of course if you feel that Indian sentiment would be unappreciative of such a move, it is your duty to frankly say so. What we want is international understanding and good will and this can never be built upon unreality."

The question raised by the writer of this letter is an important one and requires careful consideration at our hands. We recognise the sincerity of the writer and agree with him that we must do all that we can to bring about better understanding between the people of India and those of U. S. A. As regards the details of the solution put forward by our friend we cannot express any opinion off-hand. We shall refer to the question again next month.

Mr. Sastri's work in South Africa

Mr. Sastri is returning to the Motherland



Mr. C. F. Andrews with Mr. Kaje of South Africa

after a strenuous work of more than a year and a half in South Africa. Here is what Mahatma Gandhi has written about him in the columns of the *Young India* :—

"And as he (Mr. Sastri) wanted no fame for himself (few men would be found shyer than Sjt. Sastri of fame), he turned his popularity to the advancement of the cause he has represented with such singular ability and success. During his all too brief stay in South Africa he has immensely raised the status of our countrymen in that part of the world. Let us hope that they will, by their exemplary conduct, show themselves worthy of him.

"But Sastri's contribution to the solution of the difficult and delicate problem of South Africa does not rest merely upon what was after all an accident. We know nothing except through the results of the inner working of the ambassador's office in which he had to exhaust all his art of a diplomacy that comes from a conviction of the correctness of one's cause and that spurns to do or countenance anything wrong, mean or crooked. But we do know how unsparing he has been in the use on behalf of his cause of the gifts of eloquence, scholarship, both English and Sanskrit and great and varied learning with which nature has lavishly endowed him. He has been delivering to large and select audiences of Europeans lectures on Indian philosophy and culture which have stirred European imagination and softened the hard crust of prejudice which has hitherto prevented the general body of Europeans from seeing anything good in the Indian. These lectures are perhaps his greatest and the most permanent contribution to the Indian cause in South Africa."

Mr. Sastri will be arriving in India in the middle of February and we earnestly hope that he will be given a hearty reception by all sections of the Indian people. One request we shall make to Mr. Sastri, if it may not be considered impertinent on our part and, it is that he should have nothing to do with party politics in India.

It is Greater India that needs the services of this great man. May he live long and serve the motherland for many more years to come.

Departure of Sir K. V. Reddy to South Africa

Sir K. V. Reddy will leave the shores of India in the first week of this month to succeed Mr. Sastri in South Africa. We were

opposed to his appointment simply on the ground that a better selection could have been made but now that he has been appointed we shall request our people in South Africa to render him all possible assistance in the difficult work that awaits him there. Our people in East Africa also should give him a cordial reception. We are very sorry, indeed, to learn that the Indian Association of Nairobi passed a resolution of protest against Sir K. V. Reddy's appointment. This is really ungraceful. Let us wait and see his work and if we cannot render him any assistance we must not do anything to weaken his hands.

The East African Problem

A crisis is fast approaching in East Africa. With the publication of Hilton Young Commission's Report our struggle in East Africa will assume a new phase and there is every danger of our position being weakened as a consequence of the short-sighted policy of the Conservative Government in England, in giving more power to the Delamere party in Kenya. It is therefore very necessary to keep a close watch on the march of events in those parts of Africa. It will be a great thing indeed if some of our leaders could go to Kenya and study the situation on the spot. There is Mr. J. B. Pandya's offer of a free passage. Is it really impossible to get three or four of our leaders to proceed to East Africa in a month or two? If the Motherland cannot lend the services of four of her able sons just for three months at this critical time in the history of our people in East Africa it will be really unfortunate.

Mr. Andrews' visit to the West Indies :—

We are glad to learn that Mr. Andrews will soon proceed to West Indies to study the condition of our people in British Guiana, Trinidad, Surinam and Jamaica. These four colonies have been very much neglected by us and we ought to be grateful to Mr. Andrews for this visit.

No Indian, not excluding even Mahatmajee, has done so much for our people in the different colonies as Mr. C. E. Andrews and we hope he will be received by our colonial friends as a great Indian.

He is the one Englishman in India who has succeeded in completely identifying himself with our aims and ambitions.



NOTES

Urgent Need of Self-examination

The period which marks the close of one year and the beginning of another should be devoted, in part at least, to self-examination. This is true both for individuals and groups. The groups may be as small as the smallest family, association, guild, caste or class, or as large as nations, peoples, races—nay, all mankind. For individuals, as well as small groups and large, the questions to ask are: Have we during the past year risen to greater heights or sunk to lower depths? Have we marched forwards or retreated backwards? Have we approximated more to the brute creation or has the spirit in us won the battle? Internally and externally, have we become freer or more enslaved?

The Indian College at Montpellier

We read in the *Mysore Economic Journal*:—

Students and graduates of the Indian Universities have long been finding advantage from further courses of study in the West, and this in ever-increasing numbers. British Universities naturally receive the greater part of this influx, but many Indian students are also being attracted to French and German Universities. Experience is proving that those most profit by the resources of the West who come as graduates or at least fairly well prepared; and who also acquaint themselves with at least one other leading European language, and this, when possible, by a period of residence in a Continental University city. The difficulty of acquirement of an additional language is soon compensated by the wider outlook which it gives as well as by the increased resources of culture, both general and professional, which it opens.

Montpellier, on the border of the Mediterranean, is the centre of a region of great natural beauty and historic interest; and it is one of the best equipped Universities within the sunny Mediterranean climate which has long been widely attractive to students of all ages. As a result of the eminence of its departments of Science, Medicine, Letters, Law, Philosophy and Education, and also of its Schools of Agriculture, Music and Art. A

rapid and thorough course of preparation and training in the French language and literature is provided for foreign students. Last year there were about 3,000 students representing about 50 different nationalities.

The French universities do not provide any hostels for students. So during the last four years Prof. Patrick Geddes has been actively engaged in the organization of a group of halls of residence for students of the many nationalities represented there.

His long experience in the provision of collegiate hostels in Edinburgh, London and elsewhere, and also in general University Planning, in India and Palestine as well as in Europe, has enabled him to set considerable beginnings in operation. His initial foundation, the *College des Etrangers*, or Scots College—so called in memory of the old and intimate association of Scotland and France but open to all students—is at present serving as a starting point for others—Indian, American, etc. Through his varied experience of ten years' planning in many provinces and states in India, and with appreciative interests and wide contracts accordingly, this Indian College scheme has here become a leading one.

NEW BUILDING REQUIRED

The limited accommodation as yet available in the Scots College Building is no longer sufficient; while enquires from Indian students continue to come in. Hence there is now an urgent need of a separate building for which plans and estimates have been made. This will occupy a pleasing site and a commanding view which the extensive college gardens, and in the immediate neighbourhood of the two existing residential buildings and of the proposed American College. It is planned to accommodate 25 students with common rooms and library; and there is space for extension when need arises.

The building, building and furnishing of the Indian College will be carried on under the direct supervision of Professor Geddes, late head of the Department of Geography and Civics in the Graduate School of the University of Bombay, with the co-operation of Mr. R. B. Seal, formerly Director of Art School of Madras, and Mr. J. C. Calcutta. They will also continue to act as Advisors and Advisers of Indian students and as hitherto, and in continued co-operation with the Montpellier professors especially interested in India.

It is estimated that the full amount need-

ed for the Scots College will be two lakhs of rupees. Towards this amount donations and subscriptions are now being received by Dr. G. G. Advani, Secretary of the Indian College, C/o. Thos. Cook & Son, Hornby Road, Bombay.

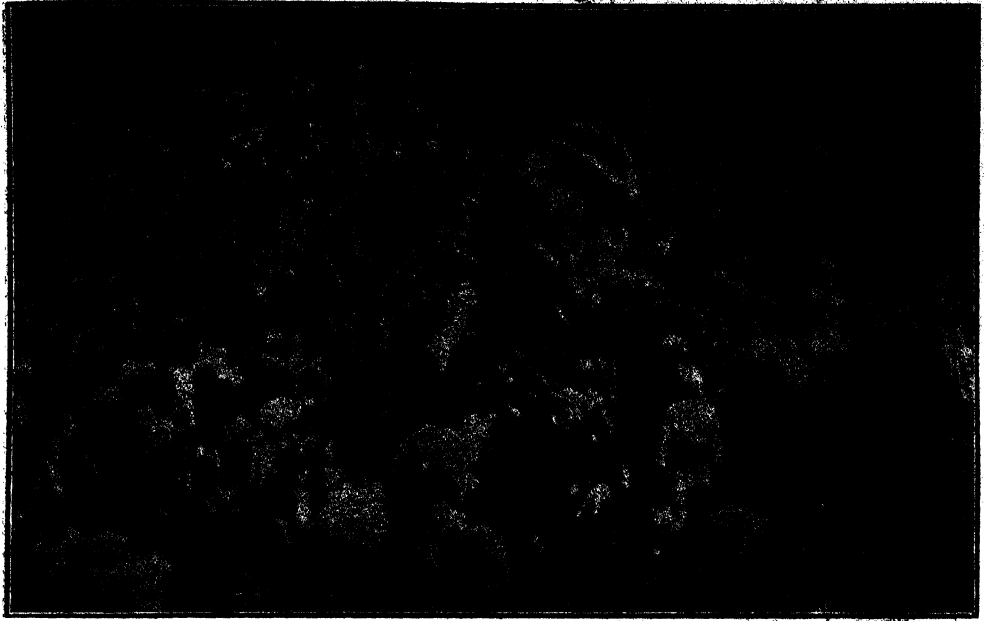
The Presidential Procession in Calcutta

For once, it gives us pleasure to bear testimony to the correct behaviour of the Calcutta Police. Pandit Motilal Nehru, the President of the 43rd session of the Indian

National Congress, arrived in Calcutta on the 21st of last month. The authorities of the East Indian Railway refused to afford any facilities for a proper reception of the President on the Howrah railway station platform, and only a small number of persons were admitted. Outside, an immense crowd awaited to give the President a rousing welcome. From the Howrah bridge down Harrison Road, along College Street, Wellesley Street, Corporation Street, Park Street, Lower Circular Road, and on to Park Street and Desbandhu Nagar, which may be well called the Congress city, there was a dense mass



Pandit Motilal Nehru



Arrival of the President in Calcutta
—A view of the procession showing the President's carriage

of surging humanity, while every window and house-top along the processional route were thronged by the citizenesses of Calcutta. Several impressive demonstrations of very large proportions have been seen in this great city, and this one was in keeping with them. The mere sight of this huge serpentine stream of humanity, coiling and untwisting around itself, could not have failed to impress any one who has lived to witness the growth of the Indian National Congress during the forty-three years of its existence. The foot-paths and the roads were blocked by solid masses of men, and several lakhs of people must have participated in the procession. There were very few policemen to be seen, and the police force was rightly employed in controlling the traffic at the points of intersection where other streets crossed the route of procession. The policeman seen here and here along the route never attempted to interfere with or hustle the crowd and generally made themselves as small as possible. When the procession reached Park Circus a European policeman was seen flourishing a stick to wave back the crowd. He was promptly summoned by a police

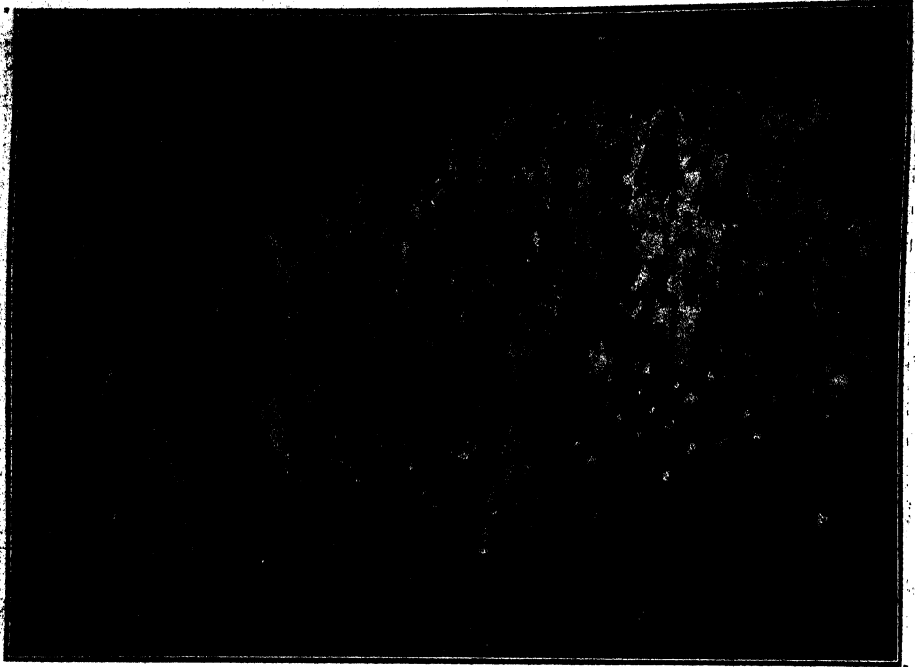
officer and was ordered to leave the people alone and not to molest any one. Law and order was maintained intact, because no policeman attempted to violate it. Neither the Congress volunteers nor any one else had much to do. The enthusiastic crowds were perfectly orderly and everywhere made way for the procession without any difficulty.

The moral of this imposing demonstration is writ large for any one to read. It so happens that the Viceroy of India, the Nizam of Hyderabad and several other Princes of India are at present in Calcutta; but the city did not erect triumphal arches nor assemble in its hundreds of thousands for any such exalted personage. The spontaneous and striking honour that we have witnessed is reserved for the first citizen of India, who fills the office of the President of the Indian National Congress for the term of a year.

N. G.

The Saunders Murder

On the 17th December last a European police officer named Saunders was shot dead.



Another View of the Procession Showing the Lady Volunteers

at Lahore in broad daylight (4-30 p. m.) just outside the police office, situated in College Street and facing the D. A. V. College. In spite of the crime being committed near the police superintendent's office, the assailants, numbering two or three, made good their escape. The only policeman who chased the murderers was a Sikh head-constable, and he was shot dead. There must have been some European policemen in or near the place. But they did or could do nothing.

Whether the crime is of a political character or not can not be determined at present. *The People of Lahore* writes as follows on the subject:—

Nothing definite can be said at this stage about the nature of the crime—the coonsure *Civil and Military Gazette* of the glacier stunt fame notwithstanding. The *Gazette* contends that the murder was a political one, because Mr. Saunders—the murdered European official—was one of the police officials who preserved “law and order” by beating Lala Lajpat Rai when he led a peaceful boycott procession on the day the Simon Commission arrived in Lahore. The fact that the murder was committed on the 17th—exactly one month after the police barbarity day—is regarded by the *Gazette* as of particular significance. We do not

rule out such interpretation. But we may also point out that Mr. Saunders as a Punjab police official was connected with other things besides attacks on political leaders. He was in charge of certain dacoity cases, in which people have been hanged. May not the survivors of a gang have vowed vengeance and perpetrated this deed? If any such people owed Mr. Saunders a grudge, his having been concerned in the beating of political leaders would naturally be regarded by them as a favourable factor, for it would throw the police on a wrong track. To shelter themselves further behind the political screen, the dacoits might select the 17th as the day for such a crime.

If facts brought to light by investigation show that it was a political murder, we have no doubt all responsible nationalists will dissociate themselves from it—not that it is morally on a lower plane than Dyerism and police savagery, but because we do not expect India's emancipation to come from such needs. Suppose the crime is committed with political motives, what is its lesson in that case? Just this that the trodden worm turneth. It is no use arguing with it that its protest is unwise or immoral. Indian leaders are doing their very best to keep clear of violence. But if the bureaucracy go on in the Lahore and Lucknow fashion their task may become hopeless. In any country but India bloodshed would have immediately followed such a grave insult as the making of a Lajpat Rai the victim of police hooliganism. And surely no Government, except that in a province in British

India, could thus condone and even glorify such hooliganism.

A WORD TO THE POLICE.

For ourselves we keep an open mind as to whether the crime was political or not, and we must warn the Punjab police against being carried away by the usual police prejudices. That may possibly help the real culprits to escape while innocent people are made to suffer. If its political prejudices serve as a false scent for it in the present case, it may for ever be known as a body of most incompetent fellows.

Reprisals will not crush the political life. They will not end the indignation felt at the *lathi* blows that hastened Lalaji's death. Dyer in Jallianwala succeeded not in killing political life, but in fertilizing the soil for it with martyrs' blood.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar in Europe and Indonesia

At the meeting held in the Calcutta Mahabodhi Hall under the auspices of the Greater India Society to give a reception to Prof. Rames Chandra Majumdar on his return from his study-tours in Europe and Indonesia, the professor recounted his experiences abroad.

When in England, he represented the Greater India Society in the Orientalists' Conference at Oxford, and at the meeting of the Societe Asiatique at Paris he paid on behalf of Greater India Society, a tribute of deep respect to the memory of the late lamented savant Mon. Emile Senart.

Dr. Majumdar also visited the Kern Institute of Leyden, as associate of the Greater India Society, and was very well received by Professor Dr. Vogel and Professor Krom, leading authorities on Indian cultural relations with Indonesia.

Backed by their introductions, he went to Java, and after visiting the remarkable monuments of Borobudur and Prambanan etc. he crossed over to the island of Bali where he studied the living relics of Hinduism, and finally landed in Indo-China. The French Archaeologists there, gave him every facility to visit the splendid temple-ruins of Angkor, and Dr. Majumdar entered Bangkok to study the relics of Hindu culture in Siam as deposited in its museum and also in the famous Vajrayana library which was under the able direction of Mon. Georges Coedès.

He found that scholars everywhere were eager to help the Greater India movement started in India and expressed the desire that Indian scholars should visit these centres systematically with a view to reconstructing the forgotten chapter of our glorious past history.

Bengal Government Non-cooperates

The Calcutta Exhibition, organized under the auspices of the Indian National Congress, is not a mere show. There is much to learn from it. One visit, however prolonged, will not suffice for deriving all the possible

advantage from it. Many visits should be paid. Among the most interesting and informing of the classes of exhibits to be found there are those of the health section. This section and some others ought to be turned into a permanent exhibition. The British Government in India pretends to be deeply concerned for the health of the people of India. Its servants and friends are past masters in the art of propaganda. They would have the world believe that if India is the unhealthiest country in the world and if its death-rate is appalling, it is not they but the people who are responsible for it! Their attitude towards the Calcutta Exhibition is an illuminating commentary on their professions. We are credibly informed that all Bengal officials concerned have been instructed not to send any exhibits to the health section of the Exhibition. There is also a reference to this fact in the address delivered by Dr. Sir Nilratan Sircar as Chairman of the All-India Medical Conference.

Village Uplift and the Agricultural Commission

At a recent meeting of the East India Association in London the subject of village uplift was discussed. Lord Linlithgow was one of the speakers and as such eulogised his own conclusions as chairman of the Royal Commission on Agriculture as "very sound and very important."

"It was greatly to be hoped that the public in Britain would not forget the heavy responsibility they had to bear towards India."

Earl Winterton said that the enthusiasm for village uplift should not blind them to the basis on which success must rest. Finance was the most important thing. The Government might provide half but somebody must come forward to provide the other half.

Britishers are famous for their self-righteousness. It is quite in keeping with that character that, though Lord Linlithgow spoke as he did at the London meeting, his Commission did not visit the Agriculture and Rural Reconstruction section of Visvabharati at Sriniketan, Surul, where important work for village uplift has been going on for years. Instead, a questionnaire was sent to Rabindranath Tagore. As regards Earl Winterton's statement that somebody must provide the other half, perhaps he does not know that Tagore's work of rural reconstruction is being carried on almost entirely with American money, Britons being content with

the hope of not forgetting the heavy responsibility they had to bear towards India. And the half that "Government *might* provide" would also come from the pockets, not of Britons, but of Indians.

It will be said, no doubt, that the Viceroy went to visit Sriniketan and Santiniketan of his own accord and greatly enjoyed the visit. It is also reported that "he said that he came here as to a place of pilgrimage and felt at once the peace and tranquility of the atmosphere of the Asram." But Lords Linlithgow and Winterton referred to pounds and pence, not to peace, if we understand them aright. So, let them see that an adequate amount of *India's Money* is spent on the improvement of India's Villages—British charity we neither expect nor want.

Japanese Imperial Rescript

The Imperial Rescript, announcing the assumption of the throne of Japan by the new emperor, contains the following passage:—

It is Our resolve to endeavour to promote, within, the education of Our people and their moral and material betterment so that there may be harmony and contentment among them and power and prosperity for the whole nation, and to cultivate, without, friendly relations with all nations, thus to contribute to the maintenance of the world peace and the advancement of the welfare of humanity. We call upon you, Our beloved subjects, to be of one mind and, sinking selfish aims for the public service to work with one accord, in helping us to attain these our aspirations in order that We may in some measure add to the illustrious traditions to which We have succeeded and that We may with good conscience face the Heavenly Spirits of Our Ancestors.

It is to be noted that, among the things promised to be done for the Japanese people, the first place is given to the promotion of education. How different is the attitude of the alien British Government in India!

Negotiations Behind a Municipal Appointment

The following note is to be found in the excellent Christmas number of the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette*:—

At the meeting of the Corporation on Wednesday after a protracted discussion the following motion regarding the appointment of District Engineer, District III, was moved and adopted:—

(i) That Mr. Birendranath Bhattacharyya be appointed as District Engineer in the vacancy caused by the death of the late Rai S. C. Mitra Bahadur, but that he be allowed to continue for the present

to be on deputation as Constructional Engineer—Water Works Extension.

(ii) That during the period Mr. Bhattacharyya continues to be on deputation in the Water Works Extension, Mr. Q. A. Rahaman be appointed provisionally as District Engineer in the grade of Rs. 500-25-750 plus a motor-car allowance of Rs. 100 with quarters at 10 per cent. of his salary or a house-allowance of Rs. 150 per month till quarters can be provided.

(iii) That Mr. Rahaman be appointed permanently as District Engineer in the vacancy occurring if he gives satisfaction while acting as such.

There were two amendments by professor S. C. Ghose and Mr. Sachindra Nath Mookerjee respectively that the resolution of the Finance Committee appointing Mr. Rahaman be revised on the ground that Mr. A. K. Sen, who had been officiating in the post for the last one year, should be appointed. Both the amendments were lost.

The fun of appointing one man as District Engineer (apparently permanently, because another man has been appointed provisionally) and then resolving that the man appointed provisionally to be appointed permanently if he gives satisfaction, is not quite enjoyable. Whether he gives satisfaction or not, there is every likelihood of his being appointed permanently. Then what would become of Mr. Birendranath Bhattacharya, who has been appointed to the same post, *not* provisionally? Would he remain hanging in the air, like a Trishanku of the Kali Yuga? For, obviously he cannot continue to be on deputation indefinitely.

And why was Mr. A. K. Sen, the officiating incumbent, passed over? He is a fully qualified man and gave complete satisfaction to the Chief Engineer, the Chief Executive Officer, the Finance, Estates and General Purposes Committee, etc. The District III Standing Committee passed the following resolution unanimously on the 12th January, 1928:—

...and that in the opinion of this Committee it is desirable that the Acting incumbent, who has been working in the place of Mr. Mitra and has given entire satisfaction both to the public and to this Committee be made permanent and a copy of this recommendation be conveyed to the appropriate Committee which is to consider the question of the appointment."

When Mr. Sen was interviewed by the Sub-committee appointed to consider the applications for the post, the Chief Engineer said of his own accord, "He has got the same degree as I have."

As regards Mr. Rahaman's interview, the following questions and answers will give some idea of his qualifications:—

The Chairman: Is there any departmental

examination in the B. N. Railway, which one has got to pass before he is confirmed in his appointment?

A. Yes. I had to resign my appointment there because I could not pass the departmental examination.

Q. After leaving the B. N. Railway, what did you do?

A. I went to Hyderabad as a temporary Assistant Engineer in the P. W. D. for a period of one year, and I was mostly in charge of roads and buildings.

Q. Do you hold any certificate as to the work you did there?

A. It was a temporary job and I did not think it worth while to have a certificate.

Q. Have you any thing to show that the only reason why you resigned your service in the B. N. Railway was because you could not pass the departmental examination?

A. The reason was because I could not pass the departmental examination within the stipulated period. There were a number of subjects prescribed for the examination, and I could not get through all of them.

Q. Have you specialised in any particular one? Did you make a special study of any one of the different branches of Civil Engineering?

A. No.

Q. Have you any knowledge of asphaltum pavement?

A. I have not specialised in it.

Q. Have you taken any building contract?

A. No.

Q. Have you prepared any design for any big building in Calcutta?

A. No.

The most discreditable part of the affair will be understood from the following extracts from the proceedings of the Calcutta Corporation meeting, dated the 19th December last, published in the *Statesman* of the following day :—

Mr. Biswas declared that they had agreed to Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta's suggestion of granting Rs. 25,000 to the Congress Exhibition on the understanding that the members of the Swaraj party could not oppose the appointment of Mr. Rahaman.

Mr. R. P. Mukherjee said that in matters like this the Corporation should be above party politics and see that the best candidate was appointed without considering whether he was Mohammedan or not.

Mr. B. N. Banerji (Congress) said he was present at the interview between Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta and Mr. P. N. Guha when it was agreed that the members of the Congress party would not oppose Mr. Rahaman's appointment if the coalition party granted Rs. 25,000 to the Exhibition. In view of that compromise he would not oppose Mr. Rahaman's appointment, although, in the beginning he was against it.

The motion was lost by 46 to 14.

The grant of Rs. 25,000 to the Exhibition was quite legitimate and commendable. But why should it have been part of a scandalous transaction?

Prof. Hans Molisch on the Bose Institute

On the occasion of the celebration of the seventieth birthday of Sir J. C. Bose, Prof. Hans Molisch, the eminent plant-physiologist of Vienna, spoke as follows :—

"I regard it as a great honour to have the opportunity of congratulating you personally on your seventieth birthday. Looking back on your life, it must be a matter of gratification for you to find how wonderful has been the success of your researches and how highly appreciated has been your life work by the whole world. On behalf of Vienna I may say, that the high distinction of Foreign Membership of the Academy of Sciences, has been conferred on you.

"The beautiful Institute you founded, has been made glorious by your own investigations. You have also, by your great personality, gathered round you advanced scholars, whom you have trained for high research by new methods of investigation. They also receive from you an allowance for their maintenance, so that they may be free from distracting cares. They are thus enabled to devote their whole life to the advancement of knowledge for the benefit of humanity. I do not know of any other organisation in the world where there is such a rare combination of idealism and selfless love for the welfare of the disciples.

"In regard to your great contributions in furtherance of science, I have spoken in greater detail at the anniversary of the Institute. It will suffice to say here, that you have discovered various fundamental phenomena underlying the life of the plant, by means of your magnificent instruments of unsurpassed accuracy and sensitiveness. By these discoveries you have secured the whole-hearted admiration of your scientific colleagues all over the world, and you are now acknowledged as one of the leaders of plant-physiology. The rare combination in you as a plant-physiologist, physicist and electro-physiologist has enabled you to look deeper into life, than it was possible for other scientists—

"Prof. Ostwald has analysed the life of famous men of learning, and divided them into two groups, *Classics* and *Romantics*. Under *classics* come those who study one or two problems very exactly and do not publish much. To the group of *Romantics* belong those with a wider synthetic view, 'who, stimulated by a vivid spirit, study a large number of problems and publish them

with great rapidity.' You seem to me to be a combination of both, perhaps two-thirds of the romantic and one-third of the classic.

"The marvellous Automatic Recorders in your Institute register the pulsatory activity of living organisms, the rise of curve being followed by a fall. But if you permitted us to take the record of your activity, we shall be astonished to find that the curve shows a continuous ascent without any decline, and that this ascent will continue throughout the whole of your life, which, we heartily pray, may be greatly prolonged.

"I have taken the fullest advantage of your kind invitation to come to your Institute, in order to acquaint myself with your methods of investigation, to give the benefit of my experience to your scholars, and study certain biological problems in which I am greatly interested.

"As a representative of the West I wish to convey our heartiest congratulation to you as a leading plant-physiologist and for what you have given to the *Scientia Amabilis*.

"It is my good fortune, that I should be the first plant-physiologist from the West, who has come to your Institute to cement the bond of intellectual co-operation between the Orient and the Occident. The extraordinary twin-trees, from a single seed of the Palm, will be a symbol of this, and we shall plant it together. And though we may not gather the fruit of what we sow to-day, yet we believe in a future which transcends all our hopes.

"Finally I beg you, kindly to accept this Medallion as remembrance of your admirer and friend Molisch."

A photograph of the twin cocoa-nut trees is reproduced elsewhere.

All-Parties Convention

In the All-Parties Convention which met at Calcutta for the first time on the 22nd December last more than eighty organisations were represented. Pundit Motilal Nehru, in presenting his report before it, said:—

"Our report is not a counsel of perfection, and the constitution we have suggested is not a patent which could not be improved upon. But what we claim is that having regard to the various interests of the country and our experience of the past, the recommendations which we have made are recommendations which are likely to bring about a complete unity and harmony between the parties."

In welcoming the delegates Mr. J. M. Sen

Gupta refuted the charge that the Nehru constitution was an imitation of Western mode. In his opinion what had been done was apply modern experience and old principle to the realities of India's problem. The resolution he moved runs as follows:—

"India shall have the same constitutional status in the communities of nations known as the British Empire as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, and the Irish Free State with a Parliament having powers to make laws for the peace, order and good government of India and an executive responsible to that parliament and shall be styled and known as the Commonwealth of India."

Personally he was in favour of a constitution based on India's complete independence but he agreed to accept dominion status for reasons which he stated as follows:—

I believe that the real Salvation of India lies in the severance of British connection but I am a practical man. Whatever political strength we have we must conserve it. We cannot allow the Simon Seven to go back to England triumphant. Do you want this? Or do you want your strength to be conserved and brought together under one head? I want a clear answer.

It has been asked why the constitution has been based on Dominion Status. Before answering it I may state that so far as I am concerned I want a constitution based on Independence. And I also believe that the adoption of Dominion Status in this Convention does not in any way interfere with the ideals of those who believe in Independence. If after calling this Convention, the Congressmen press their stand-point in the form of a constitution for Independence, may I ask you what would be the result? That is the point I want to emphasise on you all and I have not the slightest doubt that if the Congressmen press their own point of view, there would be an end of this Convention, of the unity which this Convention represents. I wish that time might come when all parties would unite on the basis of Independence but unfortunately that is not the case. As a practical man, we must take stock of the situation.

It has been further asked, can you base your constitution on Dominion Status and work for Independence? Is that logically possible? I say it is. But the proper question is this. Is this constitution such a thing which would hamper you in your fight for complete independence? I say it would not. On the contrary it would help you, because you will have the united nation behind your back, and further because it will show that when faced with a crisis Indians know how to unite. On the other hand if every school of political thought press their own view point the very purpose of this Convention would be defeated. Let us agree for the sake of unity in this Convention to this constitution.

Mr. Yakub Hassan, who followed Mr. Sen Gupta, spoke as a thoroughgoing dominion-status-wala. He declared:—

"I am not with those who declare that Dominion

Status should be a stepping stone to independence (Independence Leaguers: hear hear).

"On a practical basis, I want you to make Dominion Status our immediate goal and concentrate all our forces for attaining that object instead of fighting the air."

The president then called up Mr. Daud of the Trade Union Congress to address the Convention.

Mr. Daud declared that the Trade Union Congress had sent him with a mandate to place their demands before the Convention for a socialistic republican form of government and the nationalisation of industry. After reading the resolution passed by the Jharia Congress on the subject he said he hoped it would receive consideration.

Rai Sahib Chandrika Prasad thereupon made a counter declaration as a former President of the Trade Union Congress and Railwaymen's Federation, declaring that the Majority of Trade Unions and Unionists were in favour of the Nehru Report.

A number of Labourites challenged Mr. Chandrika Prasad's authority to speak on behalf of the Trade Unionists, whereupon he replied that he was speaking in a personal capacity and was prepared to take the consequences of the action.

Mr. Mahomed Ali then delivered a speech, which was frequently interrupted.

Mr. Mahomed Ali criticised the psychology of those who argued that Dominion Status was only a temporary phase and that afterwards they could claim independence. He described this as the policy of a coward and not of a fighter. He praised the Nehru Committee for their excellent report but he objected to it on essential points.

The use of the word 'coward' was vehemently objected to by many and the speaker was asked to withdraw it, which he did not.

Speaking in his personal capacity the Maulana declared that he would ask for no constitution except one article namely that "India shall be free and independent." "I ask for no constitution, I ask for no rights for myself, no fundamental rights for the Mussalmans, no rights for Hindus, no protection for minorities and majorities. I will only ask for one article, that of a free and independent India.) Applause."

Mr. J. L. Banerji said in part:—

Great stress had been laid on the question of unity. The point could never be over emphasised. But did they think that they would have unity even on the question of Dominion Status? The man who did say would be a very bold man. His reading of history showed that independence was never attained by any united people (Hear, Hear). Wherever the battle of freedom had been fought it had been fought by an active minority (Applause), and not by a united nation. It had been fought by a minority united in itself and never by a united nation. To say that 325 millions of people would unite and then press for independence—that had never been done and then they would have to wait till the Greek Calends.

It was never a practicable proposition for India whose people had no common bond with the British. The only bond was the bond of servitude and inferiority. That being the case, how could they accept it from England and how could England give

it to them? Their choice was plain. Was it independence or dependence for ever?

Though we are in favour of independence outside the British or any other empire or 'commonwealth,' as we have said repeatedly, we do not think dominion status as the immediate goal would mean dependence for ever. On the contrary, though there *may* be some who are for a perpetual dominion status, those who want to work for independence would find themselves in a better position to do so under dominion status than under the present political conditions.

Mr. J. L. Banerji continued:

The Viceroy had been telling them that those who talked of Independence were leading the country into a morass, evidently implying that Dominion Status was a broad highway and they had only to wait and it would be dropped into their mouth. He hoped nobody would be misled by this kind of talk. If independence was a morass, in the eyes of the Viceroy, Dominion Status was equally so. As soon as they gave up their demand for independence, they would also come out in their true colours.

Dr. Annie Besant, supporting the resolution, said that independence and dominion status meant practically the same thing. Yes; but much depends on what is meant by *practically*. All the self-governing countries which have that status do not enjoy equal political rights.

Proceeding Dr. Besant pointed out the analogy of Ireland and said the difference between the Irish people and the Indians was that while Ireland was determined to be free, they were not. If India desired to be free, she could be free in a few minutes. The change of attitude would be enough to bring Great Britain to her senses. They talked for independence amongst themselves, but not one word had been mentioned as to how they were going to act for it.

In this connection she asked Indians to follow Sinn Fein method. Let them setup a parallel government in every village and in every district board. Their people had a genius for self-government. They had already before them the example of Bardoli. Make many Bardolis all over the country and I tell you that the English people are very practical people and before many Bardolis are established they will come to you for settlement. That is the kind of agitation they understand.

I tell you further that if you older people do not take up the burden of freedom, the younger generation will do it. They are beginning to understand the shame, degradation and the intolerable condition of millions of people having a splendid history behind them, a literature unrivalled, bound down to a little nation in the far off ocean. That was the feeling they must spread in the land.

What I urge upon you is not to talk much

the title of responsible politicians. Those in Great Britain who sympathise most warmly with the ideal of India attaining at the earliest possible moment the status of any of the other great Dominions of the Crown will find the ground cut from under their feet if British opinion ever becomes convinced, as some apparently are now endeavouring to convince it, that so-called Dominion Status was only valued by India as a stepping-stone to a complete severance of her connection with the British Commonwealth.

The people of India have long ceased to accept British professions of friendship as well as of trusteeship at their face value. They know who are true friends and who false. So the Viceroy's attempt to pose as a true friend of India was perfectly futile.

In spite of the predatory activities of the British and other kinds of imperialism, there are happily still more than fifty odd independent states left in the world. It cannot be that the Viceroy sincerely believes that Britain and other independent states are sinking lower and lower in the treacherous sands of perfect freedom and that, on the other hand, India is travelling securely towards salvation along the *pucca* highroad of servitude to the British. Perhaps Lord Irwin would have us believe that India is *sui generis*, and so, though independence may be good for others, to her it would be a perfect slough of despond. We are of a different opinion.

Is it in India alone that some persons think that dominion status may lead on to independence? Is it not one of the implications of dominion status that the countries which enjoy it have the right to secede from the British Empire if they choose to do so? Has not Hertzog, the Boer premier of South Africa, declared openly that South Africa has that right? Has there not been similar talk in Canada?

Lord Irwin and men of that ilk will not understand, unless it be when it is too late that it is partly because of Britain's refusal to let India have rule that there is such an insistent demand for independence. His lordship praises dominion status only because the desire for independence is becoming increasingly difficult to repress. It has been always the British way to try to rally the "moderates" when there are energetic "extremists" in the field.

Lord Irwin on the Simon Commission Boycott

In the course of the same speech Lord Irwin said:—

I am sure that all sober-minded citizens of



Twin Coconut Plant Planted by Sir Jagadis Ch. Bose and Professor Molisch

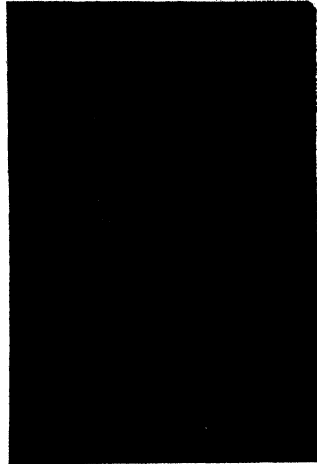
India must have witnessed with regret and will condemn the continued attempts to conduct unmannerly and offensive demonstrations against the Commission and their Indian colleagues. I can understand the attitude of those who, following the hitherto established tradition of boycott, prefer to hold themselves rigidly aloof from the Commission's investigation. I have often expressed my view that such a policy is mistaken and short sighted and ill-designed to convince Parliament of the justice of India's claims, but to substitute for this policy of abstention the procedure of noisy and dangerous public demonstrations against the chosen representatives of Parliament and their colleague is to exchange what might have been a dignified protest of responsible persons for the methods of disorderly disturbances of a mob.

Officials of the Government at whose hear Lord Irwin stands have been making strenu

ous efforts to get up demonstrations to prove that the most important classes of India are welcoming the Simon Commission and that the boycotters are negligible minorities. These officials are also instigating traitors to Indian national solidarity. These sinister attempts have made it absolutely necessary for the boycotters to demonstrate in an unmistakable manner that they represent the majority of the people of India and are the most important section. It is the West which has taught and compelled us to substitute noisy demonstrations for a dignified silent protest of mere abstention, because silence would be certainly construed to mean consent, at least indifference. We deny that the boycotters demonstrations have been unmannerly or dangerous. "Offensive" they undoubtedly were to the powers that be, because they flung back at their face the contempt with which India has been treated in the constitution of the Commission. "Dangerous" they became to themselves, not to the servants of the Government, not because of anything that the demonstrators did, but because of official hooliganism.

Lord Irwin dilated at length on the unmannerliness, etc., of the demonstrators, but had nothing to say against the official hooligans whose deliberate aggressiveness has led to the untimely death of so great a citizen and philanthropist as Lala Lajpat Rai. On the contrary his lordship uttered the threat that "In such circumstances it is the plain duty of Government to take whatever steps it deems necessary to prevent the recurrence of these discreditable incidents." It is not only a threat but may be justly construed as a justification of the culpable homicide of Lala Lajpat Rai. There have been undoubtedly "discreditable incidents" in connection with the boycott demonstrations at Lahore, Lucknow, Dumraon, etc.; but it is official hooliganism which is entirely responsible for these disgraceful episodes. Government will, of course, take "whatever steps it deems necessary." But it would have been well for Lord Irwin and the Imperialism for which he spoke if he had laid it down that the steps are to be lawful and moral; for, "whatever" includes steps that are unlawful and immoral, such as the assaults at Lahore, Lucknow and Dumraon were. Does Lord Irwin foreshadow and sanction in anticipation official attempts to kill non-violence on the part of the people, because it is far easier to

crush popular violence than popular non-violence?



Medallion of Professor Molisch

"Gag the Press of the Country"

There has been a demand on the part of the European mercantile community to gag the Indian section of the press. The demand may be met, for the European traders constitute half—perhaps the better half—of the Government. But the Indian press has survived all previous gagging Acts, and will survive future ones.

Discrimination against Exploiters

The Bill to reserve coastal traffic for Indian shipping has been characterised by the Incheape gang and their allies as discriminatory legislation. Those in whose interests Indian shipping was destroyed in the last century are usurpers. It is only right and proper to oust them, because they have prevented the revival of Indian shipping by various wicked devices. Spoliators have no rights.

Sir Ali Imam on Independence

Among those who spoke at the All-Parties Convention on Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta's resolution accepting dominion status Sir Ali Imam was one.

He admitted independence was a higher ideal than Dominion Status but he agreed to Dominion Status. What Constitution for independence were they going to put forward? If they wanted independence they would have to provide for a President, who must have large autocratic powers. Then the Mohammedans would fear that the President would be a Hindu and Hindus would fear that he would be a Mohammedan. It was no use concealing these things. Let them first start on the lines of the Nehru Report and after they had practised democracy and accepted the ideal of true nationalism it would be time to consider whether they should remain inside or outside the British Empire or have a scheme of federal government.

If they became independent they would not be in the organism of a great commonwealth and they would then fall an easy prey to foreign aggression.

We do not possess as much knowledge of Mohammedan mentality as of Hindu mentality. If we have read the Hindu mind aright, we think there would be no Hindu objection to, say, Dr. Ansari becoming president of the Indian Republic in his turn. Likewise it would not be impossible for Muhammadans to think of an unobjectionable Hindu president.

As for "foreign aggression," British rule also is standing foreign aggression. There is not much to choose between one alien aggression and another. Besides, as there are dozens of small independent states, each having a population of only some lakhs, which are not subjected to foreign aggression and are not afraid of it, India too should not be afraid of it. We should get rid of our inferiority complex. No doubt, in order to be conscious of our strength we must be united. But that freedom will bring unity is at least as true as that union will give the strength needed for winning freedom.

Sir Ali Imam and men of his way of thinking should know what disinterested and well-informed foreigners think of the real strength of India. For this purpose they may read a book like Dr. J. T. Sunderland's "India in Bondage: Her Right to Freedom."

All-India Trade Union Congress Resolutions

The All-India Trade Union Congress held a successful session at Jharia last month. Many very important resolutions were moved, of which a few are printed below.

Mr. Johnston's Arrest.

Dewan Chamanlal moved a resolution condemning the action of the Government in arresting Mr.

Johnston, representative of the League against Imperialism. The arrest was considered as a deliberate attack on labour organizations in the country.

Employers' Policy Condemned.

Resolutions were passed condemning the policy of employers in reducing the cost of production thereby entailing more work on the operatives and opposing the methods of retrenching workers and reducing their wages.

PROTEST AGAINST IMPERIALISM

A protest was made against imperialism in resolution moved by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who suggested co-ordination and solidarity workers.

LABOURERS' DEMANDS

Demands were made in another resolution asking for immediate legislation for adult franchise an eight-hour day or a 44-hour week, fixing minimum wages, old age and widows and orphan pensions, maternity benefit and weekly payment of wages.

WITHDRAWAL FROM BRITISH COMMONWEALTH LABOUR CONFERENCE

All-India Trade Union Congress passed a resolution approving of the action of Messrs Chamanlal, Andrews, Bakhale, Mahabubul Haq and P. C. Bose in withdrawing from the British Commonwealth Labour Conference at London. The resolution considered the British Labour Party guilty of a grave betrayal against the working class in India.

DESTRUCTION OF SLUMS.

Mr. Mrinal Kanti Bose moved a resolution asking the Government for an immediate promulgation of legislation for the destruction of slums in industrial centres and urging subsidies and loans for building sanitary houses in those areas for the better housing of workers.

SYMPATHY WITH STRIKERS.

A resolution expressing sympathy with the Port Trust mariners' strike; the scavengers' strike and other strikes at Calcutta, the Lilooah strike, the Kharagpur strike, the South Indian Railway strike the Bombay strike, and the Bauria mills strike was moved from the chair and passed.

INTIMIDATION OF STRIKERS.

Dewan Chamanlal moved:—

This Congress emphatically protests against the employment of police and military forces on almost every important occasion of strike or lock-out in order to intimidate strikers into submission, resulting, in many cases, in death and grievous injury to unarmed workers.

'GRAVE' LABOUR DISCONTENT.

This Congress is of opinion that the use of police force in the interests of employers and the withholding of protection, of which workers often stand in need against employers, are inconsistent with that declared policy of neutrality and the impartiality of the Government in industrial disputes.

This Congress warns the Government against the grave discontent that is spreading among workers as a result of the unwarranted use of force against them.

GENERAL STRIKE WARNING.

This Congress draws the attention of all provincial trade union federations to the necessity of organizing effectually for the declaration of a general strike in the eventuality of force being employed against workers.

The affiliation of the All-India Trade Union Congress to the League against Imperialism has not been a wise step. Affiliation of any of our movements to foreign political or semi-political bodies cannot be approved; because we know so little of them, because we can derive little advantage from such connection, because we cannot and ought not to hold ourselves responsible for developments connected with them that may take place in foreign countries, and because there is just a possibility of our movements being exploited by foreign agitators for their own purposes. The Trade Union Congress postponed the consideration of the question of affiliation to the Amsterdam Labour International and the Pan-Pacific Secretariate on the ground that as the Congress was in its infancy it should not get affiliated to any foreign body. This reason ought to have sufficed for postponing affiliation to the League against Imperialism also. But affiliation with it was resolved upon as a protest against the arbitrary deportation of Mr. Johnston. We think the indignation of the Congress got the better of its judgment in this case. The Congress should not, at least for the present, take active part or sides in politics. Our labour leaders should note that in free America,

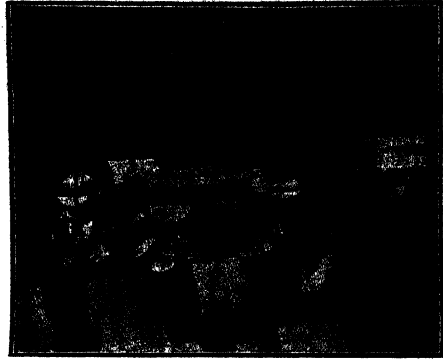
"With 2,800,000 members in 1925, the American Federation of Labour still holds aloof from political action, though it takes a subordinate part at presidential elections."—*Chambers's Encyclopaedia*, vol x, p. 199.

Social Reform in Mysore

The Mysore Council has unanimously adopted a resolution raising the age of consent for girls to 16.

The House also has agreed by a majority to fix the marriageable age of boys and girls at 20 and 14 respectively. Resolutions urging the removal of sex disqualifications for membership in the Legislative Council and other local bodies and the starting of military training corps in Mysore University were accepted in principle. The teaching of the Vedas to non-Brahmins in Government Vedic Colleges was an important issue raised by another resolution. The Government sympathised with the motion, and, referring to conscientious objections among the existing staff, expressed readiness to employ qualified teachers who might be willing to undertake the task, if

such were forthcoming. The motion was eventually withdrawn.



A view of the Congress Camp
Deshabandhu Nagar

Shameful, if True

The Indian National Herald says that some of the Indian Princes have submitted a memorandum to the Butler Committee, which it publishes, in which a strong protest has been made against the recruitment of Indians as officers in the Political Department of the Government of India. It is said the Princes consider it to be "belittling their dignity to call upon Indians to act as political representatives of the Paramount Power." If the *Herald* has not been hoaxed, these princes not only do not feel the humiliation of a foreign state being paramount over them but consider any Indian, however great his worth, to be inferior to any Tom, Dick or Harry who may be appointed resident or political agent to control and keep watch over them. This is shameful.

All-India Women's Social Conference

Her Highness Setu Parvati Bai, the Junior Maharani of Travancore, presided over the All-India Women's social conference held last month in Calcutta. In her able presidential address, she contrasted the high position of women in Vedic India with the comparatively low one occupied by them in Europe until nearly a century ago.

It is now recognized that in ancient India when the Vedas and the Upanishads were produced and when this country was passing through one

off its periods of real achievement, the woman was as active a member of society as man. The researches of scholars have now demonstrated that some of the Vedic Hymns owed their origin to women and amongst us there have been not only singers of sacred scriptures but authors of law books and mathematical experts. In regard to the right of property also Hindu Law at its inception was very liberal in the vindication of the rights of women to inherit property and it is argued that such rights were restricted only by recent judge-made legislation initiated by men who, unconversant with the original texts, have failed either to march with the times or to allow for and encourage the evolution of society on natural lines. The rights of the wife and the daughter and other female relations to a share in property were wider in ancient and mediæval India than they are to-day. But on the other hand even now, in many European systems women's rights are not as well safeguarded and recognized as in our Smritis. Speaking of my own country of Kerala, it may not be very well-known to all the members of this audience that the woman is the pivot of the family and her rights are fundamental and extensive. A large proportion of the property in Malabar stands in the name of and is enjoyed by the woman as the head of the house-hold and innumerable examples of careful management and masterly administration can be produced from our annals.

I need not recount to you the powers and the achievements of the mediæval and modern queens of India beginning with Ahalya Bai and Queen Mangammal and I am sure, not ending with the Begum of Bhopal.

The Maharani then dwelt on the many misconceptions about the position of women in Islam, on the evils of the system of purdah, of child-marriage and child-widowhood, and of the ruinous dowry system, and urged the raising of the age of consent. Her observations on the divorce between conviction (or, rather, profession) and practice deserve attention.

While on this topic, may I be permitted not only to remind ourselves but our brethren that the great difficulty in the way of Indian progress is the divorce between conviction and practice which has been so marked in the past and which has not even now died out. Many an ardent social reformer while eloquent on public platforms is perhaps apt to abate his zeal and to weaken his advocacy when in his own environment.

And he ascribes his feebleness in action mainly to his wife, mother or grandmother. It is we therefore, the sisters, wives, mothers and grandmothers, that have to reflect on these problems and their solution and to make it impossible for the men to invoke our names as stumbling blocks to progress. How is this to be done? The answer is simple and unequivocal. It can only be done by a rapid and comprehensive programme of women's education whereby women might become effective social and political factors in the body politic, whereby they can help not only in the renaissance of Indian art and literature, and Indian ideals but may be potent factors in social uplift.

Speaking in an optimistic vein Her Highness said :—

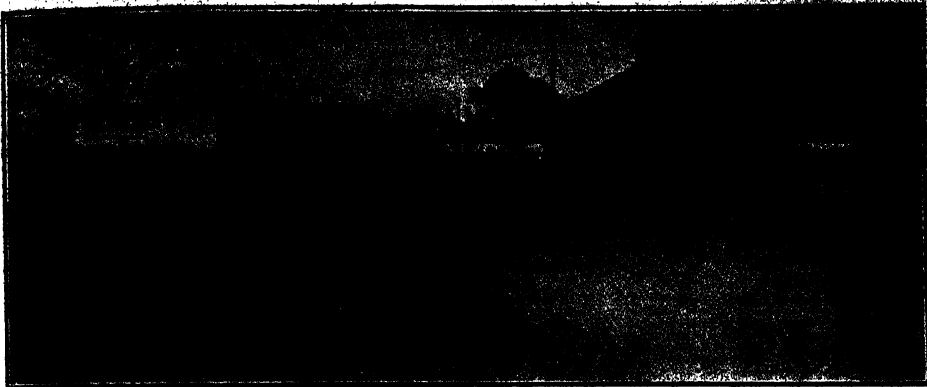
It is a pleasing feature of recent times, surmounting the difficulties and obstacles that stand ahead of them, Indian women have not only gained great distinction at the Universities and become admirably qualified doctors and teachers but even the portals of the law courts have been invaded by a few who have taken to the profession of the law. Great tribute is due to the pioneers of such educational and professional enterprize but it is not so much on isolated examples of eminent intellectual activity that the progress of the country depends but upon the early or rather immediate adoption of a programme of compulsory education for women as well as men which will enable both of them to be equipped for the life which is daily growing more and more arduous and exacting.

The Women's Conference was largely attended by women from all parts of India belonging to the Hindu, Muslim and other religious communities. It discussed and passed resolutions on such important topics as the abolition of purdah, marriage widows, rescue of minor girls, reformation of primary and secondary education, primary education, adult education, revision of laws of inheritance, abolition of dowry, son-in-law, revision of factory laws, equal moral rights for men and women. It is a hopeful sign of the times that law from highly connected orthodox families moved resolutions in favour of social reform. For instance, the Bengali novelist Sri Anurupa Devi, who is a grand-daughter of the late Babu Bhudev Mukherji, moved a resolution against purdah.

The All-India Social Conference

The 41st session of the All-India Social Conference was very largely attended by social workers of both sexes from all provinces. In a thoughtful address Mukund Ram Jayakar, the president, drew attention to the revolution which has been taking place in our social ideas in various spheres.

The most noteworthy direction in which change is perceptible is the institution of caste whatever might have been the origin of caste in India or the economic purpose which it served at one time when India was in different circumstances, there is no doubt that it is being increasingly felt that the institution of caste is a very severe handicap on our effort toward freedom. The social movement has acquired an unprecedented boldness. The claim now is not that caste distinctions should be modified but that they should be completely erased so that caste



Congress Volunteers drawn up for parade

like religion will become a matter of individual regulation, and will have no place in our public demeanour. If the weekly output proceeding from journals conducted by the members of the so-called lower classes is carefully examined, it will be found that their claim is now being more and more rested on the essential equality by birth of all human beings. They pathetically appeal to ancient Indian history and point out the changes which took place in ancient Hinduism showing its wonderful adaptability to changing conditions.

They would have Brahmanism furnish a cultural apex which the Sudras would look up to an ideal towards which they would endeavour gradually to approximate.

Turning to the Shuddhi and Sangathan movements Mr. Jayakar observed :—

'Shuddhi' cannot be restricted any more to its original necessities. If a lower caste Hindu, who or whose ancestors had at one time espoused Mahomedanism, can, by the 'spiritual alchemy' of Shuddhi, be re-converted to Hinduism, it is difficult to say why this same spiritual process cannot be made effective for the purpose of raising a Sudra to a higher status. The 'Shuddhi' movement has evoked aspirations and obligations on either side which are having a great effect on a general levelling up of Hindu society. Why cannot a Sudra become a Kshatriya with proper 'Shuddhi', asks the Non-Brahman. The ancient scriptures mention such a process. Many saintly personages have gone through it. Vishwamitra and Vashista are two noted examples of this social uplift. Once the principle is accepted that ceremonials can, like the philosopher's stone, change the lower into the higher there are no limitations to the application of the rule for the solution of inter-caste troubles.

As regards Sangathan, he said :—

Sangathan means contact, combination and association. It is impossible to have those unless people meet on equal footing. All Hindus 'inter se' ought to have equal status. The Shuddhi and Sangathan movements, are now having an effect which would have been very much dreaded by those who set the movement on its feet. The

attacks of rival faiths have been in this way of great benefit. They have taught Hinduism to consolidate itself. They have set free processes of thought and behaviour which have acted as solvents in Hindu society.

Mr. Jayakar clearly explained the importance and utility of social legislation both to the people and the Government, saying among other things :—

I cannot here refrain from referring to the attitude of the Government in matters of social legislation. Whenever it suits them, they show the courage of putting on the Statute Book measures of great unpopularity, excusing that behaviour with the comment that they know better than the people what is good for them and must lead public opinion and not be lead by it. Their attitude however is entirely different when social questions arise in the Legislatures. Their assistant then cannot be had and they are very often content to remain neutral. Even Bills about which there is not much controversy and which reformed Indian opinion favours, have not succeeded in obtaining anything like a whole hearted support from the Government. It seems to me obvious that it is the duty of social reformers to lessen the temptation of Government to fight shy of social legislation. We do not sufficiently understand the importance and the utility of legislative action in remoulding the social conditions of the country. In all civilised countries legislation is used as a powerful lever with which social injustice is redressed.

He reminded the Government that "a Government that keeps for long alien in sentiment, undermines itself." He dwelt at length on various aspects of the women's movement, such as women's right to hold and inherit property, their choice of husbands, re-marriage, of widows, divorce, etc.

It is clear that the status now accorded to women as daughters, wives or widows, is considerably inferior to that which they occupied

in times when the Aryan immigrant in India had developed his best institutions in the free and pure latitudes in which he lived in Vedic times. That period may be regarded as the best in Indian history when the sentiments of the Indian people had not received the adulteration from foreign sources which they acquired in subsequent times. The Vedas have many charms, but the best of them is that they reveal the Aryan mind in the best of its attributes. The student of the Vedic period finds scattered from place to place evidence that women occupied a very elevated place in the society of those days. This is not the place for going into the details of this question, but speaking briefly, it does appear that women then enjoyed very great freedom in matters in which they suffer from many disabilities now. Even marriage does not appear to have been compulsory in those days, and women could remain unmarried, either for the whole of their life or at least upto a very late age devoting their time to learning and philanthropy.

Then came the long process of women's descent in the social scale. British understanding, or rather misunderstanding and ignorance, of Hindu law, assisted by orthodox Hindu bias, has led to Hindu women losing some rights which they enjoyed in ancient times.

The Englishman was not accustomed until the eighties to regard women in his own country as independently capable of acquiring or holding property. English women got this right at a very late stage. With this bias in his mind, it is not surprising that the English judge at Westminster in interpreting ancient Indian texts written in a language which he did not understand and of the context of which too he was personally ignorant adopted a position inclining more towards limited female rights than towards absolute ones.

Hindu law, has a very large resilience and power of adaptability. So the large number of anomalies in Hindu law can be set right. But,

To depend upon judicial interpretations for doing this work would take centuries. It is necessary, therefore, that legislation should take a hand in this work of reform. It is most urgently needed to-day in improving the position of the widow in a Hindu joint family.

Again, there is no reason why all over India the daughter should not take her father's estate absolutely as she does in Bombay.

"Women claim that the marriageable age of girls should be raised to at least 16." They have also a grievance in that the age of consent is very low. "Coming to the choice of the husband, women demand that they should have a much larger circle to choose from." "In short their demand is that they should have a right to marry according to choice, irrespective of the narrow limitations of caste."

Similarly, women demand that the present-day

laws relating to divorce, re-marriage and maintenance, which in their opinion are foolish, irrational and one-sided, should also be altered in accord with the requirements of modern society. In places the cry has gone up for the right to ask for a divorce under certain conditions not inconsistent with Hindu scriptures. They are aware marriage is a sacrament. If marriage is a religious sacrament, it can only be performed once. Sacraments are not intended to be repeated as offer a well-filled purse can desire. A sacrament usually bilateral. Women contend that men broken through their obligations. They urge if a man can marry as many times as he likes why cannot a woman separate herself from a person? It is difficult to give a rational answer to this question. Many years ago, women secured the right to remarry after the death of the husband. Reliance was then placed on texts which mentioned death as only one of the circumstances in which remarriage was allowed in ancient India. Women now claim that, if in ancient India, remarriage could take place in such cases, (e. g. owing to husband's impotence, disappearance, incurable disease), there is no reason why at least a divorce should not be permitted now. There is no doubt that the present-day law is deplorable in many ways. For instance, it allows the right to ask for a dissolution of marriage to a husband who has changed his religion. His wife in his old faith however, cannot do so. This may seem strange but it is one of the anomalies of present-day legislation. It is, therefore, natural that women should resent this one-sidedness of the marriage law and require a reform.

Mr. Jayakar then passed on to the new scheme of rescue of minor girls, of Homes for the and of Children's Protection Acts in every province, referred to the importance of abolishing of woman labour in mines and factories and concluded by speaking on physical culture for women as follows:—

I would suggest another topic on which propaganda can be usefully carried on, viz., physical culture of women. It was reported in the Press a year ago that girls in England, in the course of few years had increased their height by one-fourth to half-inch. This is the result of a slow, patient endeavour at body-building. The need of such effort is nowhere greater than in India, where early marriages are frequent and birth regulation is unknown.

Maharani Mayurbhanj on Women's Progress

In welcoming the delegates to the All India Women's Social Conference, Srimati Suruchi Devi, the Dowager Maharani Mayurbhanj, said:—

It is true we must move with the spirit of progress but whatever triumphs we want to achieve must be in tune with the traditions and ideals of Indian history and civilization. As India cannot be India without its Himalayas and its Indus and Ganges, so the present generation can never be true to the soil without those distinctive features

which have characterised the best of Indian womanhood.

She wanted Indian women to be both natural and national. She explained her ideal as follows :

In all our endeavours political, social, or religious our aim should be, as Keshub Chunder Sen meant by being "at once natural and national". What Keshub Chunder Sen meant by being "at once natural and national" will be better understood from the following taken from one of his sermons. Speaking of the human soul as inherently social, as indeed a commonwealth in itself, he says :

It means living in the bosom of this vast joint family forming God's household on earth."

Sisters, to keep our movement on a basis at once natural and national, to be true to our country and to ourselves, to assimilate, while keeping intact our own individuality as a type the good examples of other nations, is to go forward as volunteers building up the new house of God in India—is the task before us.

She concluded with a note of hope and all-embracing love.

Standing before you all to-day I feel that a new dawn has opened for us, a new era has begun wherein forgetting the differences of nationalities, the distinctions of caste creed and of social conventions we can unite as one body, as one family. Some of us here belong to the old school and not perhaps able to keep pace with our young friends, but I hope through mutual sympathy and understanding we may be able to work side by side and move in a body so that we may bless and be blessed abundantly.

Congress Subjects Committee on Political Goal

After protracted discussion, sometimes heated, lasting for days, in the subjects committee of the Indian National Congress, it has been decided by a majority that the following resolution is to be moved in open session of congress :

"Subject to exigencies of political situation this Congress will adopt the Constitution invites entirely if it is accepted by the British Parliament on or before the 31st December 1929 but in the event of its non-acceptance by that date or its earlier rejection, the Congress will organise non-violent non-co-operation by advising the country to refuse taxation or in such other manner as may be decided upon."

The resolution for which this has been substituted and which had to be formally withdrawn before it could be considered, ran as follows :—

"This Congress, having considered the constitution recommended by the All-Parties Committee Report, welcomes it as a great contribution towards the solution of India's political and communal problems, and congratulates the Committee on the virtual unanimity of its recommendations and

whilst adhering to the resolution relating to complete independence passed at the Madras Congress approves of the constitution drawn up by the Committee as a great step in political advance, especially as it represents the largest measure of agreement attained among the important parties in the country. Subject to the exigencies of the political situation this Congress will adopt the constitution if it is accepted by the British Parliament on or before December 31, 1929, but in event of its non-acceptance by that date or its earlier rejection, Congress will revive non-violent non-co-operation by advising the country to refuse taxation and every other aid to the Government. Consistently with the above, nothing in this resolution shall interfere with the carrying on in the name of the Congress, of propaganda for complete independence."

Mahatma Gandhi has said that he considers the resolution at first drafted superior to the one finally accepted. We share his opinion, though we consider neither entirely satisfactory. We also think with him that, as the British Parliament has been practically given an ultimatum, both businesslike procedure and courtesy require that a copy of the resolution finally passed should be formally sent to the Viceroy for transmission by him through the Secretary of State to the British Parliament. Such forwarding of the resolution to the Viceroy will not add to the humiliation involved in being subject to foreign rule. If the people could devise means to become independent without the consent or in spite of the opposition of the British people, that might not necessitate any reference to any foreign authority and would be perfectly self-respecting. But though there has been an insistent expression of desire for independence, no one has so far pointed out how the desire could be fulfilled.

So far as we can see, the country will not be ready for a no-tax campaign in the course of a year or two.

Corruption in the Police Force

Speaking before the Simon Commission, says the *Behar Herald*, Mr. W. Swain, Inspector General of Police, Bihar and Orissa, gave interesting figures about corruption in his Police force. According to him, 99 percent of the constables and head constables, 75 percent of the sub-inspectors and 50 percent of the inspectors are corrupt. These figures, he said, he had obtained recently from Indian officers of the rank of deputy superintendent and superintendent, who know their men thoroughly. It may be safely

presumed that Mr. Swain's figures are not an overestimate; and what he says of his own police force applies more or less to the police of other provinces. And it is with such a police that "law and order" is maintained.

Mr. Swain's figures imply that higher police officials are immaculate. It is not certain that they are perfectly bribe-proof, though for economic and other reasons they are more so than their subordinates. Years ago after a "communal" riot in Machuabazar Street, Calcutta, in which some 'rich Marwari houses were looted, a very costly pearl necklace was believed to have found lodgement in the residence of a very high titled police officer. It is also believed that the then Governor of Bengal came to know of it.

The corruption of the police in India has been known to the Government for generations. But no effective steps have been taken to put an end to it.

All-India Muslim League

What the Maharaja of Mahmudabad said in his presidential address at the 20th session of the All-India Muslim League on "the conflict of communal bias and prejudices" was quite statesmanlike. Said he :—

I refrain from using the expression 'communal interests' advisably, for I do not believe that there is any real and genuine interest of any community, be it a minority or a majority, that is not a national interest. No national aspiration is worth the name if it disregards the interests of any community in our vast country. All castes, creeds and Communities have to pool their resources together not only to ask for the introduction of Swaraj, but what is more important to deserve it. For a sane and sensible Indian politician it is impossible to visualise an Indian democracy which has in it the taint of sectarianism, and the majority, because it has the weight and power of majority, to descend to the lower level of dominating a minority is a negation of the principles of equal citizenship which is after all the very essence of a democratic rule. The apprehensions and misgivings of a minority are not unnatural and it is an obligation cast upon the majority to remove such doubts and fears. No less on the other hand it is incumbent on a minority not to formulate terms that are excessive and unreasonable trenched behind a communalism which is short-sighted enough to block reforms in which it will itself be a participant. At no time in the history of India there was a call for unity more insistent than now. The solution lies in sweet reasonableness in the majority and the minority alike; both have to make some sacrifices and have to be mutually generous. A common national mentality is not obtainable on any other basis.

Maulvi Abdul Karim, chairman of the

reception committee of the Muslim League spoke in an equally sensible strain. Said he: "Accustomed, as I have been to an atmosphere which inter-communal unity and cordiality was hardly ever disturbed and social amenities between Hindus and Mussalmans were of constant occurrence, it pained me much to see that at this crucial stage of the history of the country, when peace and good-will are so very essential, some shortsighted members of both the communities, incited by the machinations of designing intrigues and unscrupulous fanatics, have been adopting a suicidal policy of crushing one another. It seems that a fit of insanity had seized them and in their madness they were flying at each other's throats thus affording an opportunity for the further tightening of the chains of bondage with which they were knit together. Slaves fighting amongst themselves for imaginary wrongs or doubtful rights must have been a most unedifying spectacle for the world's free onlookers to witness. What a most strange in connection with the unfortunate matter is that all this was done in the name of religion, which is the greatest humanising and civilising force in the world. Promotion of intolerance and fellow-feeling among God's creatures, the message both of the Koran and the Vedas. Yet some members of both the communities, forgetting the injunctions of their respective scriptures, quarrelled frantically over trifling matters which no cardinal principle of either religion was really involved. I think it often was a matter more of zid than of religion."

Another cause was pointed out when I added:

Communal politics might have much to do with it. The privileges conferred by what is known as the Reform Scheme of administration in which the numerical strength of both the communities is an important factor, seem to have proved a veritable apple of discord. I need hardly say that if the intercommunal tension continues, it would be futile to talk of political or economic advancement or of national and social regeneration.

U. P. official Memorandum

The U. P. official memorandum, submitted to the Simon Commission, which has been somehow secured and published by the *Leader*, is a reactionary document.

The main proposals are the maintenance of the Dyarchical system, establishment of upper chambers like the Council of State and continuance of communal electorates. The power of existing legislature should be curtailed by constitution of an upper chamber, increased representation of landed interests and of depressed classes by nomination in lower houses which is to consist of 118 members and basis of franchise should be slightly lowered. Joint responsibility of Ministers is proposed. The Finance Department is to be placed under financial adviser. Law and order and land revenue are among the subjects to be reserved. Mixed electorates are to be condemned. Anglo-Indians and Christians are to be represented by nomination.

What Makes a Library Great

What makes a library great is not the number of books in its shelves, but rather their easy accessibility, usefulness and value. In a paper which Rabindranath Tagore was to have read as Chairman of the reception Committee of the All-India Library Conference, but which was read for him in his absence owing to ill-health, he says how libraries can be made useful. His paper was originally written in Bengali and published in the current *Paush* number of *Prabasi*. The English rendering begins thus:—

Greed is one of the chief of man's internal enemies. Once he starts to gather and store, he becomes distracted with the obsession of Number, and tends to overlook the purpose of his accumulating. Whether it be the gathering of money to fill his own strong-room, or the gathering of men to enlarge his particular sect, the spirit of accumulation sweeps him along on its current, and its blind speed blurs the destination which was his objective,—his mind forgets that the value of any truth is not to be measured by its content of things.

On this passion for accumulation the Poet goes on to say:—

Most libraries are possessed with this passion for accumulation. Three quarters of their books do not come into use, their overgrown proportions even thrust into a corner the specially selected few that are meant for being actually used. In our popular parlance the man of large riches is called a great man. When a millionaire comes into a gathering all vie with one another to do him honour,—an honour not dependent on what he has to give, but merely on what he has. Much in the same way the bigness of all libraries is estimated by the number of its volumes. The facilities offered for their use that should have been its glory, are not deemed necessary for its pride.

The words that are owned by our language have two different repositories,—one is the dictionary, the other is its literature. It is useful to collect all the known words in a comprehensive dictionary, though comparatively but few of them are actually current. On the other hand the range of words found in literature,—which are living and therefore of which not one can be spared,—is ever so much less. And yet it has to be admitted that the value of literature is more than that of the dictionary.

The same truth applies to the library. That part of its contents which is for the purpose of extensive accumulation has its usefulness, but the other part which is for constant and varied use, gives its significance. The average librarian, however, rarely takes thought or trouble to bring the largest number of books to the utmost use, because it is always easier to overwhelm the public mind with the mere display of quantitative abundance.

Then follow hints for making libraries useful.

In order to bring a library into the fullest use, it is necessary that its contents should be clearly and specifically brought to notice, otherwise it is

difficult for the ordinary man to find his way about them, and the library is left as a city of vast accommodation that lacks sufficient means of communication. Those who frequent libraries on some special quest of their own, may manage to make a track for themselves by dint of their urgent pursuit. But the library itself should recognise its share of responsibility in the matter. Because it has the books, it is incumbent on the library to get them read for then only is it justified. It is not enough that it passively permits visitors: its invitation should be active. For, as the Sanskrit proverb tells us: "tannashtam yannadiyate," that which is not given is wasted.

The usual thing is for a library to say, Here is my catalogue, come and select for yourself. But in the usual catalogue there is no introduction, no invitation, no spirit of welcome. That library alone can be called hospitable which shows an eagerness to invite readers to the feast at its disposal,—it is such hospitality that makes a library big, not its size. That the readers make the library is not the whole truth: the library likewise makes the readers.

The function and duty of librarians are next treated of.

If this truth is kept in view, we at once realise what a great function is that of the librarian. His duty does not end with the acquisition, classification and care-taking of the volumes in his charge; in other words, multiplication and division do not constitute the main aspect of his duty; he must have a proper understanding of his books as well. If a library is too big, it becomes practically impossible for the librarian adequately to acquire such true understanding. That is why I feel that the big library can but function as a store-house, and only the small one serve as a refectory which can furnish the wherewithal for daily sustenance and enjoyment.

The Poet then gives us his idea of a small library.

My idea of a small library is one that keeps books on every subject, but only select books, not one of which is there only as an offering of worship to Number, but each one of which stands on its own merits; where the librarian is a true devotee devoid of ulterior seeking, free from pride in the mere loading of shelves, capable of discriminate rejection. A library which makes just enough provision that can be placed before its guests for their delectation, with a librarian who has the qualities of a host, not a store-keeper.

He gives an example to make his meaning clear.

Consider, for instance, the case of a library which takes in a number of periodicals, published at home and abroad. If some one on the staff made it his duty regularly to compile a list of the specially interesting articles and hang it up in a conspicuous place, would that not immensely increase the chances of their being read? As it is, three-fourth of them remain unopened, encumbering the space and burdening the shelves as they keep on accumulating. The same is the case with new books. Very few librarians attempt to acquaint themselves,

much less their constituents, with the contents. Yet, is it not obvious that the wealth they have to offer should be made known as soon as new books come to hand?

Made known to whom? In each case to a special circle of readers. Every library should have as its indispensable adjuncts such special circles of readers. These alone can give it life. The worth of a librarian I would gauge by his power of attracting and looking after such circles, of acting as the intermediary for an intimacy of relationship between reader and library. That is to say, on him is cast the burden not only of the books, but of their readers as well, and in the maintaining of both is the test of his efficiency, of the proper discharge of his trust.

Further hints are given to enable librarians to do their duty.

And even as to the books, the librarian's duty should not be confined to those that he can gather, but he must also keep himself acquainted with all those others that are published from time to time, subject by subject. For the purposes of our school at Santiniketan, for example, we have to keep ourselves in touch with all the publications intended for children, so as to be able to make our selection. Every library should assist in work of this kind. This they could do by keeping up-to-date lists of books on the different subjects, that have gained a reputation. If it became known that a particular library was endeavouring to discharge this duty, I am sure that the publishers would be glad to co-operate by furnishing it with lists of their publications, together with a resume of their contents.

The Poet concludes with suggesting a duty to the All-India Library Association.

In conclusion, it is my submission to the All-India Library Conference that it should consider the question of preparing and circulating such quarterly, half-yearly, or at the least annual lists from which the main features of the best new books in the English language,—scientific, literary and historical,—may be gathered. If it be the object of this Conference to stimulate the founding and growth of libraries all over the country, then such object can be best promoted by thus affording a guide to the books that should be procured; incidentally also thereby assisting the libraries in what should be their main work—not the mere collecting and keeping of books, but actively acquainting their constituents with and interesting them in their contents.

All-India Library Conference

At the recent Calcutta session of the All-India Library Conference, the Hon. Raja of Nashipur, a Minister of the Bengal Government, presided.

Resolutions urging the Government Local Boards and Municipalities of different provinces to establish public libraries in towns and villages and thereby propagating education among the masses were passed.

The Conference also passed another resolution

urging the Government of India to appoint Indian having full knowledge of library administration as a Librarian of the Imperial Library, Calcutta, after the retirement of the present incumbent. A Resolution urging the Government to withdraw ban on "Pather Dabi" by the novelist Mr. Chandra Chatterjee was also adopted.

The Hon. Rajah of Nashipur was not present when the resolution regarding the lifting of ban was proposed and carried. The Conference was then presided over by an educationist.

"Bangiya Dhana-Vijnan Parishat"

At a recent sitting of the Bangiya Dhana Vijnan Parishat, whose object appears to be the investigation of economic questions, Amulya Charan Ukil opened a discussion on the food stuffs of the Bengali peoples, dwelling on the fact that premature deaths and tremendous economic loss to families ultimately to nations. Certain diseases which lead to such waste are to be attributed to maladjustment of foods. It is an unnecessary to conduct a survey of the food stuffs used in Bengali homes, class by class, covering as many different families of each earning group as possible.

We are glad to learn that Major I. Basu has accepted the presidentship of the Institute of Economic Research and agreed to place his notes on Indian diet in the hands of the workers of the Institute for further development at their hands. In their estimation Major Basu's researches on Indian commercial and industrial subjects would also be very valuable material to work upon. As in many other lines of modern Indian scholarship, Major Basu has done pioneering work in certain branches of applied economics as well."

Social Conference Resolutions

At the Calcutta session of the Indian National Social Conference resolutions were passed: urging the expediting of the abolition of caste by encouraging free inter-dining, promoting inter-caste marriages and by removing untouchability and all disabilities arising therefrom wherever they exist; condemning child marriage, expressing the opinion that the marriageable age of boys and girls should be regulated by legislation and lending whole-hearted support to the provisions of the Sarda Bill; condemning Government Excise policy and recommending severe action against the evil; etc.

Presidential Address of Pandit Motilal Nehru

The presidential address of Pandit Motilal Nehru at the forty-third session of the Indian National Congress, held in Calcutta, was a well-argued, clear and masterly presentation of his case. At the outset he told his hearers what they were to expect :

Let me warn you that you will be disappointed if you expect from me anything in the nature of high idealism presented in an attractive setting of word and phrase. Not that I deprecate idealism in the broader sense or am less convinced than anybody else of the supreme necessity of keeping the highest ideal in view, provided you try to live up to it. But pure idealism completely divorced from realities has no place in politics and is but a happy dream which must sooner or later end in a rude awakening. However high pitched the ideal may be, and the higher the better, the actual work to be done in the pursuit of that ideal must be guided solely by practical considerations.

While, he said, it is the duty of every thinking man to help as far as it lies in his power to make his country fit to live in,

The actual process to be employed in bringing about the necessary change from what is to what should be, depends upon circumstances which cannot be the same in all countries and at all times. The essentials considered in the abstract are always the same, but concrete cases present peculiarities of their own to which no general rule or particular example is wholly applicable.

In his address he set himself the task of answering three questions.

- (1) Where do we stand ?
- (2) What is our destination ? and
- (3) How can we reach our destination ?

The first question has to be answered (1) in relation to the Government and (2) in relation to ourselves.

As to the former we all know that whatever political or civil rights we possess they are in the nature of a conditional gift enjoyable during the pleasure of our rulers. They can deprive us, and indeed have from time to time actually deprived thousands of us, of those rights at any moment with or without reason at their sweet will by using the vast reserve of arbitrary power which they retain in their own hands.

Pandit Motilal has taken advantage of "the stupidity of the special correspondent of an English newspaper (*The Statesman*) of Calcutta" for giving the public "a glimpse into the real mentality of the members of" "that colossal fraud, the Statutory Commission, which is now careering along our streets leaving bleeding heads and broken bones behind"—which glimpse "may be taken as a faithful reflection of the mentality of the Government." According to the aforesaid newspaper correspondent, owing to the

stiffness of the boycott, the Commissioners would be inclined to prescribe for India "twenty years of resolute government," if they had to write their report now. He proceeds to say, "I seemed to sense a vision of realities stark and grim, and catch from the future a tramp of marching men." Lord Irwin has also hurled at us the threat that "it is the plain duty of Government to take whatever steps it deems necessary to prevent the recurrence of these discreditable incidents." So one touch of the boycott has made the Commissioners, the special correspondent and the Viceroy think and speak like kinsmen.

After satisfactorily disposing of that part of Lord Irwin's European Association dinner speech which related to the Simon Commission boycott, Pandit Motilal puts the following questions to "those who have affected righteous indignation at the happenings at Lahore, Lucknow and Cawnpore":—

(1) Would it be possible in any European country more, specially in England for a commission of enquiry, which the people looked upon as a national insult, to travel in the comfort and safety enjoyed by Sir John Simon and his colleagues in India ?

(2) Would not all the silken flags and gold embroidered decorations such as displayed in Butler Park have been torn to shreds and all the beautiful multi-coloured electric lamps, shining on them, smashed to pieces, if any attempt were made in England to entertain publicly, men connected with a mission as highly unpopular among Englishmen as Sir John Simon and his colleagues are among Indians ?

(3) How would any Englishman like his house to be broken into, his guests treated to a sound thrashing and then arrested and imprisoned for a night for making a peaceful demonstration from his own terrace ?

(4) How would an Englishman like to be imprisoned in his own house, for however short a time, for holding opinions against the Government of the day ?

(5) How long would a government last in England which allowed the things mentioned in question (3) and (4) to happen ?

Referring to the continuous exploitation to which India has been subjected, the President observed:—

By far the most important economic hold which the Government has acquired over the country by legislation and otherwise is through manipulation of the currency. The fact is now admitted that the present depression in Indian commerce and industry and the low buying power of the cultivator are due to the action of the Government in forcing up the rupee from 1s. 4d. to 1s. 6d. It has resulted in pinching the over-taxed cultivator of 12½ per cent. in the price of the raw materials produced by him, and giving a bonus of 12½ per cent. to the importer of foreign manufactures into India.

He then tore to shreds the justification of the British exploitation of India recently attempted by Sir George Godfrey of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce.

Pandit Motilal has not acquitted "ourselves of all blame for our present plight."

The strength or weakness of a nation depends upon the strength or weakness of the tie which keeps its component part together. In our case this tie has not for centuries been very strong and with the march of the new order of things has lost much of what binding force it ever had. There is no overlooking the fact that we are divided into a number of large and small communities, more or less disorganised and demoralised. The Government is undoubtedly responsible for the prevailing ignorance and poverty among the masses and in a very large measure for the growing hostility among the classes. But it certainly is not to blame for the evils of our own social system, which has relegated millions of our people as good as ourselves, to the category of untouchables and depressed classes, and has put our women under restrictions which deprive them not only of many natural rights but also of the opportunity to render national service. Nor is the Government solely accountable for all the communal differences which have contributed a dark chapter to the recent history of our own times.

His reply to the question, "what place, if any, religion, as practised and understood to-day, should occupy in our public life?" is that, as "religion has been degraded and politics has sunk into the mire", "complete divorce of one from the other is the only remedy." In giving this answer, he has not taken into consideration "the higher conception of religion," the spiritual and ethical principles it stands for, but has taken it "to signify bigotry and fanaticism, intolerance and narrow mindedness, selfishness and the negation of many of the qualities which go to build a healthy society." In the sense in which he has understood religion, the sooner there is a divorce of it from politics the better. But that essential part of religion which has built up and sustains society cannot be separated from politics, without degrading the latter and making it a power for evil.

Referring to the disruptive forces which have been at work among us for more than two decades and which have produced many divisions, the Pandit said:

We would do well to profit by the lesson of the past lest the inexorable fate which has been pursuing us for the last 20 years or more overtake us again. It is close upon our heels already in the garb of socialism and will devour both complete independence and dominion status if you let it approach nearer.

The warning was clearly needed. Those

of our public workers who are importing bitterness and rancour of the strife of labour against capital in Western lands should take over the situation. Western laborites have not helped and will not help us to become politically free, but would only use our labourers to wreak vengeance on their capitalists. Our capitalists should also take heed.

Proceeding to answer his second question "what is our destination?" the Pandit said:

My answer straight and simple is FREEDOM substance, and not merely in form, by whatever name you call it. I am for complete independence—as complete as it can be—but I am not against full Dominion Status—as full as any dominion possesses it to-day—provided I get it before I lose all attraction. I am for severance British connection as it subsists with us to-day but am not against it as it exists with the Dominions.

Let me explain. National freedom unrestricted and unqualified is the natural craving of the human soul. I do not believe that there is a single Indian be he or she a member of a party or groups, one completely detached from all parties and groups who does not love freedom or will not have differences arise only when the question is raised whether it is possible to have and to keep freedom and it is then that we find opinion sharply divided.

What matters to me is that dominion status involves a very considerable measure of freedom bordering on complete independence and is at any day preferable to complete dependence. I am therefore not against an exchange of our abject dependence with whatever measure of freedom there is in full dominion status if such exchange is offered. But I cannot make dominion status my goal as it has to come from another party over whom I have no control. The only way I can acquire such control is by working in right earnest for complete independence. I am in right earnest because I know mere bluff will not take me far; it is only when complete independence is in sight that the party in power will be inclined to negotiate for something less. Empty bluff will not carry us to that stage. Solid work and ungrudging sacrifice alone will do it. When that work is done, a sacrifice made, the party having the whip hand will dictate. Whether it is to be dominion status or complete independence will depend upon whether the conditions then prevailing are similar to those of Ireland or to those of the United States of America at the time when each came into the world she now has. Meanwhile, there is nothing before us but a protracted life-and-death struggle on the one side, and continued repression relieved by occasional dose of undiluted oppression on the other. It follows therefore that whatever the ultimate goal we must be prepared to traverse the same thorough path to reach it. If we are not so prepared independence will ever be an idle dream, a dominion status an ever receding will-o'-the-wisp.

The speaker then proceeded to elaborate his answer and support it with extracts from the speeches and writings of Mahatma Gand

and Deshbandhu Chittarajan Das. He has given his answers to the Independentists' objections to dominion status as the immediate goal, which we consider satisfactory.

The President's reply to the third question, "How can we reach our destination?" is :—

Begin at the point at which the All Parties have now arrived and push forward with them as far as they would go, then pause and take stock of your equipment, and finally throw the strength of your whole being into one great effort to reach the goal.

He did not forget our countrymen overseas.

Though the great work done by Mr. V. S. Sastri has eased the situation to a certain extent in South Africa the position requires considerable watching. The problem in Kenya is growing more and more serious and threatens the very existence of the Indian settlers there who, by the way went there long before any European, and enjoyed the happiest relations with the Africans. In Fiji and British Guiana too the pressure of British exploitation is telling upon our countrymen who have gone there, as much as upon the natives of the soil. But without forgetting them the best aid we can render them is in the words of Sir Pherozsha Mehta, to gain our freedom here.

Sj. Gopeswar Banerjee's Achievement in Music

The recent controversy in the Calcutta Press over the advisability or otherwise of importing musicians from beyond Bengal in order to organise the teaching of music in this province, gave rise to much unnecessary and unfair criticism of the indigenous Vishnupur musicians of Bengal by persons who, for some reason or other, did not consider even the best of Bengali *ustads* worth anything as teachers. Being ignorant of music ourselves, we had kept an open mind so far; but some persons of assured taste in music have given us their opinion on the merits of the Vishnupur school with special reference to Sangitacharya Gopeswar Banerjee, its leading living member. The Maharaja Bahadur of Natore, whose family is famous as connoisseurs of classical Hindustani music, has given us the following opinion.

It is a matter of great joy that the Government of Bengal have after all these years thought fit to teach music to our boys and girls. In this connection may I be permitted to add a few words of appreciation—in my own behalf—appreciation of persons who are supposed to be responsible for drawing up a scheme for the purpose of giving musical education to the boys and girls of our province.

It would perhaps be admitted on all hands that Professor Gopeswar Banerjee has been rightly

and very rightly chosen as one of the members of the Executive Committee formed for this purpose. Professor Gopeswar Banerjee stands second to none as an *ustad* as well as an exponent of the classical style of the music of Hindustan—and we Bengalis most fervently hope that under his guidance and tutorship, Bengal would be able to justify her existence in the sphere of music among the rest of the provinces of India."

Jogindra Nath Roy,
Maharaja Bahadur of Natore.

Mridangacharya Durlabh Chandra Bhattacharya, than whom there are hardly any better judges of classical *Dhrupad* music in the whole of India, gave his opinion in a letter written in Bengali from which we give free translations of certain extracts: Says Sj. Bhattacharya:

It is our duty to honour and support those who for generations have been passing down the musical traditions of Hindustan selflessly and with devotion and have been, of late, helping the dissemination of musical knowledge by writing treatises on the subject. Among such men of the present generation Sj. Gopeswar Banerjee of Calcutta is the most prominent, if not the only man in whom learning and devotion to teaching and research have combined in a rare degree. Sj. Banerjee has acquired great experience and proficiency in classical music by touring all over India. *Dhrupad*, the greatest member of the body of Hindustani Music, is still alive in Bengal, thanks to the care and perseverance of the late Radhika Prasad Goswamy, Visvanath Rao and Anantal Banerjee, the father of Sj. Gopeswar Banerjee. The energy and devotion which Sj. Gopeswar Banerjee is showing for the proper resuscitation of *Dhrupad* will never be forgotten by our countrymen. I hope the present agitation about music will lead to a great revival of music in Bengal. But I do hope also that no system will be introduced in which traditional Bengali styles are neglected and Bengali *ustads* denied prominence as teachers, which is theirs by right. *Dhrupad* is the highest form of musical expression and experts in *Dhrupad* can easily be masters of every other style of music."

The great instrumentalist Alauddin Khan wrote about Sj. Gopeswar Banerjee in 1925 that his books were very fine expositions of Hindustani music containing none but the purest in Hindustani style and *that*. He said, "No one had ever written such books and no one ever could."

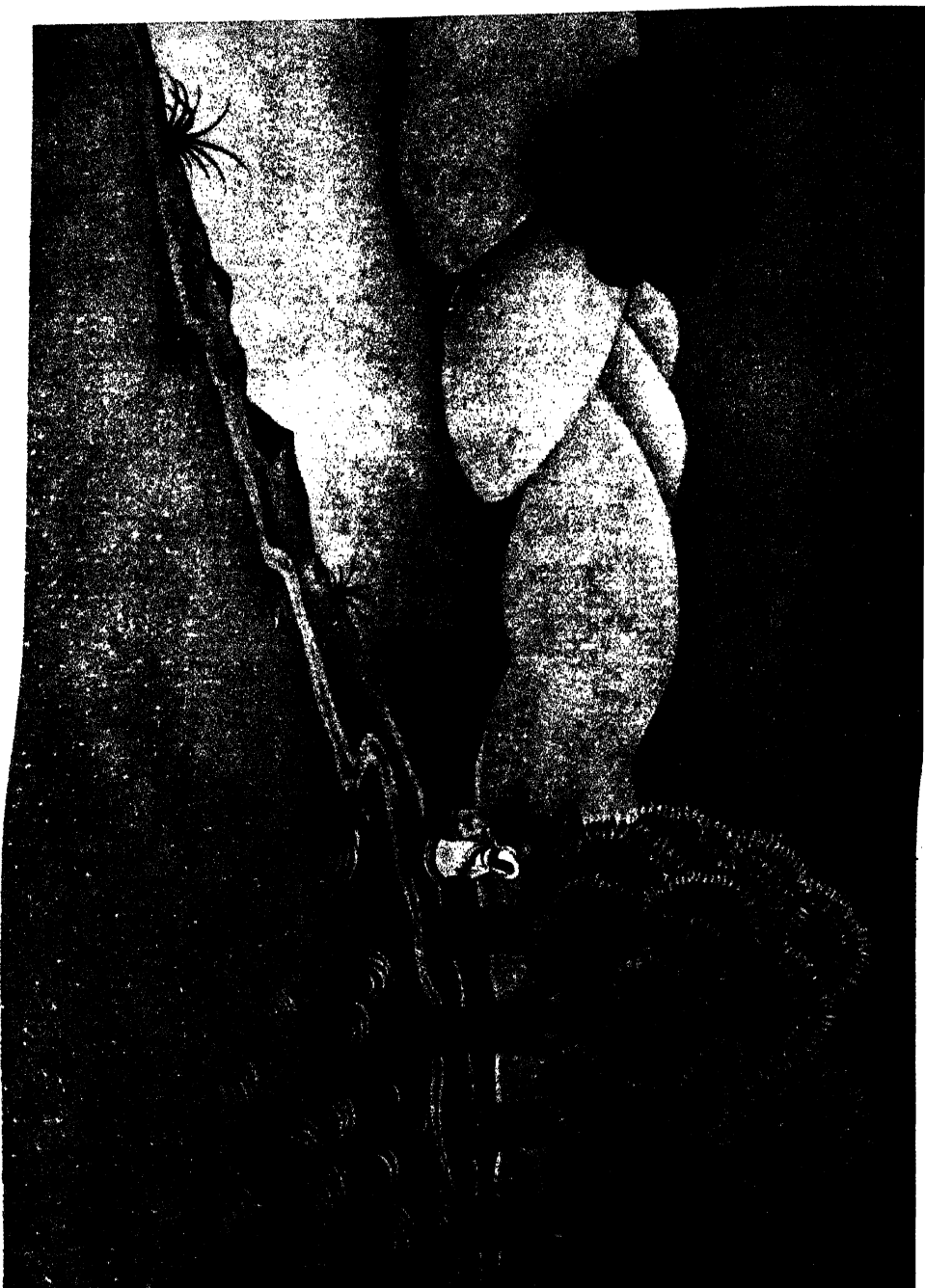
We have not taken all this pain to establish Sj. Gopeswar Banerjee's place among Indian musicians out of any partisanship for him. Musicians there might be greater than he; but his claim to be the greatest modern exponent of Hindustani music in Bengal is undeniable. No one can also deny that his learning is vast, his teaching experience great and style faultless and exquisite.



Mahatma Gandhi

ERRATA

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SILENT PATHWAY
By Jadupati Basu



THE MODERN REVIEW



VOL. XLV
NO. 2

FEBRUARY, 1929

WHOLE NO.
266

LALA LAJPAT RAI

A MEMORY OF FRIENDSHIP

By C. F. ANDREWS

I.

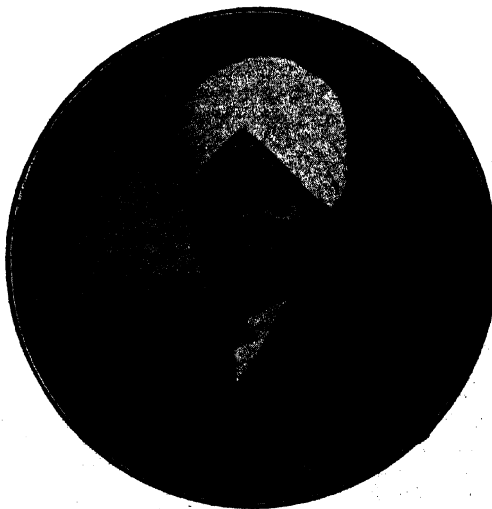
WHEN I think of Lala Lajpat Rai the first thought that always comes to my mind is this—that he had in himself

almost all the ideal qualities of the Punjabi character. This character I know full well, because the Punjab was my very first home in India and my very first love. It was in the villages of the Punjab, as I went among the peasant people, that the true India came home to me as a living reality and I knew the sovereign, sterling worth of the multitudes of the village people. For ten years I lived in the Punjab and every part of it became known to me, right up to the frontier. Even in later years I often returned to it, and one of the very deepest and saddest

experiences of my life in India was to spend some months in the Punjab after the Martial Law was ended, seeing with my own eyes the wrongs and oppressions which had been committed.

Again, about four years later, I went at the request of the Sikh community during the Akali struggle, and once more I saw the sad sight of oppression, but on this occasion it was wonderfully illuminated by heroic suffering and endurance.

All these experiences have made me know the Punjab very well, and there is something in it which in an extraordinary manner appeals to me and makes me more than happy when I am back there among people.



Lala Lajpat Rai

Now, Lala Lajpat Rai was the very embodiment of all this. There was first of

all the utter frankness and sincerity, which I have always experienced when meeting those who truly represent the Punjab. There is a directness which might almost be called bluntness, such as belongs to a brave and independent people who have not lost their sense of independence. Once and only once I saw this spirit crushed. That was in 1919, after the Martial Law. It was a cruel sight which I long to forget. But never could one think even for a moment of Lala Lajpat Rai's spirit being crushed. I saw him again at the height of the non-co-operation movement. His body was suffering from illness, but his spirit was almost jubilant as he faced a long imprisonment. He presented in those days something of the picture of Wordsworth's "Happy Warrior" and I could never think of him afterwards but in such a light.

Along with this blunt sincerity there was fearlessness personified. He was not called the 'Lion of the Punjab' for nothing. He well deserved his title. If at times there was an obstinacy, which was the other side of bluntness in his character, this very quality of obstinacy served him in good turn when he had to stick to his point and not give way for any man.

Even this obstinacy, in so far as it was a weakness in his all round character, was constantly relieved by his abounding sense of humour. This was always present with Lalaji. To hear him burst out into a hearty laugh against himself, when anybody made him see the humour of the situation, was a delightful thing to experience and record. His humour was quite unfailing, and I have seen him in moments of terrible physical weakness,—when his body seemed to be too exhausted and tired for anything but fretfulness and vexation,—suddenly burst out into a laugh of good humour, which seemed to dispel all the tiredness from his body and to give him a new lease of physical health.

But by far the greatest quality of all was his generosity. This was in every sense of the word unlimited. His largeness of heart was so great that it seemed to be positive pain to him not to be giving out to others. There was no single great cause in the country which he did not support and every single fraction of his own property and income was devoted to his country and his country's cause. To be able to give in this lavish manner was probably the greatest of all joys in his long life.

One noble side of this lavish generosity

was his power of forgetting an injury soon as ever it was done. He never bore a grudge a single minute longer than could be helped. Even when he was deported, imprisoned and exiled and treated with kinds of repressive measures by a Government which could not realize his generous tenacity on each and every occasion he came back without a single thought of racial bitterness. His heart was too large to bear any bitterness in it, and he went to work again the moment he was set free as though nothing at all had happened. Repeatedly I noted this, and it was an amazing thing to me that he could endure all he went through with such serenity of spirit.

There were English and American friends to whom he was profoundly attached. They in their turn were deeply attached to him. I have met them in London, and I shall meet them soon in New York. All the more I feel certain, will miss him with a deep sense of loss and with the knowledge that one whom they could trust and love most has been taken from them. It is indeed a severe blow to England and America as well as to India that Lala Lajpat Rai has been taken from us all by death.

II.

Let me say one word about Lalaji's absolute sincerity of purpose. The game of politics is even at its best as well as at its worst a somewhat dirty game. Very few people who engage in it can keep their hands clean. Lala Lajpat Rai used to write letters to me in quite recent years groaning at the evil fate which bound him to the hard task of serving his country in the Legislative Assembly and taking part in all the disputes and divisions which obsess Indian political life. It was a cruel torment to him; and in one letter he told me that he must soon retire from it, because he found that it was too depressing for him. Nevertheless he stuck to it right to the end and went on serving his country in this manner even when others had retired.

During the last years, whenever I went to Delhi or Simla, I would stay with him and we would have long talks together. Often I have sat for long hours in his room doing my own work on "opium" or "emigration" or "South Africa," while he has been dictating to his patient secretary page after page of notes for some parliamentary speech, or

else some article for his Lahore paper, "The People", or perhaps at the latest time of all dictating a chapter for his remarkable book in reply to "Mother India", which he rather unfortunately (as I felt personally) called "Unhappy India." I implored him to change the title, because it sounded like a groan. He understood my meaning and agreed with me. I had hoped that another title would have been chosen, but when the book came out the earlier title, which neither he nor I cared for very much, remained on the cover.

With regard to the book itself, during the time when I stayed with him and he was furiously at work at it, endeavouring to finish it in time for the press, he would hand over to me long streams of galley-proofs which had to be corrected, and I would have to go wading through them until they were drafted into a proper form. Of all people I pity the compositors and "printer's devils" at the press itself, who had the unenviable task of trying to decipher our different and manifold corrections of the same copy and Lala Lajpat Rai's own drastic alterations, which were made at the last moment before the proof was sent back for revision. Really it was a Herculean task correcting those proofs at such short notice and in such a fraction of time, with a hundred other things on hand to be done consecutively! The picture is as full of humour as Lalaji's own character itself—the picture that comes to my memory of his room in Delhi, where the floor is strewn with papers, the telephone bell is ringing every other minute, the secretary is taking down his notes, and Lalaji himself is sitting with the last proof of "Unhappy India" in his hand, asking me about some point in English, or some fact in a statistical table; everything going on in a kind of Alice in Wonderland manner, but somehow the whole affair sorting itself out and getting righted just in time for him to get in a motor to the Assembly in time to take part in some debate on the number of lakhs of rupees for the education of the untouchables, or else to found some new establishment for the education of Indian women. These, perhaps, were the two causes that were nearest of all to his heart, and if I had to choose for any memorial in his honour I should love to think of some great step forward in the emancipation of the depressed classes or some equally great step forward in the higher education of the women of India.

I must not, however, forget to mention one cause which was, perhaps, even closer to his heart than these, because it touched himself and his own family. This was the problem of the spread of tuberculosis, in his own province of the Punjab especially and also in the rest of India. I can well remember at Solon on one extremely hot and dusty and fatiguing day, his marching with me along the road, up and downhill a great distance, with great difficulty, sometimes panting and perspiring, in order to attend a meeting which had been arranged for the purpose of finding out whether a suitable spot could be set apart for tuberculosis patients on the other side of Solon. Nothing would have dragged Lalaji out all that distance with such an expenditure of physical force, except such a cause as this. And I must confess that I was drawn there more by his own intense enthusiasm than by my willingness and readiness to come. But I was only too thankful that he had brought me when the meeting decided that something should be done in a very practical manner for the furtherance of this great scheme. I do not know how the matter stands at the present moment, but I am quite certain that anything that could be done to further this cause in Lalaji's name would itself be a glorious memorial of him.

Let me in conclusion of this article speak on a more personal note of the intense affection which I had for him and which was returned by him to me. We were really and truly brothers to one another at the last. His warm embrace, whenever we met, and his eager, joyous laugh and shout of "Hallo, Charlie" can very nearly be recalled by me even while I am writing this memorial of him, and the thought of it all moves me more than I can express.

Week after week I had letters from him, always with the same love, the same affection, the same sincerity and truth. At the very last, they were concerning the publication in England and America of his book, "Unhappy India", and I am constantly pondering over in my mind what is the best thing to be done and how it may be possible to give a more permanent form to the Indian edition of that work. It may need a certain amount of abridgment, but the substance of it is of great value, both in Europe and America as an anti-toxin for the book "Mother India" which has had such vogue and has done such damage in both continents.

LAJPAT RAI, THE "LION OF THE PUNJAB"*

AN APPRECIATION

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen :

I suppose the reason of the honor being extended to me of an invitation to attend this meeting and to speak, was my known long acquaintance with Mr. Lajpat Rai, both in his own country and in America, and especially my close association with him for several years in work for India during his residence in New York from 1914 to 1919.

I think it is not extravagant to say that Lajpat Rai was a great man. He would have been regarded as great if he had been born and lived his life in England, or America or any country. He was great in more directions than one ; for he was a many-sided man. It may almost be said that he was three or four or five men in one. He had travelled, observed and studied in many countries—in Europe, Asia and America. Thus his knowledge was world-wide and his thinking on a world scale. As a result of his extended visit in the Far East he wrote a book on Japan. He made three visits to America, the last time remaining here five years.

His home was in Lahore, the most important city of North-Western India, the capital of the Punjab province.

By profession he was a lawyer, carrying on active practice most of his life, and rising to a high place, nearly at the top, in the distinguished bar of his country.

While a lawyer, he was also an eminent Educator. He, with others, himself leading, founded in his native city, the Dyananda Anglo-Vedic College, one of the best institutions of higher learning in India, of which for years he was the Vice-President and Honorary Secretary. All his public life he worked earnestly for the promotion of education, in his city, his province and the nation. In

his travels in Europe and America he was a diligent student of educational system and methods, the results of which he published in a book on education, which has had a wide circulation in India. An interesting part of his educational service to his country was the founding of the Tilak School of Politics in Lahore.

He was an eminent social reformer. Among all the social reforms needing to be promoted in India—the abolition of child marriage, of purda, the better treatment of Hindu widows, the education of girls, the elevation of the depressed classes, the so-called "untouchables," and others—among them all there was not one in which he did not take an active interest or which he did not assist as far as he was able. My own first personal acquaintance with him was formed at a great Convention in India, which had been called to consider the sad case of the untouchables and plan means for their betterment. He presided at the Convention, and delivered a powerful address in furtherance of the object for which the gathering had been called.

Lajpat Rai was an eminent religious, as well as social reformer. The two most important religious reform movements in India to-day are the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj. Of the latter he was a distinguished member and leader. The Arya Samaj movement is broadly and intelligently theistic, rejects idolatry, caste, and child marriage, is active in the promotion of education both for girls and young women, and for boys and young men, is earnest in social reforms, and is warmly in sympathy with science.

The movement is about fifty years old, is spreading rapidly and now has organized societies existing in nearly every city and town of importance in North-Western, Northern and Central India. Lajpat Rai was not only a prominent supporter of the Arya Samaj, but he was its historian. The standard history of the movement, in the English language,

* An address delivered before the Civic Club, New York, November 30, 1928, at a Memorial Meeting in honor of Mr. Rai, at which there were also addresses by Professor Kirchwey of Columbia University, Mr. B. W. Huebsch, the New York publisher, the Honorable Dudley Field Malone, Madam Sarojini Naidu of India, and others.

is his book published in 1915, entitled, "The Arya Samaj; an Account of Its Origin, Doctrines and Activities, with a Biographical Account of Its Founder." If any of you care to know more about this fine, influential and growing religious reform movement in India, you should procure and read his book. It is published in England and this country by Longmans, Green and Company.

Lajpat Rai was the founder of at least three or four daily and weekly newspapers, and for years was an active and influential editor.

In 1920 he was President of the Indian National Congress; in 1921 he was official representative from India to the League of Nations International Labour Conference, in Geneva; and from 1924 to 1928 he was a member of the National Indian Legislative Assembly, Delhi.

He was the author of a dozen books, including, besides those already mentioned, lives of Garibaldi and Mazzini, and no less than six volumes in advocacy and support of India's great movement for national freedom and self-rule,—three of the number having been written and published during his five years' residence in New York, namely, his "Young India"; his "England's Debt to India" and his "Political Future of India",—all of them works of great power.

His last book, published early in the present year, is entitled "Unhappy India." It is a careful and thorough review of Miss Katherine Mayo's "Mother India," and a crushing answer to the same. Up to this time it is issued only in India, not as yet having been republished in this country. It may, however, be obtained from the Hindustan Association, International House, 500 Riverside Drive, New York. Everybody who has any acquaintance with Miss Mayo's volume should read this candid and masterly reply, by a man able to speak of India's social and other conditions with the fullest knowledge and the highest authority.

I have spoken of Mr. Rai's different lines of activity, into all of which he put much of himself, and in all of which he excelled. They show the many-sided strength and ability of the man, and the many ways in which his influence went out, in India and beyond.

However, it is not as a lawyer, or an educator, or a social or religious reformer, or an editor, or an author of books, that he will be longest remembered or most highly

honored in the years to come, by his countrymen and by liberty-lovers in all lands. It is as a patriot. It is as a conspicuous, able, broad-minded, far-visioned, richly equipped, heroic, indomitable leader in a mighty struggle to free a great nation—the second largest nation on earth—from forced bondage to a foreign power. Every other example of national bondage known to history is small compared with this. Here we have the oldest civilized nation in the world, one that has ruled itself for 3,000 years and been one of the most illustrious of nations, deprived of its nationhood. Here we have one-sixth of the population of the entire globe held in forced subjection by foreign bayonets. How is it that Americans, and lovers of freedom in all lands, so little realize what India's bondage means? In the language of Professor Robert Morss Lovett: "It is only because of the myopic vision with which we tend to view the ethics of nations, that the holding in political subjection and social inferiority of 320 millions of human beings does not appear as a hideous abnormality."

Here we see the greatness of Lajpat Rai. He was a conspicuous and mighty leader in the task, of simply unparalleled importance, of seeking to win freedom for a great historic nation of 320 millions of civilized human beings,—a nation which in the past has ruled itself and occupied a leading place in the world throughout a period twenty times as long as the entire history of our American republic.

What this great task of winning freedom for India meant to him, let me tell you in his own language. In one of his best known utterances, he says:

"There are men who ask the people of India: Why are you not satisfied? What do you want?

India answers: The very insolence of the question is staggering. What do we want? Are we not *men* as well as you? What would *you* want, if, like us *you* were held in subjection by the sword of a foreign power; if *you* were dominated industrially by foreign capitalists; if *you* were exploited financially by money-lenders of another land; if *you* were intellectually starved by rulers who deprived you of schools, and who shaped even the meagre education you were permitted to have in such a manner as to crowd out and belittle your own history, literature and culture, and substitute a foreign

and far more materialistic civilization in its place ; if you were domineered over by men who worshipped money and power and who were unable even to understand the higher intellectual, moral and spiritual ideals of your nation and race ? Under such conditions what would you want ?"

Most of you know that Lajpat Rai was twice imprisoned by the British Government of India on account of his political activities. The first time was in 1907, and the second in 1921, after his return to India from America. According to all recognized standards of honor and justice, both imprisonments were dishonorable and unjust on the part of the Government. Of his first imprisonment he wrote and published a full account. He was arrested without a warrant, he was refused a trial or any defence, he was not even permitted to know the charge preferred against him, and under those conditions he was hurried away secretly to a prison in Burma. When he was arrested and imprisoned in 1921 it was under conditions similar.

Think of a civilized Government treating any man, much less a great and honored public leader, like that. He learned later, not from the Government but otherwise, that the charge against him in 1907 was sedition. But why was he not told of its nature, and allowed defence. As a fact, there was no ground for the charge. After his release from the Burma prison he brought suit against two newspapers, one in India and one in London, that had charged him with sedition, and in spite of all the efforts of Government officials and others to prove him guilty, he won his case against both papers, and thus absolutely cleared himself.

The truth is, there was not a man in India who was less a seditionist than he. It is true that he fought the Government whenever and wherever he believed it wrong. Especially did he fight with all his might for freedom for India. But his fighting was always open, honorable, by methods of argument, and face to face with the Government that he condemned. He never plotted : he never worked in secret : he never countenanced violence in any form. So deeply did the Indian people themselves feel the degradation and wrong of their bondage, that individuals and groups, here and there, advocated revolution by force, and there was some violence and some bomb-throwing. But all this Lajpat Rai opposed. He said, "Let us battle

with all our souls for the freedom a nationhood which are our right ; but let do it by reason, by moral appeal, and not by force and blood ; by civilized means and not by methods of barbarism." And as have said, battle he did. He faced the British officials everywhere, and the advocates of foreign domination of India everywhere with a courage that never quailed, with arguments that they could not answer, and with a force of moral appeal that was simply tremendous.

Nor was his fight for his country's freedom confined to India. When he went to England, as he did several times, he advocated his country's cause as unflinchingly there as at home. Once he was sent by the Indian National Congress as a member of a special delegation to lay India's case for self-rule before the British Parliament. Burke and Pitt and Fox did not plead more courageously, nor hardly more eloquently, the right of the American Colonies to freedom in 1776, than did Lajpat Rai the right of his own great historic nation to shape her own career in the world. British tyranny never had a mightier foe since Patrick Henry and Samuel Adams, the Americans, than it had for forty years in Lajpat Rai, the great son of India.

A further word should be said about Mr. Rai's work in America. He came at the beginning of the Great War, as an exile. He came because he knew he could not safely remain in India. Although he had proved in the British courts of law that his imprisonment in Burma was without any ground of justice and that he was not a seditionist, yet he knew he was constantly suspected and watched, and that on obtaining the least shadow of an excuse the Government would arrest and imprison him again. His only security therefore was in exile. Even in America he was constantly spied upon by British detectives. At one time a dictograph was secretly placed in a room where he was to hold a meeting with some other friends of India. But it revealed nothing. While he was outspoken everywhere in advocacy of India's right to freedom and in condemnation of the injustice which kept her in bondage, as has been said, all his utterances and all his deeds were open and honorable.

During his five years in America, which were spent mostly in New York, besides writing the three books already mentioned he wrote pamphlets of importance and many

articles for periodicals, lectured in various parts of the country, spoke at numberless gatherings in New York, established, edited and published a small monthly magazine called *Young India*, opened and maintained rooms as "India Head-quarters" in New York, and organized and directed an "India Home Rule League" and an "India Information Bureau." In these ways he made India known to hundreds and thousands of persons who knew little of it before, and exerted an influence in favour of India's struggle for freedom which was far-reaching and invaluable.

Let nobody make the mistake of believing that Lajpat Rai's long and heroic struggle to free his country from a foreign yoke—from the yoke of British domination—meant that he was an enemy of Britain, or that he wanted to do Britain wrong. Nothing of the kind was true. He was a friend of Britain—so true a friend that he wanted to save her from committing what he believed to be a great wrong, a great crime—against 320 millions of human beings, who have as much right to freedom and self-government as have the people of Great Britain or America. He wanted the British Empire to be, not one-fifth free and four-fifths slave, as now it is, but all free. He said to Britain, Give India freedom, give her self-rule like that of Canada and Australia; do it for your own sake as well as for India's, for then you will keep her contentedly in your Empire; otherwise you will lose her.

In the old days of American slavery those men were not the enemies of America who tried to get the nation to free its slaves. They were its best friends. The American nation was incomparably better off when it became all free, than it was when part free and part slave. It would be so with Great Britain. This was what Lajpat Rai constantly urged. Was he not right?

In all my long personal acquaintance with him, working for years by his side, I never heard him utter one bitter word against the nation that was holding his people in bondage. He hated the British nation's deed; the British *nation* he did not hate. Some of his warmest friends were Englishmen. He wanted no wrong done to Britain. But he also wanted Britain to do no wrong to India, and for *her own* sake, as well as for India's.

It must not be supposed that India has no other strong men, no other able men, no other trusted and competent leaders, now that Lajpat Rai is gone. She has many. She has

had many ever since the establishment, forty-three years ago, of her important nation-wide political organization, the Indian National Congress. She has had a larger number still since the birth, after the Great War, of her distinctly Nationalist Movement, her distinctly Nationalist Party. And ~~we may~~ be sure that she will have more and more every year in the future; for India is now awake, as all Asia is awake.

If the British Government refuses to give India self-rule, her struggle for freedom will go on with ever increasing determination, and leaders equal to the need will spring out of the very soil, as they did in America at the time of our struggle for freedom. India has long had her Patrick Henrys and her Samuel Adamsses. She is fast getting her Franklins and Jeffersons. If she fails to obtain self-government by peaceful means—self-government like that of Canada, within the British Empire—and if, contrary to the earnest desire of Lajpat Rai, Mahatma Gandhi and others, she is driven to seek it by force of arms, she will soon enough find her Washingtons, her Greens, her Ethan Allens, her Putnams, to lead her armies, and even if it takes a conflict of seven long and terrible years, as in the case of our American Revolution, her leaders will lead her to ultimate victory and freedom. Revolutions never go backwards. Whenever a great nation, long in bondage, sets out in earnest to throw off its chains, it is only a question of time when it will achieve its ends. Said Patrick Henry, "Give me liberty or give me death." Said the great Hindu, Rajah Ram Mohun Roy, "I want to be free or I do not want to be at all." That was the spirit of Lajpat Rai. It is coming more and more to be the spirit of all India.

Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote the great words:

"He who ruleth high and wise,
Nor falters in his plan,
Will take the stars out of the skies
E'er freedom out of man."

These words apply to India as truly as to America. The day is coming when a free India will have an honor roll of noble and heroic men who have achieved her liberty, as we in America have an honor roll of noble and heroic men who achieved our liberty a hundred and fifty years ago. She will honor them not less than we honor the men who won us our freedom. And we may

be sure that *conspicuous* on that *shining* roll will appear the name of the *eminent* educator, the *earnest* philanthropist, the *able* statesman, the *true* patriot, the *man* of prophetic vision, the *man* of heroic soul, the lover of India and the lover of all humanity, in whose memory and in whose honor we have met here to-night.

In a very true sense Lajpat Rai may be called the Mazzini of India. Also in a true sense he may be called the Sun Yat Sen of India; although of course in both cases with a difference. What those two great men did for Italy and China, India sorely needed to have done for her. Lajpat Rai took up the task. He was as patriotic as either. He felt as deeply as did either the degradation, the humiliation, the wrong of his country's subjection to a foreign power; and with as great ardor and with as absolute consecration as shown by either he devoted his life to a struggle the aim of which was

to free his country from her bondage, a gain for her, once more, a place among the great nations of the world. Like Mazzini and Sun Yat Sen he experienced exile. Like both he was imprisoned. It is a question whether either Mazzini or Sen suffered more for his country than did Lajpat Rai for his beloved Motherland.

In India they called Lajpat Rai the "Lion of the Punjab." The name was given him with good reason. The lion is thought of as the King of the animal world. Lajpat Rai was a King among men. Wherever he went, in any company, men felt his strength and his inherent superiority.

Edwin Markham said of Abraham Lincoln that when he fell it was as the "fall of a great oak in the forest, leaving a lonesome place against the sky." Lajpat Rai was a mighty oak. By his fall he leaves a lonesome place, yes a sadly and tragically lonesome place in India's sky.

RAMMOHUN ROY'S POLITICAL MISSION TO ENGLAND

(Based on Unpublished State Records)

By BRAJENDRANATH BANERJEE

II.

GRANT suggested an amicable adjustment, to which Rammohun was willing to agree, but the objections of the Court of Directors forced the Rajah to stand up for the full claims preferred by his master. He thus thought it advisable to appeal to His Majesty's Government against the resolution of the Court of Directors to refer the claims back to the decision of the Bengal Government and their refusal to recognize him as the Envoy of the Padishah of Delhi. On 4th November 1831 the Rajah sent the following letter to Sir Chas. Grant:—

"As you wished me to send in the memorial I proposed, before evening to-day, I have expedited it accordingly and beg herewith to submit it to your consideration.

"I was and *am still* willing to yield to the amicable adjustment suggested by you. But finding the Court of Directors assuming so high a tone in defiance of justice, I feel bound to take my stand upon the full extent of the King's claims

which I trust you will perceive does not arise from any inconsistency on the part of

My dear Sir,
Yours most faithfully
Rammohun Roy."

The memorial to His Majesty's Government, referred to above, is quoted below in extenso:—

"The case of His Majesty the King of Delhi now under your review is one which involves such high considerations of national character as well as of public justice, that I persuade myself you will not only excuse my anxiety on the subject, but feel desirous to have the matter fully examined under every point of view, before you come to a final decision. I should, therefore, think myself wanting in my solemn duty if I omitted to bring to your notice the following important additional considerations.

"2. The Natives of India have long

regarded themselves as under the protection of the British Crown, and entitled to appeal to its justice against any injury or oppression from whatsoever quarter, they being recognized in the Acts of Parliament as British subjects and the India Board having been created expressly to bring the affairs of India directly under the control of the British Ministry.

"3. Under this impression, His Majesty the King of Delhi, finding his claim rejected by the local Government of Bengal (a claim which is founded on engagements made by the Marquis Wellesley during the Maratha War in 1803-4 and 5, confirmed by the Court of Directors and by the British Parliament) nominated me as his Agent to appeal to the highest authorities in this country against the injustice done him by the local Government. That Government was made fully acquainted with my nomination in this capacity and, after having verified the same by a reference to the Court of Delhi and authenticated it in the most unqualified manner to their superiors in England (the Court of Directors) as shown in my former address to your Honourable Board.

"4. I now deem it proper to bring to your notice in a particular manner the obstacles and obstructions which have been raised by the local Government of Bengal to frustrate His Majesty's efforts to obtain redress.

"5. *First Obstruction.* When my nomination as Agent of the King of Delhi for this purpose, together with a copy of the King's letter to His Britannic Majesty was communicated to that Government, it instructed its Resident at Delhi, Sir Edward Colebrooke, to address the King in a tone of intimidation, obviously calculated to deter His Majesty from persevering in his intention of appealing to the British Sovereign, as shewn by their official Despatch now before your Board, dated 22nd May 1829, in which they state that—

'On the receipt of this communication we directed the Resident at Delhi to intimate to His Majesty the *surprise* with which we had perused it, and more especially our *astonishment* at the *unmeasured* and *unfounded* accusation it advances against the Hon'ble Company of having violated its engagements with the Royal Family' etc. etc.

"6. *Second Obstruction.* When they found however that the King notwithstanding still persevered in his purpose, as appears by the next paragraph of the same letter (of 22nd May 1829) which states that His Majesty

distinctly recognized me as his Agent, they now ordered their Resident at Delhi not to furnish His Majesty with copies of certain official documents connected with His Majesty's claim, which they had before promised in the following terms quoted from a letter of the Persian Secretary, Mr. Stirling, dated 29th July 1828, to the address of His Majesty the King of Delhi :—

'With regard to the copies required by you I, your expectant, think it would be better if you required them from the office of the Resident of Shahjahanabad (Delhi) where all the papers are in deposit, and I am *certain* that *immediately* upon requisition being made by the Officers of Your Eminence to the Resident Bahadur of Delhi, he will *forthwith* grant the same to them.'

(An authenticated copy of this letter, together with a translation by Mr. Smith, a well-known authorized interpreter in Calcutta, may be produced whenever required). I afterwards reiterated the request for the copies of the papers in question by a letter to the Chief Secretary, Mr. Swinton, to which no reply whatever was returned, as will appear from the official papers before your Board relating to the case of the King of Delhi.

"7. *Third Obstruction.* The local Government having ascertained the fact of my nomination as above stated by a reference to the Resident at Delhi, communicated it to the Court of Directors (in their Despatch above quoted of the 22nd May 1829) in the following terms :—

'Your Hon'ble Court will find in the Resident's reply, copy of which is submitted, both the King of Delhi's distinct recognition of Rammohun Roy as his Agent, and his explanation of the grounds on which he has thought proper to adopt the extraordinary procedure of deputing that individual to England.'

Nevertheless, though they had so fully ascertained the fact from the King, and communicated it in the above terms to the Court of Directors, the local Government informed me that it would not recognize my nomination as stated in a letter of Mr. Secretary Stirling to my address, dated 15th January 1830 and embodied in a former communication to your Board.

"8. *Fourth Obstruction.* When His Majesty the King of Delhi was pleased to confide to me the representation of his claims on the Government of India, in sending so urgent a mission to one of the most powerful Sovereigns in Europe, His Majesty deemed it due to the exalted dignity of the British Monarchy and to his Royal House, that his Envoy should

hold a rank suitable to the service in which he was engaged. The local Government, however, refused to recognize my rank as well as my nomination, although it had pledged itself to do so by its own regulation laid down in the Resolution passed on the 9th Article of the King's 'Additional Requests' in 1827, which is as follows :—

"The British Government does not recognize the right of the throne of Delhi to confer honorary distinctions on any *but* the Royal Servants."

"9. This right of conferring honorary distinctions was exercised by the Royal House of Taimur as the acknowledged head of the Mughal Empire, and very frequently in favour of many even of the Company's own servants and their residents at that Court, who derived from it the titles which they have from time to time borne. It was by the above rule to be narrowed and cut down to the right of bestowing titles on those only who are in His Majesty's own employ. But the local Government, not satisfied with this extreme limitation, proceeded suddenly to deny this last remnant of Royal dignity—in equal disregard of justice of its own pledge, and of the feelings of the Royal personage subjected to the unmerited insult ; as well as in direct violation of the assurances given by the Marquis Wellesley in his letter of the 12th April 1804 to the King of Delhi, expressed in the following terms :—

"Your Majesty may be assured that every demonstration of *respect* and every degree of attention which contribute to the ease and comfort of Your Majesty and the Royal Family will be manifested on the part of the British Government."

"10. These various obstructions and the direct breach of their own engagements, rules and regulations on the part of the local Government can only be ascribed to their anxious solicitude to prevent an appeal to England ; from a well-founded apprehension that their treatment of the King of Delhi would not meet with the approval of a high-minded nation. Because, if otherwise, they could have had no anxiety about the consequences of any agitation of the question, but might rather be desirous of an opportunity to prove to the public and their superiors in England the propriety of their conduct towards the King of Delhi.

"11. I beg now to direct your attention to the course of procedure adopted by the Hon'ble East India Company on the subject. On my first arrival in England, to avoid

the necessity of any public discussion or difference with the Hon'ble Company, I first brought the subject to its notice privately and then officially, to afford the Director an opportunity of coming to an amicable adjustment. Instead, however, of manifesting that love of justice which breathes through the Acts of Parliament and other public documents regarding India—a feeling which would have rendered them anxious to correct every error that may have been committed by their servants, and to redress every grievance that may be complained of by the Natives of India so as to inspire them with confidence in the justice and protection of the British Government—the Court have refused to take an efficient step either to correct their servant or to further the ends of justice. They propose instead thereof, to remit the case back to Bengal, undisguisedly because they think that if they were to give redress in this instance, others who may have suffered injury from their servants would be encouraged to hope for justice and to seek redress in a similar manner.

"12. I, therefore, feel myself under the necessity of submitting the appeal of the King of Delhi to His Britannic Majesty, for the consideration of the highest authority through your Board.

"13. After an attentive perusal of the official documents communicated to your Board, His Britannic Majesty's Government being satisfied of the authenticity of my nomination and of the King's right to confer on me as his servant such title as His Majesty might deem proper, received the Appeal submitted to it by me in that capacity according to the established usage of the British Cabinet in listening to Appeals from India and presented me to the British Sovereign as a subject of His Majesty's remote dominions and charged with a mission from a personage who, though of the highest rank, is still dependent on the British Crown. From this fair and equitable treatment, and from the gracious reception I experienced even from the highest quarter, I was confirmed in the gratifying assurance that Natives of India, both high and low, considered as under His Majesty's Royal protection.

"14. I regret to find that the policy of the East India Company and its servants calculated to deprive us of this consolatory prospect, and I cannot but express my surprise at the boldness of the Court of Directors

in even questioning the prerogative of the Crown which has ever been the acknowledged fountain of honour. I did not conceive it possible for any public body, composed of British subjects, however high and powerful, to attempt to disallow an honour conferred by the British Sovereign, whether by original grant or subsequent recognition; since even crowned heads on terms of amity with this country, would feel bound, in common courtesy, to recognize an honour publicly announced to have been conferred by our gracious Sovereign on any of his own subjects. In disregarding this rule the Court of Directors have gone far beyond their servants in India, who only violated their pledge to a fallen Monarchy. But the Directors disregard the respect and allegiance due to their own Sovereign, though the actual head of a mighty empire.

"15. Were my own feelings alone consulted in this matter, I beg to add that I would not occupy your time or my own for one moment in noticing the circumstance; but when it affects the dignity of illustrious personages to whom I owe homage and fealty I shall not be deterred from asserting their rights by considerations of personal delicacy.

"16. The proposal by the Court of Directors of remitting the settlement of the case to the local authorities in Bengal, is merely an expedient to gain time and defeat the ends of justice by withdrawing the case from the consideration of the authorities in this country, where they feel that no excuse for withholding justice can be set up which would be at all satisfactory to the British public. It must be quite superfluous to make any remark on the inadmissibility of a proposal to refer an appeal against their servants to these very servants themselves who have already, as above shewn, manifested so strong a feeling on the subject and thrown every obstacle in the way of justice.

"17. If this course of proceeding be defended on the principle that this system of denying justice has worked well hitherto, I beg to say that whatever might have been the case while the Natives of India were entirely ignorant of the nature of the Government (the popular notion being that the Company was a venerable old lady who sent out her favourite sons successively to take charge of the country) such a system of stifling enquiry cannot, I presume, work at all in these days, when so many of the Natives are perfectly capable of appreciating

the character of the local Government as well as the nature of the British constitution, and the relation subsisting between them; and while they are on terms of close and cordial intercourse with numerous European Civil and Military Officers and British and Foreign Traders with whom there ~~must~~ be a mutual interchange of sentiments, feeling and intelligence.

"18. The proceedings of the local Government in this case with the nature of the reasons assigned for their justification especially the little respect shewn to National faith or even to their own pledges, are strongly characteristic of persons exercising Sovereign power in a country where there is little or no expression of public opinion permitted on the acts of Government. And while placed at so vast a distance they are not much affected by the consideration that in England there is a Superior Government, a a Public and a Parliament to whose voice not only they but the Court of Directors themselves are amenable. And if the Court of Directors can prevail on your Board and His Majesty's Ministers, to refrain from receiving Appeals against their servants or from adjudicating and determining cases of this kind when brought forward, then I have only to add that the Natives of India are virtually excluded from the benefits of the British constitution of the Board of Control—the Cabinet and Parliament itself: And they must entirely relinquish every hope of obtaining justice or redress against any local injustice and oppression.

"19. This case does not, I presume, involve any legal or other intricacy or require any deep investigation. It is a plain question of national faith, that is to say, whether or not a solemn contract be considered binding under the following circumstances:—

It was regularly made by an authorized Public functionary (the Marquis Wellesley who is still alive); it was fully sanctioned by *all* the public authorities, and embodied in the Regulations of the Government as a part of the Statutes of that part of the realm—a volume of which I have put into the hands of the Secretary of your Hon'ble Board where, as well as among the Records of Parliament, that volume may be found—that the revenues of a certain district expressly named and described should be appropriated to the support of the Royal Family of Delhi.

"20. If an assignment supported by such guarantees, and confirmed by such solemn sanctions, be not valid and obligatory then no contract can be considered binding, no man's property secure—as no individual throughout the British territories in India can have a stronger title to his estate and patrimonial inheritance than the King of Delhi has to the revenues of the territory of which he has been deprived.

"21. Though the secret article or understanding between the local Government and its Political Agent at the time of assigning the territory (that the sum allowed from the revenues to the King for the King's own personal expenses should amount to one *lakh*, about £ 10,000, per mensem) cannot be considered as binding against the King as it was not communicated to His Majesty and was expressly contrary to the public acts of the Government in which no such qualification was ever intimated; yet even according to that proposed limitation the arrears now due to the King from the Treasury of the Hon'ble East India Company would considerably exceed forty *lakhs* of Rupees (£400,000.)

"22. I feel assured that the Government of His Britannic Majesty will not allow any consideration for the convenience of the Hon'ble Company to plead as an excuse for withholding public justice and violating National faith; since with such a wide extent of territory, extending from beyond the Ganges almost to the Indus, and from the Himalayas to the extremity of the Indian Peninsula, can they plead the necessity of also seizing upon the slender revenues of the narrow and comparatively insignificant district which alone remain to the Royal House of Taimur of all that once was theirs?

"23. In conclusion, I respectfully pray His Majesty's Government to pass a final decision on the subject according to the dictates of conscience and the principles of Justice." (4 Novr. 1831.)

Rammohun wrote a further letter to Grant on 7th November, dwelling on the right of the Company's servants to confer titles and honorary distinction on its Native subjects:—

"I beg your attention to the 9th article of the Resolutions of Lord Amherst's Government on the additional requests of His Majesty the King of Delhi, a copy of which I herewith submit.

"If you think the subject worthy of investigation, you might perhaps ascertain whether, when the right of the throne of Delhi to confer honorary titles was disallowed, with a few exceptions, by

the Government of Bengal, that Government received authority from the British Crown to exercise the peculiar Royal prerogative of bestowing such degrees of honour without any previous reference to His Britannic Majesty's Government.

"For my part, I must confess that I never met with any Act of Parliament or other authority, which delegates this Kingly function to the Company or its servants, a subject on which I may offer some remarks when I have next the pleasure to see you. In the meantime

I remain, my dear Sir
Yours most faithfully,
Rammohun Roy."

The case of the Delhi King remained undecided for a considerable time, as informed the subject of a lengthy correspondence between the Board of Control and the Court of Directors. The result was recommendation to increase the stipend assigned for the support of the King and the Royal family at Delhi from 12 to 15 *lakh* of Rupees per annum, it being made condition of the increase that the Delhi monarch should renounce all further claim on the British Government. The Court issued instructions to this effect to the Bengal Government, in their Political Despatch, dated 13th February 1833, which is printed in *Rammohun Roy's Mission to England*, pp. 36-41.

The decision of the Court of Directors was conveyed to the Padishah of Delhi in July 1833. He, however, declined to accept the offer, as Rammohun had advised him to reject any proposal that might be made to incline His Majesty to forgo the benefit of the claims preferred in England which were likely to be conceded through the exertion of his Agent there. That Rammohun had a very strong case is evident from the following note of William Cabell, Secretary to the Board of Control, on the course proposed to be taken by the Court in regard to Rammohun Roy and the Delhi King's claims:—

"The Court, also, seem to think too lightly of the consequences of an appeal to Parliament, fortified as Rammohun Roy would be by the words of the instructions of May 1800 which cannot well be explained away (8 Nov. 1831).

But the premature death of Rammohun on 27 September 1833 cut short the further prosecution of the Delhi King's claims, as the latter had, therefore, to content himself with what was offered by the English Government.

Thus it will be seen that Rajah Rammohun

Roy, though his mission to England was officially ignored, did succeed in the object of his embassy, at least in part. Had he lived longer, there is every reason to believe that the gains of the Delhi monarch would have been still greater.

THE FALL OF TROTSKY

By JEHANGIR J. VAKIL

REVOLUTION has eaten another of her children. Trotsky, who next to Lenin (though nothing as great as Lenin) is one of the makers and upholders of the Russian revolution, has been expelled from the Communist Party and banished from Russia. All his life a rebel, he had nothing left to rebel against in Russia, after the fall of Czarism, except the Bolshevik party, and the Bolshevik party rightly tolerates no rebels within it. It is not generally known that there is a much fuller and freer discussion within the party than is usual with most political parties (as, for instance, the British Labour Party) but once the party arrives at a decision by a majority-vote, nothing short of a complete acceptance of it in theory and practice can save a member from expulsion. And this is as it ought to be in any group which means business, as Bolsheviks certainly do.

Trotsky, like most of the other Bolshevik leaders, is an idealist who thinks no price too high, and no method too crude for the attainment of his ideal. It would be interesting to consider for a moment how the brutal stress of Czarism has produced, in Russia, a class of people who carry to the utmost human limit the passion for equality, and yet are wedded to a method, to 'strategy and tactics,' which shrinks from no 'frightfulness' in effecting its avowed ends. Not so long ago, Turgenev described for us, in works that are immortal, the dreamy ineffectual Russian revolutionary of his day, burning with zeal, and ready to lay down his life for his cause, but helpless as a newborn babe in carrying through his self-imposed task of awakening the people. Bitter persecution and repression taught these "ineffectual angels" to worship the Great Gods, Success and Efficiency, and scornfully to reject all considerations extra-

neous to the direct fulfilment of their ends. "A revolutionary class" says Trotsky "which has conquered power... will hurl at the heads of its enemies an unsparing penalty." If asked how the Red Terror differs, then, from the Czarist terror, the answer, again in Trotsky's words, is: "The gendarmerie of Tsarism throttled the workers *who were fighting for socialism*. Our extraordinary commissions shoot landlords, capitalists and generals *who are trying to restore the capitalist order*.* Do you grasp this distinction? For us Communists it is quite sufficient." Confronted with the sacredness of human life, Trotsky says: "We were never concerned with the Kantian priestly and vegetarian—Quaker prattle about the 'sacredness of human life'... To make the individual sacred we must destroy the social order which crucifies him, and this problem can only be solved by blood and iron." It is important, however, to remember that Communists do *not* justify violence as such. The justification of *their* use of it follows from their theory of historic evolution. They hold it inevitable that the Socialist state will, in the unalterable course of natural evolution, replace the capitalist state as surely as the latter displaces the feudal state which precedes it in historic development and is therefore inferior. If, therefore, the capitalist state resists the oncoming of the Socialist state, Communist violence is justified by the logic of history. Capitalist violence against the Socialist state is unjustifiable because it is being used *against* and not *for* the natural course of evolution by which it has to pass into the Socialist state, which it may retard for a time but cannot resist finally. The Socialist state, says the Communist, will similarly give place, in a distant future, to

*Italics mine—J. J. V.

the class-less society which "will banish", as Engels has it, "the whole state-machine to a place which will then be the proper place for it—the museum of antiquities, side by side with the spinning-wheel and the bronze axe."

Stalin, in his recently published book,* which is important for all who are interested in an authoritative, clear, straightforward, direct and detailed expression of the Bolshevik mind, says that the Bolsheviks have evolved a distinct 'style' in public activities, whose two constituents are "revolutionary zeal, inspired by the Russian spirit," and—linked with it—"businesslike practicality inspired by the American spirit." Again, "revolutionary zeal is the antidote to laziness, routinism, conservatism, apathy of thought, slavish adherence to tradition and to the beliefs of our forefathers." It counteracts the American spirit which is apt to degenerate, in the words of Lenin, into "narrow practicalism" and "brainless commercialism"; and the American spirit, in its turn, counteracts 'revolutionary fantasia' (the degenerate form of revolutionary zeal) which is content to vent itself in revolutionary talk and paper-plans and decrees which, it is imagined, will "change everything." Now the trouble with Trotsky is that he outdoes the Bolshevik both in the ardour of his revolutionary zeal and in the crudeness of his realism in method. The distinctiveness of his personality—or as otherwise phrased, his personal vanity—prevents him from conforming to the rigid requirements of the Bolshevik party-discipline, which he is so loud in upholding in theory and practice—where others are concerned. His fantastic sense of importance, often makes him perfectly insensible to the realities of a given situation. A very amusing instance of this is to be found in an instance which is recorded of his life as an exile in Siberia. It was the practice of Trotsky and his wife to retire, in the evenings, to the attic of their hut, to do a little quiet reading. It was also the practice of the petty Czarist official, commissioned to keep an eye on him, to visit him at this time of the day, by lifting a trap-door in the floor, shoving his head and neck through, and assuring himself that Trotsky was there. This procedure always exasperated Trotsky's prisoned majesty, and one day he savagely lunged out with his foot at the

disappearing head of the official, who had his 'peep,' and thundered at him "New come back, you"—a preposterous thing to do for a man in Trotsky's position! The fun is that the man actually stopped the evening visits, preferring to square his official conscience by other means, rather than face Trotsky's annihilating imperiousness. Lenin was the only man who could check the lambent play of this fiery personality and utilize the great gifts of this man, within the iron-frame of the Party. This explains the secret of the continuous fall, after Lenin's death, of the People's Commissar for War and the victorious darling of the Red Army on fourteen fronts. That fall began as early as 1924 when the Leningrad Provincial Committee demanded unsuccessfully his expulsion from the Communist Party—a proposal turned down by the Central Committee which contented itself by removing him from his position as People's Commissary for War. The fatal year, however, was 1927, in which he was expelled in rapid succession from the Executive Committee of the Communist International, from the Central Committee of the Communist Party and from the All-Union Communist Party. His enemies made better use than he, of a letter which Lenin wrote during his last days, with instructions that it should be read after his death in the next party-congress. In it, among other things, he had said that Trotsky was 'not a Bolshevik,' and that Stalin was "too rough" and advocated his removal from the General Secretaryship of the Central Committee. True, this also gave Trotsky a handle against his chief opponent Stalin who is to-day the most outstanding figure in Soviet Russia, but Stalin had made his position impregnable by the fact that he had twice sent in his resignation after Lenin's death, which was unanimously rejected on both occasions.

Trotsky and the opposition charge Stalin and the majority with weakening the Bolshevik spirit at home; by diluting the Dictatorship of the Proletariat; and by their slackness in allowing the richer peasants called Kulaks (literally sharks) to thrive unduly under the concessions allowed them by NEP (the New Economic Policy inaugurated by Lenin in 1921). In foreign affairs, they blame the government for the set back to Communism in China and England and the general running down of the Communist clock in Western Europe. Stalin meet

* Leninism by Stalin (Geo. Allen & Unwin Ltd).

these charges by showing up the differences between Lenin's masterly handling of Marxian theories to meet the requirements of the Russian situation, and Trotsky's rigid and fanatical adherence to his own theories of socialism—differences which explain his clamours against the majority-policy, and which he (Stalin) alleges, make him no better than a Menshevik.

What is the theory of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat (the vanguard of the industrial workers)? Before explaining the significance of the term, it will be useful to make clear that Communist theory presupposes a transition-stage between the overthrow of the capitalist system in a country where the Proletariat Revolution has seized the supreme power, and the establishment of a Socialist Republic in which there is freedom and equality for all. It is the stage in which the capitalists, surprised into a defeat by the suddenness of the revolution, "throw themselves" in the words of Lenin, "with redoubled energy, with furious passion, with implacable hatred, into the battle for recovery of their lost paradise.... The lead of these capitalist exploiters will be followed by the broad masses of the petty-bourgeoisie (shopkeepers, peasants, the intelligentsia etc.) Experience in all countries has shown that the members of this stratum of the population have no steadfastness; that to-day they will march with the proletariat, but to-morrow, alarmed by the difficulties of the revolution, panic-stricken at the first check to the workers' advance, they grow nervous, do not know where to turn and rush whining from one camp to another."

Even after the revolution is an accomplished fact, the defeated capitalists remain vastly superior to the revolutionary party. Why is this? Because of the power of international capital; the strength and intimacy of the international ties that unite the capitalists; the fact that they still retain money (which cannot immediately be abolished) portable property, jewels etc. They have experience of organization and administration, a knowledge of the 'secrets' of government, close connection with technicians and experts and—what is very important—are profoundly versed in war. Then "there is the force of habit together with the power of small-scale production.... If we want to make an end of classes... we must make an end of small-scale production. Now it is impossible to drive out the petty producers, it is impossible

to suppress them off-hand; we have, for the time being, to live with them as best we may, while we are transforming them. The transformation is indispensable. We can achieve it; we can re-educate them, but a lengthy, tedious and careful organizational task lies before us." Thus Lenin. Therefore the chief characteristic of this transitional period will, according to Communist theory, be the Dictatorship of the Proletariat (the industrial workers' vanguard) which means an alliance between the proletariat and the numerous non-proletarian strata of those who work (small employers, peasants, intelligentsia etc.) The object of this alliance is to crush all attempts at restoration of the old order, to consolidate and uphold the victory, to create a new social order with a new state machinery and to end for ever the division of mankind into classes.

Marx did not contemplate the possibility of a proletarian revolution seizing the supreme power in an industrially backward country like Russia. Lenin therefore elaborated his own tactics of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in general, and of the Proletariat Revolution in particular. This is known as Leninism, which is a development of Marxism, though some prefer to say that it has 'replaced' Marxism, as Farbman in his book *After Lenin*: "The greatest value of the Russian Revolution to the world Labour movement lies in the fact that it has replaced Marxism by Leninism." That the proletariat should function as dictator, it must be organised and guided. That is the function of the Bolshevik party—to organise it and guide it in educating the backward unorganised workers to class-consciousness and to break the power of the old order. The organisations through which the party does this, are the Trade Unions, the Soviets (the mass organisation of all who labour in town and country) the co-operatives and the League of Youth. The strength of the party lies in the fact that it attracts the best elements in the mass organisations of the proletariat and not in coercing the masses. The individualism of the peasants who, with the revolution, became owners of the land they cultivated, being found the chief obstacle to the abolition of private property, the Bolsheviks first tried to break their opposition by systematic repression, but soon found that this policy did not help them. Lenin then defined the Dictatorship of the Proletariat as the dictatorship of the vanguard of industrial workers

and peasants, in alliance with the backward elements of the masses and the middle-classes; thus giving to the peasant an importance which, to the orthodox Marxist, was quite shocking. Trotsky, though nominally won over to Leninism, breaks out again and again into clamorous insistence on coercing the peasants by raising forced loans of grain, etc. He has, in his zeal for the American spirit, no use for the peasant, not seeing with the eyes of the modern poet who sings of the land-serf:—

But as the turf divides,
I see in the slow progress of his strides
Over the toppled clods and falling flowers,
The timeless, surly patience of the serf,
That moves the nearest to the naked earth,
And ploughs down palaces and thrones
and towers.

The man who *did* see this, with the eyes of an inspired realism which clasps hands with the highest idealism on the mountain-tops of human thought, was not Trotsky but Lenin, the incomparably greater man. Trotsky has no use for the peasant, but Russia, unfortunately for him, is a land of peasants. They supported the revolution because they wanted to be rid of a tyranny and a corrupt landlordism, and to become masters of the fields themselves tilled in the sweat of their brow. But once they had thrown over the ancient tyranny they were not going to give up their lands for any Socialist state in the world, and the Soviet authorities, a mere handful of men, could do nothing against their stubborn determination, their numbers, and their power of endurance tempered by centuries of oppression. They were not going to feed the proletariat of the towns for the worthless paper-money which was all that the Bolshevik could give them at one time. Their unbending opposition compelled the Bolsheviks to see that if they wanted to establish a Socialist republic eventually, it must be a republic of workers *and peasants* for an indefinite time to come. Lenin, whose master-mind allowed no 'principles' to stand in his way, had grasped the situation in all its detail, way back in 1918, though he was prevented by the party until 1921 from sounding his masterly retreat, which not only saved Russia from the deepest depths of economic disintegration but saved the only Socialist republic from its death in the cradle. As the pace at which things are moving under the New Economic Policy of 1921, is one of the important

matters of difference between Trotsky and Stalin, let us pause and take a rapid survey of the economic condition of Russia before and after 1921.

Until the year 1895, Russia was the happy hunting-ground of English and French capitalists. Then followed a fairly rapid process of industrial development which was arrested by the war, which by removing six million peasants from the land and harnessing her nascent industries to the task of turning out war-supplies brought the country to the brink of economic ruin and starvation. The corrupt and inefficient administration of the Tsar made the deficit on the Budget amount to 76 per cent. of the expenditure in 1916, and in the winter of 1916-17 brought on a severe food crisis in the towns due to the breakdown of the Transport System. The Donetz coal region (which produces 71 per cent. of Russia's coal supply) and Baku were lost to the Germans. Fuel shortage brought on a shortage of raw materials, of metal and engineering products and a more complete breakdown of transport. The disorganisation caused by workers' control and the active hostility of the technicians and engineers forced the State to take over control of industries before it was really in a position to do so, and against its wishes. From 1918 to 1920 the country was in a state of civil war, and 'war communism' ruthlessly controlled the broken-down resources of the unfortunate country. All the forces of capitalism within the country, in England, in France, in America and in the whelping little puppy-states under their thumb, conspired to rob Russia of the "breathing space" which was all that the Bolsheviks asked for to re-organise the country from the wanton damage done to it by the criminal heartlessness of the last years of a heartless regime. The situation was rendered all the more critical by the refusal of the peasants to feed the town proletariat which could not, because of the industrial *debacle*, manufacture the things needed by the peasant in return for his grain.

Now the Bolsheviks, in the first flush of victory, had thought that they could socialise industry at once, forgetting how far Russia stood in economic organisation from that advanced stage of capitalism in which according to Marx, a country is 'ripe' to pass, by means of a proletariat revolution, into socialism. Lenin soon saw this error, and showed

it up with scathing relentlessness. "If some Communists," he said, "thought the organisation of a Socialistic state was possible in three years, they were dreamers." In face of this and similar utterances, it is sheer nonsense to say, as does the author of *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Hungary* (who is quoted with approval by Norman Angell in *Must Britain travel the Moscow Road*).

"The recovery of Russia has nothing to do with the elaboration of a semi-communistic system, but in the *clandestine re-introduction* of capitalist economy."

(Italics mine—J. J. V.)

"Clandestine re-introduction"? Lenin was not a mealy-mouthed Macdonaldist, or a bullying imperialist seeking to cover a forced climb-down, to introduce or re-introduce anything clandestinely. He could afford to acknowledge the most 'Himalayan blunder' freely, unreservedly without the least semblance of equivocation, as only the greatest can do, as our Mahatma Gandhi has done; and in spite of the knowledge that it will be abused by interested parties and by the fools whom these can gull into repeating their words with an air of comic sapiency. I quote further from an article of Lenin's published in the Labour Monthly (July 1921) and quoted by Bertrand Russell in his *Prospects of Industrial Civilisation*.

"State capitalism is incomparably higher *economically* than our present economic system (*i. e.* of Russia in 1921). Socialism is impossible without large capitalist technique. Socialism is impossible without the domination of the proletariat in the State....

Our poverty and ruin are such that we cannot *immediately* establish large State Socialist Factory Production.

It is necessary to a certain extent to assist the re-establishment of *small industry* which does not require machinery.

What is the result of all this? Fundamentally, we get a certain amount (if only local) of Free Trade, a revival of the petty bourgeoisie and capitalism. This is undoubted, and to close one's eyes to it would be ridiculous."

This is Lenin's analysis. It is straightforward and precise. Is this a "clandestine re-introduction of the capitalist economy?" I leave the reader to judge.

Another absurd contention (whose shallowness must be exposed if we are to understand the real nature of N E P) is that because Lenin did not drive the exhausted economic

forces of Russia to final and irrevocable disaster, for the pedantic satisfaction of acting up to Marxist dogma (Marx did not and could not foresee the circumstances that faced Lenin with sphinx-like relentlessness) therefore he abandoned Socialism. We shall see if there is any substance in this interpretation of N E P; meanwhile it is sufficient to note that it is not formulated by left-wingers but cried from the house-tops by capitalists, and those who are 'making the world safe' for them by their control of the unfortunate Second International—Macdonaldists and labour-imperialists. Obviously, one is tempted to ask why, if this is so, do the capitalists not ecstatically embrace the Russians, as erring brothers who had gone astray but have now come back to the true faith? The cant of it, one would think, is obvious, but the right-wing Labour leaders of England, parrot-like, take up the cry, and Norman Angell pushes the absurdity further by charging Trotsky with admitting 'gradualism' in his own country (thus equating 'gradualism' with N E P and denying the existence of the proletarian dictatorship in Russia!) but keeping 'his Marxism for export.'

Trotsky's attack on Stalin and his party rests on his interpretation of the theory of 'permanent revolution.' I shall let him explain this in his own words. "This rather abstruse designation was intended to convey the idea that the Russian revolution, though in the immediate future forced to realise certain bourgeois aims, could not stop at that....on the contrary, it must, at the very outset, make the most decisive inroads into the domains both of feudal and capitalist property. Such a cition would have led to *hostile collisions** not only with the bourgeois groups, but likewise with the peasant masses. 'The contradictions inherent in the position of a workers' government functioning in a backward country where the large majority of the population is composed of peasants, can only be liquidated on an international scale, in the arena of a world-wide proletarian revolution.'

Stalin is too lax both in his domestic and in his foreign policy—this is the gravamen of Trotsky's charge, which he repeats with tireless insistence. He (Stalin) has let the peasants have the better of the "hostile collisions" between them and the city proletariat, thus weakening the Dictatorship of

* Italics by Stalin.

the Proletariat. Writing a 'Postface' in 1922 to the new edition of his *Programme of Peace*, he says, "We have not yet succeeded in building up a Socialist state, *indeed we have not even begun doing so yet*"* and further on "a steady rise of socialist economy in Russia will not be possible until after the victory of the proletariat in the leading countries"—which victory, Trotsky dogmatically asserts, will take place in ten years or so at the outside. It is essential, says he, to get the other countries to launch a proletarian revolution, for "in the absence of *direct state-support*† on the part of the European proletariat, the Russian working-class will not be able to keep itself in power and to transform its temporary rule into a stable socialist dictatorship. No doubt as to the truth of this is possible."

Stalin has no difficulty in showing that all this is rank heresy, by contrasting it with Lenin's views. Lenin in 1922, said in his pamphlet 'Co-operation':—

"In actual fact, all the means of large-scale production are in the hands of the State, and the powers of the State are in the hands of the proletariat; there is the alliance of this same proletariat with the many millions of middle and poor peasants; there is the assured leadership of these peasants by the proletariat. *Have we not already, here and now, all the means for making out of the co-operatives, out of the co-operatives alone, ... all the means requisite for the establishment of a fully socialised society?* Of course we have not yet established a socialist society; but *we have all the means requisite for its establishment.*" And again "out of the Russia of the N. E. P. shall arise a socialist Russia." So, whereas Trotsky thinks that the steady rise of socialist economy is not possible without direct State-support from the other European countries turned Socialist, Lenin relies on Russian effort alone and thinks that although a proletarian victory in other lands will considerably help Russia and put it out of the grave and constant dangers of foreign invasion, all the means requisite for the establishment of socialism are already there in N. E. P.; in the joint dictatorship of urban and country workers (whose alliance is called the 'Smychka' or leash by which dogs are held); in co-operatives; in electri-

fication. Trotsky speaks only of the 'hostile collision' of the urban and rural workers.

What truth is there in Trotsky's charge that progress towards socialisation is too slow? Stalin gives figures to prove the steady and substantial economic recovery of Russia under progressive State-control, a fact which is attested by Mr. Maurice Dobb, lecturer in economics, Cambridge University, in his coldly impartial and well-documented book 'Russian Economic Development,' which has been treated very respectfully by the capitalist press of England. After the terrible breakdown of Russia, of which some idea has been given in this article, we find that "Russian production is above the pre-war level in spite of shorter hours and higher wages, whilst that of Great Britain, with a lower standard of life (than the pre-war standard—J. J. V.) for her workers, remains below pre-war." Industrial production in Russia is about 10 per cent above and agricultural production about 3 per cent above pre-war level, although a very high proportion of retail trade is still in the private hands, 95.9 per cent of large-scale industries, as well as all foreign trade, shipping and banking are State-owned. Internal wholesale trade is 91.9 per cent State-controlled, State and Co-operative and retail trade is 64.5 per cent. Mr. Dobb states that Russia is 'saving 8 per cent of her national income i.e. using 8 per cent of it to increase her capital equipment. But the main point is that the workers are in power and that the capitalistic elements of economy are jealously kept down by the State until they can be finally eliminated altogether.

In the foreign field, says Stalin, Trotsky again ignores Lenin's view that "Irregularity in economic and political development is an *invariable law* of capitalism. It is, therefore, possible for socialism to triumph at the outset in a small number of capitalist countries, nay even in one alone." That is, capitalism is doomed, but there will be in the *general* movement of decay, local advances, which, says Stalin, Trotsky mistakes for a consolidation of the general capitalistic position. The contradictions inherent in capitalism; the international trade-jealousies, the financial oppressions, by the 'spoilers,' of the 'spoiled' (the two camps in which capitalism has divided the world) are, says Stalin, weakening and breaking up capitalism, whereas Soviet Russia is growing stronger. Trotsky fails to realise, he says, (1) the

* Italicised by me.

† § §§ Italics mine—J.J.V.

internal strength of the Russian Revolution, (2) the incalculable support of the workers of the West and the peasants of the East, (3) the cancer that is gnawing at the vitals

of imperialism. In short, as Lenin himself had said, Trotsky is 'not a Bolshevik!'—the worst thing, I suppose, that one could say to Trotsky.

GERMAN LITERATURE SINCE THE WAR

By JULIAN GUMPERZ AND AGNES SMEDLEY

IN this short account of German literature, we do not attempt to tell of the lives, loves, or books of interesting authors, of their peculiar habits and dress, or of the Cafes they can be found in. Our attempt, instead, is to trace some currents in German literature as well as different streams of thought originating in the development of the country after the War.

The new generation of writers who represent modern literature in Germany to-day matured during the War. Most of these writers were either participants, or largely influenced, by a school of writing that has gone down in the text-books under the name of Expressionism. The writers of this school were in opposition to traditional literary forms. Their revolt, at first only literary, tended, with the beginning of the German Revolution, to develop into a social and political revolt, many of these authors taking an active part in the clash of social forces and opinions that were prevalent in the period up to the stabilization of the German Republic.

Shortly before and during the War a general discontent was fomenting in politics and was finding expression in literature. Writers were attempting, in various forms, to criticize the submission and servility of the middle and upper classes, to ridicule the big and petty officials in and out of office who had titles but no heads, and whose greatest pride was the possession of a badge or a medal. Among these writers was Heinrich Mann, the brother of the more celebrated Thomas Mann, who wrote a series of novels intended as a sort of encyclopaedia of criticism. In one novel, *Der Untertan*, (*The Inferior*) he treated a type whose development he considered inevitable under the system of the goose-step: a man who cring-

ingly permitted himself to be trodden upon and who in turn trod upon those beneath him. Another one of many similar writers was Hasenclever, who saw the conflict between the old forces in Germany and the rising tide of mass discontent during the War in the form of an eternal antagonism between fathers and sons, a theme that is quite as old as literature itself, but which at the time, as everybody felt, was but another way of expressing revolt.

This general discontent which had been accumulating even before the War, was intensified by the conditions during the War itself, a fact that was revealed in the outspoken pacifist tendency of the Expressionist School of writers dominant in Germany at the time. Young writers, facing the atrocities and terrible depravity of the War, did not hide their eyes from the truth that mankind is depraved to-day, but still uttered a protest, a declaration of faith as it were, that man is innately good. One of the outstanding personalities of this group was Leonhard Frank, known previously for two novels of a very high literary quality. At the same time Franz Werfel expressed similar emotions in poetry.

In the first few years after the close of the War, anti-War feeling in so far as it found expression in literature, was limited to a few poems and dramas. During this period German writers produced no important anti-War fiction, as did their French, English, or American colleagues. Although translations of anti-War novels continued to be quite successful, it was only six or seven years later that such fiction was being produced by German writers themselves. One of the most brilliant anti-War novels written by a German is Arnold Zweig's *The Case of Sergeant Grisha*, a book that has swept the country.

reality. Joseph Roth gives vent to this tendency. He represents a generation which happened to return from the War, and whose attitude is summed up in his own words:

"We forgive nothing, we forget... We do not revolt, we do not accuse, we do not defend; we expect nothing, dread nothing... If scepticism did not infer participation, I would say we are sceptics. But we participate in nothing."

The demand for reality contributed to the success of Emil Ludwig's biographies, of which the best known have been translated into almost all other languages. Ludwig is the outstanding representative of German democracy which adores America and everything American. His capacity for draining the "human interest stuff" out of faded and dusty documents of history appears a literary equivalent of American business efficiency which is guiding the German Republic on its way to normalcy.

Standardization and the extreme dullness

and mediocrity connected with new industrialism called forth on the other hand a wave of eroticism. The tender secrets of the heart were shifted below the waist-line. Nobody who just takes a casual glance at the books and magazine stalls can help but be aware of this.

The new censorship law that was intended to stay the tide of rising "immorality" literature, was used chiefly, as radical writers point out, as a weapon not against licentious literature, but against social and political criticism.

All in all, no great writers who were not known before the War have been developed since the birth of the Republic. But we may venture to predict that if the present Republic is going to last, it is bound to develop an art and a literature of its own that will mirror its achievements as a community accomplishments, and implant the general feeling that the golden age of the few is the paradise of all.

A NEW TYPE OF VISHNU FROM NORTH BENGAL

By NANI GOPAL MAJUMDAR, M. A.

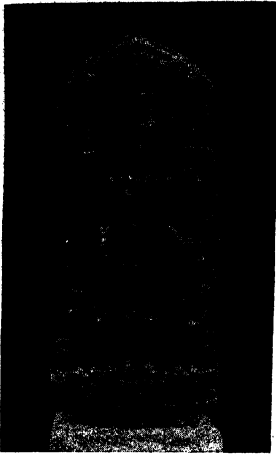
IN the fine collection of sculptures presented by Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray, M. A., of Dighapatiya to the Rajshahi Museum in 1926 there is one which is of particular interest. It comes from Kalandarpur in Bogra District (Museum No. 661; size 32 by 15½ inches). A preliminary account of it has been published by me in the *Annual Report of the Varendra Research Society for 1925-26*, p. 3 of 'Note on Additions.' A detailed account will, I hope, interest scholars.

As will appear from the accompanying illustration (Fig. 1), the sculpture represents a deity wearing a long garland reaching to the knees with four hands bearing respectively *sankha* ('conch'), *chakra* ('discus'), *gada* ('mace') and *padma* ('lotus'). He can therefore be no other than Vishnu. Regarding some of his attributes a few remarks are necessary. The lump in the lower right hand evidently represents a lotus-bud. The discus is placed vertically on a lotus, the stalk of which is held by the figure in his upper right hand.

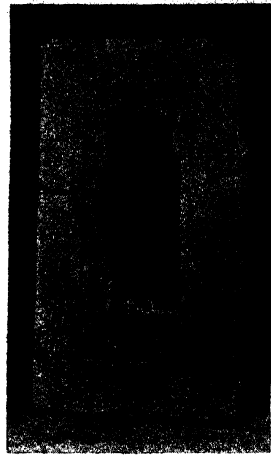
In his upper left hand is another lotus-stalk and the mace is laid horizontally on the lotus. Ordinarily, these attributes do not surmount lotuses, but are held directly by the hands, the 'mace' represented as a thick long staff being held in a vertical position. In the present case, however, being placed horizontally on the lotus the mace has been represented as a ferule with thick ends. The corrugated amalaka pattern at the two ends form the distinctive feature of the symbol for mace. The identity of this attribute will be clear by comparison with a similar image in Rajshahi Museum as noted hereafter. For mace and discus placed on lotus attention may be drawn to two Vishnu images from near Sagar-dighi in Murshidabad District, Bengal, illustrated in the *Handbook to the Sculptures in the Museum of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad* (Calcutta, 1922), Pls. XXIV and XXV; also R. D. Banerji, *Banglar Itihas*, vol. I, plates 26 and 27.

The deity in Fig. 1 has four male attendants.

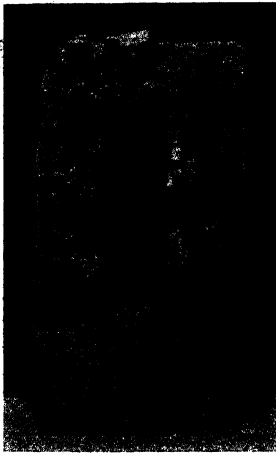
A NEW TYPE OF VISHNU



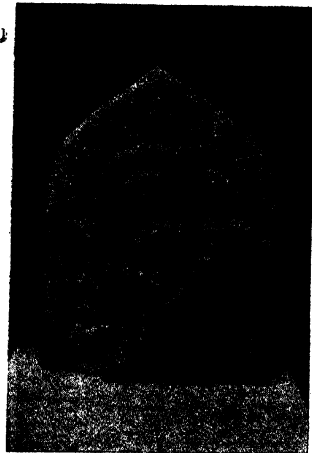
1. New Vishnu Image from Kalandarpur
(Bogra District)



3. Back of mutilated Vishnu
Image from Mahi-Santosh
(Dinajpur District)



2. Mutilated Vishnu Image from Mahi-Santosh
(Dinajpur District)



4. Fragment of Dancing Siva Image
from Vikramapur
(Dacca District)

Of them the one that stands next to him on the right carries (above the shoulder) a discus on lotus and the one that stands next to him on the left, a conch similarly resting on lotus. They are to be identified as Ayudhapurushas. Similar Ayudhapurushas appear as attendants of Vishnu instead of his

wives Lakshmi and Sarasvati, in the two images from near Sagar-dighi.

What adds considerably to the interest of the sculpture are two small figures, namely a two-armed male figure seated in meditation above Vishnu's head and a six-armed dancing

male figure below Vishnu's lotus seat. Seated figure occurring in the same composition with Vishnu is a novelty in Bengal sculpture, although it is not rare in the sculptural remains of other provinces. For instance there is quite a number of Vishnu images in the Mathura Museum, in all of which a couple of seated figures appear above the head of Vishnu. They have been identified by Dr. Vogel as Brahma and Siva, and the images have been described as representations of the Hindu trinity (*Catalogue of the Arch. Museum at Mathura*, pp. 94, 98, 99, 102 etc. and cf. a seated figure above the head of a Vaishnavi image, *Ibid*, Pl. XVII, No.D, 6). It is very probable that the present sculpture from North Bengal, which has a seated figure above Vishnu's head and a dancing figure below his lotus-seat, represents the same conception, the seated figure at the top representing the god Brahma and the dancing figure at the bottom the god Siva. Usually Vishnu occupies a position between his two divine *confreres*, and this sculpture is quite in accord with this convention.

This view finds a strange confirmation in a similar sculpture (Museum No. 302) which was brought to the Rajshahi Museum from Mahi-Santosh in Dinajpur District, some 20 miles west of Kalandarpur in 1916 (Fig. 2). This sculpture is sadly mutilated. The middle portion representing the trunk of Vishnu and the upper triangular portion of the back slab are cut away, evidently to adapt the slab for use in a Mahammadan structure, as the Arabesque ornamentation on its back clearly shows (Fig. 3). The upper portion, which in all probability contained a seated figure as in the Kalandarpur image is cut away, but the dancing figure

at the bottom remains intact showing that the two sculptures depict the same subject, namely the trinity of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva. In the Mahi-Santosh image Vishnu is attended by Lakshmi, Sarasvati and Garuda and holds the mace, which is a tall one, in a vertical position (see Fig. 2). The dancing figure in the Mahi-Santosh sculpture has four hands, while that in the Kalandarpur one has six. But each, it should be noted, holds a bow and arrow, as found in the representations of Siva in his *Samharamurti* or 'attitude of destruction' (Cf. Tripurantakamurti in *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. II, part 1, p. 168 et. seq.) This destructive attitude would be in perfect harmony with the Trimurti conception, for Brahma is supposed to be the Creator, Vishnu, the Preserver and Siva, the Destroyer of the world. That the dancing figure represents Siva is deducible also from the fact that in both the sculptures the two uppermost arms of the deity on the right and the left are lifted over the head and touch each other. This is exactly how the two uppermost arms of a deity are treated in sculpture from Vikramapur, Dacca District (Fig. 4, Rajshahi Museum, No. 75) about whose identity as the Dancing Siva there is no doubt.

Both the Vishnu images mentioned above bear donative inscriptions in Proto-Bengali characters of about the 12th century A.D. That on the Kalandarpur image mentions probably the name of a donor *Sadhaka-Lalusingha*. The inscription on the broken image from Mahi-Santosh which contains the names of two donors runs thus : *Om danapati Divo Om danapati Budho*, i.e. 'the donor Divo (Divya) and the donor Budho (Budha).'

STERLING LOAN AND EMERGENCY CURRENCY

By B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

RISE in the Bank rate to seven per cent, decline of the cash balances of the Imperial Bank, the issue of Emergency Currency up to nine crores of rupees, against *hundies*, *ad hoc* securities and sterling securities and the outflow of silver rupees into circulation in connection with crop

movements need not be referred to in detail. Further developments may point out that the twelve crore limit of emergency currency would not suffice in the near future. Stringent conditions are appearing in the money-market and the money rates would have risen higher in the absence of the

weekly purchase of Sterling by the Government of India. But short-term credits are not so easily available at the present moment at such reasonable rates as were available in the first fortnight of December, 1928.

Since the suggestion was made* that a portion of the Sterling loan of £10 ms (say £4 ms) should be utilized for purchasing Sterling securities, it is essential to understand the desirability of this procedure. If the finance needed for moving the staple crops is large or even if it were to continue to be the same as in the past, which might not be, for prices are on a lower level for the present, recourse to the twelve crore limit might not suffice and in order to secure emergency currency the sterling loan suggestion was mooted and it was perhaps carried out for this purpose, and also perhaps to repay the maturing sterling treasury bills.

The practice of securing emergency currency by floating long-term loans is certainly vicious and has to be condemned as a makeshift device to be resorted to only in the last contingency.

As there are other alternatives thrown open to the Secretary of State to repay the maturing Sterling treasury bills the floating of a long-term loan for this purpose is inexplicable and cannot be justified on any accepted canons of public finance. There is first the choice of floating further Sterling treasury bills to repay the maturing ones. Secondly, there is the possibility of utilizing the Gold Standard Reserve for meeting the temporary requirements and after the pressure is over the readjustment of funds can be carried out as soon as possible. This was actually suggested by Sir M. Hailey when he was the finance member in 1919-1920.

Similarly the Gold Standard Reserve can be made to help the Paper Currency Reserve during the fag-end of the stringent money season if after exhausting the present available limit of twelve crores of emergency currency the demand remains unsatisfied. Either the gold or the Sterling securities in the Gold Standard Reserve can be added to the Home Branch of the P. C. Reserve and paper currency issued against the same. The Indian Legislature will easily sanction

the measure, if the Executive were to recommend it. The limiting of the Gold Standard Reserve to £40 millions and adding the remainder to the P. C. Reserve to wipe out the created securities is too well known to need any repetition here. Unfortunately, it was annexed by the Finance Minister for covering the budget deficit and no such use as was originally sanctioned was ever made. Though a logical separation of the two reserves exists there is often a shuffling of funds and the Government has too often operated on both the reserves for purposes distinctly alien to the original objects for which they were kept. The non-convertibility uses of the P. C. Reserve need not be referred to on the present occasion. The above handsome gift of the G. S. Reserve has already been alluded to. So it would not be wrong to suggest a temporary use of a limited portion of the G. S. Reserve to meet the legitimate needs of the traders during the busy season. Until a complete amalgamation of both the reserves according to a comprehensive programme of currency reform is forthcoming, this use of the G. S. Reserve would not be unjustifiable. A resort to this in the busy season to a limited extent would not entail any dangerous consequences; for exchange remains buoyed up by monetary stringency in the busy season and the G. S. Reserve would not be called upon to perform any duty whatsoever.

This utilization of the G. S. Reserve would be far more rational than the present questionable practice of issuing emergency currency against *ad hoc* securities. It is indeed true that due readjustment is made as soon as the slack season sets in. The same thing would have to be done if the Gold Standard Reserve is drawn upon for this purpose. As the suggestion to increase the emergency limit from twelve crores to twenty crores has been made it is essential to point out the impracticability of this suggestion. Even for the lower limit of twelve crores of rupees, the Imperial Bank is reduced to sore straits for obtaining the genuine hundies. The very fact that of the twelve crore limit some portion of the emergency currency is issued against Sterling securities and *ad hoc* securities speaks volumes against the suggestion of raising the emergency currency limit to twenty crores against the deposit of hundies. Some other collateral can be insisted upon and against this the emergency currency can be issued.

* See the editorial in "The Statesman" of January 5, 1929.

The Government, however, say that the whole of the loan proceeds is to finance the capital expenditure on Burma Railways and the repayment of the maturing Sterling treasury bills.

from his fellow men, and he was devoted to the work of removing from the untouchables in his own country the cruel shame and stigma which had been laid upon them by his own fellow countrymen. To me personally his memory remains as that of a man of God. He helped me more than I can possibly say by his own profound sense of the Unseen. To be with him and to share his companionship was to feel oneself near to God; and it was always one of my greatest joys in Orissa to be in his company

and to talk with him about spiritual things.

The poor people of Orissa are indeed tried in the furnace of affliction. Not only have they suffered from the calamities of flood and famine, but they have had also to suffer the loss, by death, of the one who loved them and sacrificed his life for their sake. Our prayer will go up to God, that He will raise up in place of Gopabandhu a younger leader who shall be in turn the friend and saviour of the poor.

TREATMENT OF LOVE IN CLASSICAL SANSKRIT POETRY

By SUSHIL KUMAR DE

THE same traits as we noticed in Amaru's *Sataka* are also to be found in the later centuries of love-poems, among which that of Bhartrihari must be singled out not only for its poetic excellence, but also for the interest which attaches to the legends that have gathered round the mysterious personality of the author. As in the *Sataka* of Amaru, so in these miniature poems of Bhartrihari, are embalmed in swift succession hundreds of sunny memories and hopes, flying thoughts and dancing feelings, brooding tenderness and darkening sorrow; and the same light of fancy plays over them imparting to them warmth and colour, life and beauty. In intensity, in range and in delicacy of expression the poems of Bhartrihari are perhaps inferior to those of Amaru, but there is a great deal of genuine emotion and honest utterance which lend to them a peculiar charm. In his care-free mood the youthful poet wrote:

When we see not our beloved, our one longing is for sight; when seen, our one desire is the joy of embrace; embraced, our one prayer is that our two bodies may be made one.

But the poet who wrote this century of passionate verses is said to have also written two other centuries of poems on resignation and wise conduct; and if we are to put any faith in the testimony of I-tsing Bhartrihari vacillated no less than seven times between

the comparative charms of the monastery and the world. So we are told in the work itself:

Either the beautiful woman, or the cave
of the mountains!
Either youth, or the forest!
An abode either on the sacred banks of the
Ganges, or in the delightful embrace
of a young woman!

Sentiments like these are scattered throughout the poem. That he was a man who went through the crosses and sorrows of love as well as its joys is apparent from the warning he gives to those who thoughtlessly render themselves liable to love:

I am telling the truth without any bias that in the seven worlds this is a fact that there is nothing more delightful than a young woman, and nothing which is a greater source of sorrow to man.

It is not love without any thought of the morrow which he depicts, love which would consider the world well lost; for, the poet says:

The path across the ocean of life would not be long, were not that women, those mighty unfordable streams, hinder the passage.

and he cannot but regard love as a bondage, albeit a sweet bondage:

Smiles, sentiment, bashfulness, timidity; half-averted and half-turned glances, side-long looks, loving words, jealousy, quarrel and playfulness: all these are the ways by which women bind us.

If Amaru describes the emotions of love and the relation of lovers for their own sake.

and without any thought of connecting them with other aspects of life, Bhartṛihari is too much occupied with life itself to forget that love and women are factors in life, factors which act more as hindrances than as helps. He figures the love-god as a fisher who casts women as a bait on the ocean of the world, catches men by the line of red lips and bakes them on the fire of desire. He warns the susceptible heart not to wander in the dread and hilly forest of woman's beauty where traps are laid by the robber Love. And there is no greater denunciation of women perhaps in the whole range of Sanskrit poetry than in the famous verse which interrogates:

Who has created woman as a contrivance for the bondage of all living creatures; woman, who is the whirlpool of all doubt, the universe of indiscipline, the abode of all daring, the receptacle of all evil, the deceitful soil of manifold distrust, the box of trickery and illusion, a poison coated with ambrosia, a hindrance to heaven and a way to the depth of hell?

Verses like these anticipate and explain the frame of mind which made the poet waver between love and renunciation.

This attitude of mind, which leaves no alternative between the world and the monastery, between love and renunciation, is however not an individual trait but seems to have influenced the general outlook of most Sanskrit poets. These two kinds of poets, poets of love and poets of renunciation, have therefore flourished throughout the whole course of Sanskrit literature; and verses have been written which by means of *double entendre* apply both to the case of love and to the case of renunciation. There is no middle path—you must choose between enjoyment and resignation. It is partly for this reason and partly because of the theory that the sentiment evoked must always be relishable that *sambhoga* or a hearty sense of enjoyment of the good things of life is a prominent characteristic of Sanskrit love-poetry in general. The poets were by no means men of ascetic or inelastic temper, nor had they taken upon themselves the mere materialism or the satiated ideality of modern love-poets; but they had enough simplicity and integrity of feeling which made them grateful for the joys of this life but penitent when they had exceeded in enjoying them. In such an atmosphere the idea of Platonic love or of the so-called intellectual love could not develop at all. There is only one instance in Sanskrit of warm friendship between man and woman in the

charming picture of Patralekha, the *tambula-karanka-vahini* to the Prince in Bana's romance. But here also there is no suggestion of any feeling warmer than friendship and deep attachment; it never developed into that chivalrous Platonic love which supplies inspiration to much of mediaeval European poetry, but which in its ultimate analysis often turns out to be an excuse or a pleasing abstraction. The Sanskrit poets regard their passions as their own excuse for being, and do not pretend to represent them under an ideal glamour.

For, they must have realized that love cannot live merely upon abstraction; it must have actualities to feed itself upon. It would be absurd indeed to suppose that these Sanskrit love-poems do not possess any touch of that idealism without which no poetry is poetry; they have enough of idealism, but they do not live upon air. With these poets love is not a cold white ideal rising moon-like over the rapt vision of the love-sick shepherd-prince. It does not die in dreams, nor is it troubled with a deep philosophy nor bored with its own ideality, losing itself in the worship of a phantom-woman, or rising into mystic spirituality and indefinite pantheism. Nor is it sicklied over with the subtleties of decadent psychologists or with the subjective malady of modern love-poets. It is exasperatingly authentic and admirably plain-speaking. It does not talk about ideals and gates of heaven but walks on the earth and speaks of the insatiable hunger of the body and the exquisite intoxication of the senses. For these poets must have felt, as every true passionate poet feels, that passion in its essence is not idealism which looks beyond the real, but idolatry which finds the ideal in the real.

Love is therefore conceived in its concrete richness and variety, and not merely in its broad and ideal aspects. The dominant conception of love in Sanskrit figures it as an overmastering force which entering into a man's body permeates it so completely that he is no longer able to control his impulses or his actions. It was popularly conceived as a particular phase of "possession" and described by the poets as a form of disease or madness. "How can the fire of love be allayed" exclaims one poet "the cool pearl bracelet, the wet garment, the leaf of the lotus, the rays of the frosty moon, the refreshing sandal-paste,—all add fuel to the flame." Even the highest gods are not immune

Vishnu cannot but bear Lakshmi on his breast, Siva bears Gauri as the better-half of his person, and it is to earn this good fortune that Brahma has been practising austerities from his childhood (*Bala-ramayana*, x. 42). In these lyrics love is seldom described as something ethereal, but always depicted as a definite sensation or feeling in its concrete form and direct appeal. The poet takes body and soul together, although the essential realism of his passion makes him put a larger emphasis on the body, and love appears more as self-fulfilment than as self-abnegation. In this preference of the body, however, there is nothing debasing. To Dante the supreme realities were mirrored in the divine form of Beatrice. Even from the contact of sense and the touch of the earth, Love in Sanskrit poetry springs Antaeus-like into fuller being; from the straw and dross of a sophisticated consciousness it breaks into a pervading and purifying flame.

This attitude explains, to a certain extent, what has been often condemned as too sensual or even gross in Sanskrit love-poetry. The point is too often forgotten that what we have here is not the love of the analytic or self-questioning lover, nor the refined rapture of the complacent idealist. It cannot be denied that there is a tendency in these old-time poets of seasoning their poems *con amore* with what modern taste would consider to be indelicacies or audacities of expression; but to condemn these franker and simpler moods of the passion, where they are not deliberately gross or vulgar, or to find in them an immoral tendency is unjust and canting prudery. The standards and limits of propriety as well as of prudery are different for different people; but coarseness or vulgarity must be approved or condemned only in connexion with immorality, or on purely artistic grounds. Comparing Sanskrit poetry with European classical literature in this respect, a Western critic has very sagely remarked that "there is all the world of difference between what we find in the great poets of India and the frank delight of Martial and Petronius in their descriptions of immoral scenes." In this respect, however, as also in respect of the growing artificiality of form and decline in taste, a distinction must be made between the earlier and later Sanskrit Poetry. In later poetry the elaborate description of love-sports, such as we find in Bharavi, Magha and their innumerable followers (including the composers of later

bhanas), is certainly embarrassing and offensive to a refined taste. No doubt, this grossness is partly conventional, springing from a time-honoured poetic convention which delights habitually in minute and highly flavoured descriptions of feminine beauty and the delights of love; but the natural coarseness of the earlier poetry, which none but those who are touched by an attitude of self-righteousness will fail to appreciate, must be distinguished from this polished, factitious and perhaps all the more regrettable indecency of later writings. The later love-poetry was, no doubt, made the ready means of a display of the author's full knowledge of the Kama-sastra, but what these later polished court-poets lacked was the naive exuberance or *bonhomie* of earlier poetry, its easy and frank expression of physical affection in its exceedingly human (and not merely sensual) aspect, as well as the terrible sincerity of its primal sensations, which are naturally gross or grotesque as being nearer life. The excuse of convention cannot altogether condone the finical yet flaunting sensuality of later pictures. Even Indian critics are sometimes not sparing in their censure of the vulgarity of some of these poems, and one of them goes so far as to take Kalidasa to task for a breach of propriety in painting the love-adventures of the divine pair in his *Kumara-sambhava*. The theorists condemn coarseness or vulgarity, but curiously enough they do not disapprove of the conventional or artistic indecency which was admitted by a developed but deplorable taste and which is all the more offensive because of its very refinement.

This tendency of Sanskrit love-poetry towards a highly erotic description of feminine charms and its essentially realistic view of love as a passion explain partly the Indian conception and ideal of feminine beauty. The physical charms of men are seldom directly described; but those of women are profusely and frequently depicted with a passionate intensity of detail. Most of these descriptions, no doubt, follow an established literary convention and the stereotyped prescriptions of the sciences of Erotics and Poetics. Of such a type is the very elaborate but insipid description extending over a full canto of the physical charms of Damayanti in Sriharsha's *Naishadha*, which belongs to a more sophisticated age. But, generally speaking, the descriptions are lively and often very poetic, in spite of its conventional limitations

It is remarkable, however, that in describing feminine charms, only such details are selected as have a frank sexual appeal, but at the same time the Sanskrit poets are not blind to the spiritual beauty which transcends mere physical charms.

The poets did not naturally admire fatness but preferred a girlish and gracefully slim but developed figure. The complexion often likened to pure gold or turmeric, is seldom directly described, except in the case of the woman who is pale from the pangs of separation and whose paleness gives scope to many a fanciful comparison with the whiteness of silver or the greyness of the *lavi* fruit. Masses of jet black hair, often set with flowers, are admired and compared to a swarm of bees, a mass of blue lotus or a heap of soft peacock-plumes; but some would prefer curls (*kuntalaka*) playing over the forehead. The serpent-like beauty of the braid is often described, but one poet takes it to be the chastising whip of the love-god. Kalidasa gives a fine expression to the sexual appeal of the woman's hair when he says :

In the hair of the young damsels, unbraided, perfumed and still wet after a bath, and decorated with the evening jasmine, the god of love regained his strength which had been diminished by the departure of the spring (*Raghu* xvi. 50).

But curiously enough, we have little description of the forehead, although the artificial decoration of the *tilaka*, a peculiarly Indian practice, is not forgotten. One poet says ecstatically :

No bracelet on the arms, no anklet on the feet, no garland on the head,—and yet the little decoration of black musk on the forehead holds the essence of world's beauty. The Creator placed on the expanse of her forehead the all-surpassing mark,—or is it the seal of approval of the great king, the love-god ?

The glances are often described as physical emanations from the eye which makes its way to the eye of the beloved, and thence like shafts of Cupid, falls upon the victim's heart. The poet of the *Sringara-tilaka* exclaims :

Truly this maiden is a huntress : her brows are like the bow, her glances are the shafts, while my heart is the deer they fall upon.

Another poet implores the fair one not to put collyrium on her eye-lashes ; the shafts of her glances are already deadly, why besmear them with poison ? But the natural and manifold beauty of the eyes and glances as an index to inward emotion makes such

a direct appeal that the poets very seldom allow rhetorical subtleties to get the better of them and obscure the naturalness of their description. Now accompanied by a playful arching of the eye-brows and now weighed down with thoughtfulness, now dancing with glee and now timid with an unknown fear, now moving languidly and now expanding like a bud, now soft with tenderness and now sportive with an affectation of coquetry, now directed with childlike frankness and now averted with coy embarrassment, now wide-open with eagerness and now half-closed with deep feeling, now red and frowning with anger and now misty and wet with tears,—the poets love to describe the glances along with all the phases of emotion which they betray.

In the same way the smile and the red lips receive fine poetic treatment as a stimulus of love. The well-known verse of Kalidasa sums up the usual conception thus :

If a flower were contained in a fresh twig, or a pearl in a transparent coral, then they might have imitated her fair smile spreading beautifully over her red lips.

Rows of well-formed teeth, pearl-like, jasmine-white or shapely like the seeds of the pomegranate, are praised. But the beauty of the nose or the ear does not find many admirers, although the ornaments on the nose or the ear are not forgotten. We have found only one verse which is worth quoting in this connexion :

Some poets liken the nose to the sesamum-blossom, others to the beak of the parrot ; but to me it seems that near his flower-bow the loved-god has placed his quiver in the shape of a soft *ketaka*-leaf.

In the same way the cheeks are seldom directly described, but only when they are pale with grief, flushed with anger or red with shame. A well-shaped neck is preferred, and in its slenderness and symmetry it is compared to that of the swan, while the three delicate lines or marks on the neck, indicative of good fortune, make the poets indulge in a fanciful comparison with the curves on the auspicious conch-shell. Madhava compares Malati's face with the neck repeatedly turned back to the expanded lotus with its stem twisted round. How can the Sanskrit poets omit reference to the twig-like arms, the lover's repose as well as his bondage, whose tenderness rivals the softness of the lotus-stalk, whose slenderness can only be compared to the beauty of the trailing creeper and which, when placed

round the neck, revives a man, but, taken away, destroys his life? The poets are certainly enthusiastic in their description of the full-orbed bosom inadequately borne by the slender limbs; and the common comparisons are to a pair of golden cups or round water-jars, the rounded prominences on the elephant's forehead, peaked hills, cakravaka birds, lotus-buds, pomegranates, jujubes and myrobalans. But one poet wittily says:

Some say that her breasts are like the prominences on the forehead of the love-god's elephant: some liken them to a pair of golden cups: while others think that they are lotus-buds on the lake of her heart. In my mind the belief is firm that the love-god, after conquering the three worlds, placed his pair of drums upside down.

In this connection the beauty of the necklace coming down gracefully to the bosom charms the poet who envies its good fortunes in having its station round the neck and on the heart of the beloved. The waist must be thin, the navel deep, and the thighs plump and cool like the plantain-tree. The knot which ties up the garment at the waist has inspired many an erotic verse, of which Kalidasa's description of the bashful Yaksha-ladies in his *Meghaduta* may be taken as typical:

When the quick hands of the ardent lovers cast aside the garment, already loosened by the untying of its knot, the bashful and bewildered Yaksha-damsels throw a handful of scented dust, fruitlessly, at the rich lamp-like jewels, which burn with a high flame.

But it is somewhat curious that Sanskrit poets insist upon heavy and prominent hips and buttocks, which need not always be a mark of beauty. It is also remarkable that although the lotus-like beauty of the feet is a common and hackneyed allusion, while the tinkling of the anklet and the graceful, languid and swan-like gait never fail to inspire love, yet there is no description of the beauty of the lady's ankle.

An interesting feature of these descriptions is the mention of quantities of jewellery that are supposed to be worn by the ladies, of which the necklace, the bracelet, the tinkling girdle and anklet and the ear-ring figure most in Sanskrit love-poetry. Artificial decorations of sandal and musk on the cheek, the forehead or the breast and collyrium on the eye-lashes form favourite subjects of description as aids to love. But the hero of the *Nagananda* (iii. 6) wonders why the adored one burdens herself with so much ornament:

The burden of thy bosom serves to weary thy waist; why add the weight of thy necklace? Thy thighs are wearied by the bearing of thy hips: why wear this tinkling girdle? Thy feet are powerless in carrying the load of thy thighs: why add pair of anklets? When thou art adorned by the grace of thine own limbs, why dost thou wear ornaments to thy weariness?

But sometimes ladies prefer simple ornaments, made entirely of flowers, which show off their beauty to greater advantage. When Parvati went to the hermitage of the great Ascetic, she looked like a trailing creeper bowed down with its head of spring-flowers; and, for her ornament the *asoka* took the place of rubies; the *karnikara* had the brightness of gold while the *sindhuvata* was worn like necklace of pearls. The ladies of Alaka sport with lotus in their hands, jasmine in their curls, newly blown *kuravaka* in their braids the dust of *lodhra-flowers* on their faces *sririsha*-pendants in their ears and the white *nipa* on the parting lines of their hair. It is somewhat remarkable, however, that while jewellery is worn as an aid to beauty, heavy perfume is not favoured as a stimulus of love, although the trait is prominent in some other oriental (e. g. Semeitic) poetry. Only in one instance in *Mrechakatika* the perfume of jasmine-flowers is made to play some part in the love-affair of Vasantasena. There can be no doubt about the liberal employment of perfumes, as it is evidenced by the work of Vatsyana; but it seems that the sense of smell did not occupy such important position in Sanskrit erotic poetry as did, for instance, the sense of sight or touch. Of the sense of sight it is not necessary to speak in detail, for it is universally acknowledged as the medium through which the mysterious influence of love is conveyed; but with regard to the sense of touch the poet who gives the finest expression to its erotic possibilities is Bhavabhuti, many of whose charming verses in this connexion may be quoted from his three dramas. In his *Mahavira-charita* (ii. 22), Rama exclaims:

The touch of Sita's embrace, smooth, pleasing and cool as the yellow sandal, the moon and the dew, hinders me by stealing my consciousness ever and anon.

Madhava is still more puzzled (vi. 12) to find similes for describing the pleasing effect of Malati's touch upon his body, and thinks that upon his skin is squeezed and sprinkled a collection of such cooling objects as camphor, pearl-necklace, yellow sandal, oozings

of the moonstone, moss, lotus-stalk and the like. The description reaches a most passionate expression in well-known soliloquy of Rama in the *Uttara-rama-charita*, where feeling the touch of Sita's arms round his neck, Rama is unable to decide whether it is pleasure or pain or numbness, or the creeping of poison through his veins, or intoxication; for at every touch of her arms the intensity of the sensation distracts all his senses, bewilders his mind and entirely paralyzes it.

Poems which describe feminine charms *en masse*, and not in detail, are marked with an equal intensity of feeling; but the poets very often pass from mere sensuous particulars to a more dignified yet rapturous vision of pure beauty. We have, on the one hand, the passionate speech of the love-sick Dushyanta:

Truly her lip has the colour of a young bud; her two arms imitate the tender twigs; attractive youth, like the blossom, pervades her limbs.

Or, on the other, the more elegant, if not passionate, description of Rajasekhara:

If this is a face, the moon is sealed up for ever; poor gold, if that is a complexion; if those are the eyes, the wager is lost by the blue lotuses; if that is a smile, who cares for ambrosia? If those are the eye-brows, then shame to the bows of cupid. What more shall we say?—It is indeed a true saying that the work of the Creator is averse to creating anything which involves repetition.

From these we pass on to Kalidasa's exquisite description of the youthful Sakuntala (ii. 43), where Dushyanta cogitates that the Creator first delineated perfect beauty in a picture, or perhaps imagined into one ideal model the combination of various lovely forms, and then endowed the picture or the model with the properties of life. In the same way the poet imagines that Parvati was created by an assemblage of all exemplar substances, set assiduously in their proper places, as if the Creator was desirous of seeing beauty concentrated in one place. Pururava wonders whether, in the creation of Urvasi, Love himself was the creator, while the moon gave her radiance and the flowery spring taught her to madden men and the gods; otherwise, how could the aged ascetic of a Creator, grown old in his dull devotion, have created such a beautiful form? The same sentiment is repeated by the love-sick Madhava in describing Malati's beauty, as he wonders (i. 24) if she is the guardian deity of the treasure of beauty, or the abode of all world's loveliness, and confidently asserts

that at her creation the moon, ambrosia, lotus-stalk and moonlight were the means and the god of love himself the creator. Another poet Bhallata, unable to decide whether his mistress is the fairest flower on the blossoming tree of youth or the loveliest ripple on the surging sea of beauty, prefers to think that after all she is the slender rod of admonition in the hand of the love-god for the chastisement of wayward lovers. But, says the Buddhist Dharmakirti, too great beauty is an evil:

The Creator counted not the wealth of beauty which he spent nor the greatness of his efforts; he made her a fever of sorrow for men that dwell in blissful ease; she herself is doomed to misery since she cannot find her peer. What then was the purpose of the Creator when he framed that slender maiden's body?

Of all Sanskrit poets, however, it is probably Bhavabhuti alone to whom physical charms have little appeal for their own sake and who goes beyond the body to speak of the beauty of the soul; but of him we shall speak later on.

Some poems are devoted entirely to the description of feminine charms in particularly erotic situations with lavish sensuous details. Of such a type are the erotic *bhanas* or monologue-plays of which I have spoken elsewhere,* as well as poems like *Chauri-surata-panchasika* (or shortly *Chaura-panchasika*) of unknown authorship, which is usually ascribed to Bihlana. This last poem consists of fifty lyrical stanzas on secret love, a large part of which is taken up by recollective word-pictures, which appear to be circumstantial, of stolen pleasures. In spite of its repetition of conventional ideas, imagery and situations, the simplicity of the Vasanta-tilaka stanzas, the swing of the verses, the directness of expression and the minute and often charming description of the details of past scenes of happy love render the poem unique in Sanskrit.† The monotony which is inevitable in such erotic poems is relieved by the vividness of its recollection of fleeting nights of pleasure, as well as by the sufficient variety of erotic description and ideas:

Even to-day I recollect her, as heedless of my falling at her feet to expiate my offence, she rushed away, flinging off my hand from the hem of her garment and crying out in anger "No, never!"

Even to-day I see her pressing dear face against mine in a kiss, while her twig-like arms encircled

* A Note on the Sanskrit Monologue-play in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1926, pp. 63f.

† It has been finely translated into English verse by Sir Edwin Arnold.

my neck, her breast clasped close to mine, and her playful eyes half-closed in ecstasy.

Even to-day I see her secretly gazing at the mirror in which I was pictured, while I stood behind her, all a-tremble and confused, utterly shamed between love and distraction.

Closely connected with these poems are those which are based directly on the study of the science of Erotics. The *vaisika upachara* or *vaisika kala*, elaborated by Vatsyayana and Bharata for the benefit of the man about town and the courtesan, has much in it that may be regarded as pornography; but works like the *Kuttini-mata* of Damodaragupta, the *Samaya-matrika* of Kshemendra or monologue-plays like the *Dhurma-vita-samvada* of Isvaradatta, based as they are ostensibly on such study, cannot be too lightly rejected. The first work, whose title "Advice of a Procuress" sufficiently indicates its theme of instructing a young courtesan Malati in the art of winning love and gold, is indeed an elegant work of considerable interest, in which are set forth with graceful touches of wit and humour delicate problems in the doctrine of love. The first verse appropriately invokes the god of love:

Victorious is that mind-born god, the bee who kisses the lotus-face of Rati, whose abode is the glance shot from the corner of the eyes of amorous maidens.

Here is a fine hyperbole which describes love-at-first-sight by relating the effect as appearing even before its cause :

Malati's heart was conquered first by the arrow of the love-god, and then, O loved of women, by thee coming within the range of her vision (verse 96).

The industrious Kshemendra tries his best in his *Samaya-matrika*, or the "Original Book of Convention" for the hetaera to imitate Damodaragupta; but his work, in spite of its bald realism, has very little elegance or poetry. The *Dhurma-vita-samvada* is however, more interesting in many ways. The nominal "hero" of this monologue-play, a clever and experienced rake (*vita*), finding the rainy season too depressing, comes out to spend the day in some amusement. He cannot afford dice and drinking—even his clothes have been reduced to one garment—so he wends his way towards the hetaera's street, meeting various kinds of people and ultimately reaching the house of the roguish couple *Vasvalaka* and *Sunanda*, where he passes the day in discussing certain knotty problems of Erotics put to him by the former, the title of the work "Dialogue

between a Rogue and a Rake" thus appropriately describing its content. Some of the interesting topics discussed are : "If money alone attracts a courtesan, why do theorists speak of her as being good, bad or indifferent?" "How to propitiate an offended woman" and so forth. It is also characteristic that the *Vita* should combat with some heat the injunction of the moralists that one should avoid the company of woman, and end with an eloquent discourse on the joys of a rake's life, which in his opinion cannot be compared to the traditional delights of the moralist's heaven. This work, if not very poetical or elegant, gives us an amusing epitome of the aesthetic and other laws which govern the life of the man about town.

In these works, as well as in Sanskrit love-poetry generally, the woman is usually described to be as fully ardent as the man; and as an interesting result of the comparative freedom which women in general enjoyed we find that women wooed men as often as men wooed women. Apart from the pictures of passionate heroines which we get in the poems themselves, we have some verses ascribed to women-poets like *Vijja* (or *Vijjaka*), *Sila-bhattarika* or *Vikatanitamba* which are sometimes more ardent and free in expression than those written by men-poets.

Bhavakadevi expresses a fine and pathetic sentiment in the one verse which is found in her name in the Anthologies :

So then this body of ours became, first, one and undivided; thereafter neither wert thou the beloved, nor was I, bereft of all hope, thy darling. And now, thou art the lord, and we are only thy wife. What else? This heart of mine had been hard as adamant—now I am reaping the fruits thereof.

It is indeed a pathetic touch in this as well as in many other verses in the Anthologies which show woman at her best ready for comradeship and love but man blind to it. A similar note is struck by another woman-poet *Marula* :

"Why art thou so thin?" My limbs are such by nature?" "Why dost thou look so dark in the face?" "I had to cook for the elders in the house." "I hope thou dost remember me?" "No, no, no, I don't"—so saying the poor girl, weeping and all a-tremble, fell on my breast.

Another poetess, *Indulekha*, describes by means of a pretty poetical fancy the affliction of the maiden whose lover has gone abroad :

Some say—"It drops into the ocean"; others

believe—"It mixes and becomes one with fire", while still others think—"It goes to another world." But how can I believe all this? for I see with my own eyes that every evening the sun with its fierce heat comes and hides itself in the heart of the maiden whose lover has gone abroad.

Love sways woman's heart no less than it sways man's; but its effect differs in different types of men and women, and the ways of wooing and love differ accordingly. The science of Poetics and Erotic take a delight in classifying these different types and analysing the varied effects of love on them. Thus we have arrangements into divisions and sub-divisions, according to rank, character, circumstances and the like, of all conceivable types of the hero, the heroine, their assistants and adjuncts, as well as of the different shades of their feeling and gestures; and the sentiment of love is defined, analysed, and classified industriously in all its infinite moods and situations. The procedure, no doubt, possessed an attraction for mediaeval scholastic minds, but it also throws a great deal of light on the practice of the later poets who often follow these prescriptions faithfully. In his character as a lover, the hero is classified, for instance, into the faithful (*anukula*) who confines himself to one, the gallant (*dakshina*) whose attention is distributed equally among the many, the sly (*satha*) and the saucy (*dhurta*). Of these the saucy lover is thus eulogized by Amaru:

Happy the lover whom his enraged darling binds firm in the soft and supple embrace of her twig-like arms and bears before her friends into love's abode, to denounce his misdeeds in a soft voice that trembles as she says "Yet once more he wronged me," while he keeps on denying everything and laughing as she cries and pummels him.

But the hero may also be high-spirited, haughty, sportive or serene, according to his temperament. In the same way, the heroine, in relation to the hero, may be his wife (*sriya*), or belong to another (*parakiya*) or be common to all (*samanya*). The *sriya* is sub-divided again into the adolescent and the artless (*mugdha*), the youthful (*madhya*), and the mature and audacious (*pragalbha*); or, in other words, into the inexperienced, the partly experienced, and the fully experienced. Of these the adolescent and the artless heroine is the greatest favourite with the poets, who delight in depicting with a graceful touch the first dawn of love in her simple heart. Kalidasa gives a fine description of the charms of adolescence in his picture of the girl Parvati budding into womanhood;

but the artless emotions of the adolescent heroine is best described by Amaru, some of whose verses in this connexion we have already quoted. Later theorists introduce greater fineness into the analysis by subdividing each of these heroines again, according to her temper, into the self-possessed, the not-self-possessed and the partly self-possessed; or, according to the rank, higher or lower, each holds in the affection of the hero. The *parakiya* or another man's wife, who is theoretically rejected in orthodox Poetics as a heroine, but who according to other *sastras* is the highest type of the heroine, is twofold, according as she is maiden or married; while the *samanya* heroine, who is sometimes extolled and sometimes deprecated, is only of one kind, the *vesya* or the courtesan. The sixteen types of heroine thus obtained are further arranged, according to the eightfold diversity of her condition or situation in relation to her lover, into eight more different types; viz., the heroine who has her lover under absolute control (*svadhina-patika*), the heroine disappointed in her assignation through misadventure or involuntary absence of the lover (*utka*), the heroine in full dress expectant of her lover (*vasaka sajja*), the heroine deceived (*vipralabdha*), the heroine separated by a quarrel (*kalahantarita*) the heroine outraged by signs of unfaithfulness in the lover (*khandita*), the heroine who ventures out to meet her lover (*abhisarika*) and lastly, the heroine pining away for the absence of the lover who has gone abroad (*proshita-patika*). Of the last, the typical example is the Yaksha's wife in the *Meghaduta*; but fine studies of the other types are to be found scattered in innumerable verses in the Anthologies. Here is an example of the *svadhina-patika* who makes other people jealous by winning the whole love of her husband to herself:

My mother-in-law looks not at me, and when she looks there is a frown and crooked glance on her face; my husband's sister speaks cruel and piercing words ever and anon; what shall I say of others, their conduct makes me tremble. O dear friend, all my fault is that my beloved looks at me with affection in his eyes.

Here is a picture of the daring *abhisarika*, whom love alone makes bold in venturing out on a dark night:

"Whither away, O slender-limbed one, in this dark night?" "Where dwelleth my beloved, who is dearer to me than life." "But tell me, lady,

dost thou not fear to go alone?" "Is not love with his feathered arrows my companion?"

Very pretty is the picture of the newly married timid maiden, who is distracted between love and embarrassment.

If she sleeps, she cannot gaze at the face of her beloved; if she does not sleep, her beloved would embarrass her by taking her by the hand. Distracted by such thoughts, the fair lady can neither sleep nor keep awake.

The outraged maiden pretends to be angry, but her lover sees through it:

Thou dost not come to the couch, nor cast thy gaze, nor speak your wonted sweet words, as if thou art angry with thy attendants. O thou fair one, whose fairness rivals the inmost petals of the *ketaki*-flower, this biting of thine anger towards me would have been all right, had not thy companion smiled secretly with her face averted.

The hapless lover laments that the night of reunion had been as brief as the nights of separation had been long:

When formerly I suffered the sorrow of severance from my beloved, O night, in thee a hundred days passed away. Now when fate but hardly gave me reunion, thou shameless one, hast departed in the day itself.

The sorrow of the parted lover is too hard to bear:

The mango-shoots here smoke with swarms of bees, here the *Asoka* glows with bursting buds of flower, here the branches of the *Kinsuka* are coal-coloured with their dark shoots; alas, where can I rest my weary eyes? Everywhere fate is cruel to me.

Even finer specimens than these will readily occur to any reader of Sanskrit poetry, but these will indicate the themes which are most favoured and the manner in which they are handled.

But the theorists do not stop with a general classification of the types of the hero and the heroine. They are endowed with a generous set of special excellences. In the case of the heroine we have first of all a mention of the physical characteristics connected with the emotion of love, *vix.*, *bhava* or first indication of the emotion in a nature previously exempt, *hava* or gestures indicating the awakening of the emotion, and *hela* or the decided manifestation of the feeling. Then we have seven inherent qualities *e. g.*, brilliance of youth, beauty and passion, the touch of loveliness given by love, sweetness, courage, meekness, radiance and self-control. All her gestures, moods and different shades of emotion, *e. g.*, giggling, trepidation, hysterical fluster of delight,

involuntary expression of affection, self-suppression through bashfulness, affected repulse of endearments, as well as the deepest and tenderest display of sentiments are minutely analysed and classified. To this is added a detailed description and illustration of the modes in which the different types of heroine display their emotion, the analysis ranging from the maidenly modest behaviour of the *Mugdha* to the shameless boldness of the more experienced heroine.

These attempts indicate considerable power of analysis and subtle insight, but generally speaking, the analysis is more of the form than of the spirit, based on what we should consider accidents rather than essentials. At the same time, marked as it is by the artificiality of scholastic formalism, it is not made purely from a speculative point of view, and there is much in it which is based upon direct experience and observation of facts. The analysis itself is interesting, but what is regrettable is that later poets should accept them as unalterable conventions. This technical analysis and the authority of the theorists inevitably led to the growth of artificiality in love-poetry. Nevertheless, hedged in as they were by fixed rules and rigid conventions, it is remarkable that the poets could still produce fine poetic pictures out of their very limited and stereotyped material, and their verses succeed in encompassing poetically the various stages and aspects of love from its first awakening to its last stage of perfection or dissolution. The blooming of the *Asoka* at the touch of the lady's feet, the first appearance of the mango-blossom and the swarming of bees as the symbol of springtime and meeting of lovers, the comparison of the lady's face to the moon or of her voice to the note of the Indian cuckoo are poetical conventions which are repeated uninterruptedly in Sanskrit love-poetry, but the following stanzas will indicate how these are often utilized for charming effects. To *Ramila* and *Somila*, who are acknowledged by *Kalidasa* himself as great poets but of whom nothing else has survived, the following verse, describing the fatal effect of springtime on the separated lover, is ascribed in the *Anthologies*:

Had he been ill, he would have been emaciated; wounded, he would have bled; bitten, he would have foamed with the venom. No sign of these is here; how then has the unhappy traveller met with his death? Ah, I see. When the bees,

wantonly greedy for honey, began to hum, the rash traveller let his gaze fall on the mango-bud.

The poet Madhukuta has a pretty fancy, if we make allowance for the conceit :

O friend, I saw in a dream to-day that in the garden-house I was about to place my tinkling and reddened foot on the Asoka tree to make it bloom. And then,—what shall I say? Even at that moment my naughty beloved, coming out, suddenly and unperceived, from the depth of the groves, honoured my foot by placing it on his own head.

In the following verse by the poet Srīngara, the companion of the lady is describing the maiden's lvelorn condition to her lover :

When separated from thee, she never gazes on the moon, which gives her pain; that is why she never looks at her own face in the glass. She is afraid of listening to the note of the cuckoo; that is why she seals up her own voice. She hates the flower-arrowed god who gives her unbearable sorrow,—and yet it is strange that she is more and more fond of thee who resemble so closely the love-god, her enemy.

In a verse attributed sometimes to Amaru and sometimes to Dharmakīrti, a love-sick swain wonders at the condition to which love has reduced him :

She is young, but it is we who are shy; she a woman, but it is we who are timid; she is weighed down with her ample hips, but it is we who can hardly walk; she bears the heaviness of high bosoms, but it is we who feel wearied. Is it not strange that we are rendered helpless by faults which do not belong to us?

A lady is sending a delicate message to her fickle lover for whom she is still pining :

Do not, dear friend, address any word of reproof to that cruel one for having failed to keep his appointment, nor need you inform him of this state of mine. Only ask for his welfare with the hope that it has perhaps come to his notice that the South wind is blowing and the mango-trees are in blossom.

Logic is unable to convince a lover :

The bodiless god has only a few arrows and a bow made of flowers; how then can he hurt? The mind as a mark is fine, formless and screened. All this logical impossibility I admit, and yet my actual experience contradicts it by its own palpable affliction.

Similar and even more poetical verses can be multiplied easily from the rich store-house of old Anthologies.

It must indeed be admitted that the influence of the theorists on the practice of the latter-day poets was not an unmixed good. While the poetry gained in finical nicety and subtlety, it lost a great deal of its unconscious freshness and spontaneity. One can never deny that the poet was still a sure and impeccable master of his own craft, but

he seldom transports. The pictorial effect, the musical cadence and the wonderful spell of language are undoubted, but the poetry was more fanciful than delicate, more exquisite than passionate, and exhibited such a weakness for straining after effect that in the end nothing remained but mere fantasy or luxuriance of diction. We have heard so much about the artificiality and tediousness of Sanskrit classical poetry that it is not necessary to emphasize that point; but the point that has not been sufficiently emphasized is that the Sanskrit poets often succeed in getting out of their very narrow and conventional material such beautiful effects that criticism is almost afraid to lay its cold dry finger on these fine blossoms of fancy. It should not be forgotten that this poetry was not the spontaneous production of an uncritical and ingenuous age, but that it pre-supposed a psychology and a rhetoric which had been reduced to a system and which possessed a peculiar phraseology and a set of conceits of its own. We therefore meet over and over again with the same tricks of expression, the same strings of nouns and adjectives, the same set of situations, the same groups of conceits and the same system of emotional analysis. In the lesser poets the sentiment and expression are no longer fresh and varied but degenerate into rigid artistic conventions. But the point is too often ignored that the greater poets could very often work up these romantic commonplaces and agreeable formulas into new shapes of beauty with remarkable power and poetic insight. In the delicacy of artificial bloom and perfection there is almost always a strain of the real and ineffable tone of poetry. It would seem, therefore, that if we leave aside the mere accidents of poetry, there was no inherent lack of grasp upon its realities. It is admitted that the themes are narrow, the diction and imagery conventional and the ideas move within a fixed groove; yet the true poetic spirit was always there, and it could transmute the rhetorical and psychological banalities into fine things of art.

The artificiality of this poetry is very often relieved by the wonderful feeling for natural scenery which this poetry reveals. In the descriptions of human emotion aspects of nature are very often skilfully interwoven; and the tropical summer and the rains play an important part in affairs

of human beings. It is during the commencement of the monsoon that the traveller returns home after long absence, and the expectant wives look at the clouds in eagerness, lifting up the ends of their curls in their hands; while the maiden who in hot summer distributes water to the thirsty traveller at the wayside resting-places, the *Prapa-palika* as she is called, naturally evokes a large number of erotic verses, which are now scattered over the Anthologies. Autumn and spring also inspire effective sketches with its mango-blossom, its southern breeze and its swarm of humming bees. In *Hala's* collection, for instance, the unaffected love of simple people is set in the midst of simple scenes of nature; and most of the effective metaphors and similes of Sanskrit love-poetry in general are drawn from such surrounding and familiar scenes. Even one poem, the *Ratu-samhara*, usually attributed to Kalidasa, reviews in six cantos the six Indian seasons in detail and explains elegantly, if not with deep feeling, the season's meaning for the lover. The same power of utilizing nature as the background of human emotion is seen in the immortal *Meghaduta*, in which the grief of the separated lovers, if somewhat sentimental, is nevertheless earnest in its intensity of recollective tenderness and in its being set in the midst of splendid natural scenery which makes it all the more poignant. The description of external nature in the first half of the poem is heightened throughout by an intimate association with human feeling; while the picture of the lover's sorrowing heart in the second half is skilfully framed in the surrounding beauty of nature. In the same way, the groves and gardens of nature form the background not only to the pretty love-intrigues of the Sanskrit plays, but also to the human drama played in the hermitage of Kanva, to the madness of *Pururavas*, to the pathos of Rama's hopeless grief for Sita in the forest of Dandaka, to the love of Krishna and Radha on the banks of the Yamuna, dark with the shadow of rain clouds.

This last reference brings us back to Jayadeva, author of the *Gita-govinda*, the last great Sanskrit poet of the highest artistic accomplishment, in whom Sanskrit love-lyric reaches its climax. Jayadeva prides himself upon the grace, beauty and music of his diction as well as upon the delicacy of his sentiments, and the claims are not in any

way extravagant. His theme is a simple popular one—the eternally fascinating love-story of Krishna and Radha with all vicissitudes—a theme which must have been a living reality to the poet as well as to audience. Though cast in a semi-dramatic form, the spirit is entirely lyrical; though modelled perhaps on the popular Krishna yatra in its choral and melodramatic peculiarities, it is yet removed from it by its wealth of mimetic qualities and improvisation though intended and still used for popular festivals where simplicity and directness alone would count, it yet possesses all the distinctive features of a deliberate and perfect work of art.

There are three interlocutors in the poem Krishna, his Beloved and a lady-friend of the latter. Except the introductory descriptive or narrative verses written in the orthodox classical metres, the whole poem, divided into twelve cantos, consists chiefly of *padavali* or songs, to be sung in different tunes, in sets of lyrical stanzas, to which different metric metres are skilfully suited. The use of the refrain with these songs not only intensifies their haunting melody but also combines the detached stanzas into a perfect whole. But in reality we have narrative, description and speech finely interwoven with recitation and song, and, strictly speaking the poem is destitute of a regular form. All the emotions and situations of love, popularized by Sanskrit poets, are depicted—from its first awakening to its final fruition—and the whole effect is heightened by blending it harmoniously with the surrounding beauty of nature. All this is again enveloped by an undoubted lyrical splendour and verbal melody, of which it is difficult to find a parallel; and the poem can be regarded as almost creating a new genre.

Apart from its symbolical and spiritual meaning, the love that it depicts appears to be a reflex of the human emotion presented in a series of brilliant and extremely musical word-pictures, and the divine Krishna and his consort are entirely humanized. Indeed, Jayadeva's poem is one of the best examples of that erotic mysticism which supplies the inspiration to most of the beautiful Vaishnava lyrics in the vernacular. Devoid yet sensuous, it expresses fervent religious longings in the intimate language of earthly passion, and illustrates finely the use of love-motives in the service of religion.

But Jayadeva's achievement lies more in

the direction of form than in the substance of his poem. It presents hardly any new ideas; it scarcely describes any situation or emotion which earlier love-poets have not familiarized; it only makes a skilful poetic use of all the conventions and traditions of Sanskrit love-poetry. But in pictorial and musical effect, which brings out the underlying emotion in a perfect blending of sound and sense, his work is a beautiful and finished production. His lyric approximates to its original conception as a song; and if there is any value in the theory that all poetry is an approximation to music, then Jayadeva's poem certainly attains its rank as the highest poetry, and his own claim that he is overlord of poets (*kaviraja-rajā*) is fully justified. He makes a wonderful use of the sheer beauty of words and its inherent melody, of which Sanskrit is so capable; and this makes his poem untranslatable. No doubt, there is deliberate workmanship in the production of these effects, but all effort is successfully concealed in an effective simplicity and clarity, and there is hardly any perceptible stringing of the language or sense.

The erotic mysticism to which Jayadeva's poem gives a fine and finished expression is also found in a somewhat degenerate form in a series of poems devoted either to a ensuous description of love-adventures of deities or to a detailed enumeration of their physical charms. We have, no doubt, innumerable imitations of the *Gita-govinda* which deal with the loves of Hara and Gauri, Rama and Sita as well as of Krishna and Radha, but they are, like the imitations of *Meghaduta*, feeble attempts in a worn-out style. Even independent works of a similar nature, like the *Sri-krishna-karnamrita* of Jila-suka or the *Sringara-rasa-mandana* of Vithalesvara can, in spite of their intense devotional fervour, be hardly compared

with Jayadeva's immortal work. The same remarks apply to the large number of poems which, though not lyrical, are descriptive of the various love-adventures of Krishna and Radha. There are also some earlier poems which make the love of deities their theme; but such works like the *Vakrokti-panchasika* of Ratnakara are really exercises in style, illustrating the clever use of punning ambiguities, and they have scarcely any decided religious or mystical leaning. Following the much earlier tradition of Kalidasa in his *Kumara-sambhava*, the Sanskrit poets have not hesitated to ascribe sexual attributes to divine beings, or paint with lavish details the amours of their gods and goddesses; but in the hands of the lesser poets it cannot be said that they have ceased to offend in any less degree. The gentle description in short lyrical stanzas of the love of deities in the benedictory verses of the various dramas and poems, like the *Priyadarsika* or the *Ratnavali*, are indeed fine in taste and expression; but sometimes in detached stanzas, the poets love to describe their deities in particularly dubious amorous situations, the extreme sensuousness of which no amount of mystical interpretation can get over. On the other hand, Utprekshavallabha displays his knowledge of Erotics by describing in his *Bhikshatana-kavya* the gestures and feelings of Indra's nymphs at the sight of Siva in the garb of a mendicant; while Muka-kavi attempted a *tour de force* in five hundred erotico-religious stanzas, describing in each century of verses such physical charms and attributes of his deity as her smile, her side-long glances, her lotus-feet and so forth. The climax is reached in Lakshmana Acharya's *Chandi-kuchapanchasika*, which describes in fifty stanzas the beauty of Chandi's breasts. It is not necessary to comment on the amazing taste displayed in poems of this type.

SOME PROBLEMS OF DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION*

By BHARAT

While it is perfectly correct that most of the ills—social and economic, can only be removed with the attainment of Swaraj, it is unfortunate that hardly any attention is

paid to the question of improving the existing administrative machinery, with the proper working of which a goodly portion of the well-being of the masses is bound up. Hardly anything except a detail here and there has been changed so far as the

* The facts given in this article relate mostly to the U. P.

executive machinery of district administration is concerned, and this is partly due to the absence of pressure from the public and partly because a secretariat government cannot think in terms of broad policy. A bureaucracy works in grooves and will not give up the ease and comfort of well-accustomed routine until forced to do so by vigilant public opinion, which in this particular case has been singularly uninformed and indifferent. A case may be cited from recent experience. A crore and quarter has been distributed in *taqavi*, and though it is well known that no earthly power can stop leakage in its cash distribution, the Government could not have the courage of distributing at least a substantial portion of it in kind—in improved seed and implements, whereby it would not only have appreciably reduced speculation, but it would have taken a very important step towards introducing a better standard of agriculture. Not that such a procedure did not occur to the powers that be, but the trouble of devising a new set of rules was perhaps too much, and a great opportunity was therefore missed and *taqavi* was generously distributed with the accompaniment of pious instructions which achieve nothing and are perhaps intended to do nothing. The evils of the procedure are well known and have been proved on countless occasions; but the system was not changed, simply because there was no strong public opinion to rouse the secretaries to a sense of realities and to abandon their routine in the wider interests of the peasantry.

People may not remember that not long ago Collectors used to have four and Commissioners, six orderlies to maintain their respective dignity. The number of these useful appanages is now reduced to three and four respectively. The reduction has not affected either the prestige of these officers or their work. To a foreigner there is perhaps nothing more striking than the atmosphere of state and pomp amidst which an official in India moves. Everybody must have an orderly—even an Amin or a Zilledar on the handsome salary of Rs. 40 a month, though the orderly may not be getting more than Rs. 5 per mensem. The amount thus wasted—apart from the question of wasteful occupation—for the whole country must be enormous. Exact statistical information about the number of orderlies employed and their total wages will be extremely interesting.

There is really not the slightest reason why a Commissioner, a Collector, a Judge including the High Court Judge should have more than two orderlies. The varying rank of the officers can easily be distinguished by differently coloured uniforms of their orderlies as at present. It is ridiculous in these days of democracy to have a couple of door-keepers, dozing and doing nothing at the houses of Deputy Collectors, Munsifs and officers of similar rank. The number of idle visitors—*mulakatis*—has greatly diminished, and in any case whatever work there is, it could easily be managed by limiting the number of *chaprasis* for Deputy Collectors and officers of their rank to one and two in the case of all higher officers including members of the Government. Part of the saving may be applied to increasing the wages of this class of Government menials who have perhaps to perform the most difficult of all work—to look respectful, respectable, humble, authoritative, prompt, smart and intelligent, all through the twelve hours of the day—with nothing to hope for in future except a tame and dreary existence of dull and never-ending routine.

Our Tahsil organization with the Tahsildar, his dozen clerks and 15 or 20 chaprasis has been unchanged for several decades together. The extension of communications, of banking and postal facilities has hardly affected it. The old system of maintaining a large staff of menials—inadequately paid, for purposes of serving court-processes and realizing Government dues continues, though the work could be better and more cheaply done by an extended use of the post office, the savings bank and by opening new branches of the Imperial Bank. But it is nobody's business to think out schemes of retrenchment and relief to the tax-payer. A bureaucracy lives from hand to mouth in matters of policy, and when it is largely composed of foreigners, that modicum of sympathy and burning zeal for the common welfare is generally lacking. Public opinion has therefore to be more informed and organized than ever, if public funds are to be properly expended.

In recent years there has been a certain amount of awakening on the part of local Governments and attempts have been made to check corruption which is rampant in most departments. Corruption is naturally more in the lower ranks of officers, and the responsibility for it must be in a great

measure borne by the Governments themselves. It may be confidently said that nine out of ten sub-inspectors of police take bribes, and everybody including the Government and the public know it. Nothing is, however, generally done, unless a sub-inspector over-reaches himself and gets caught in a case of extortion or exceptional misbehaviour. This is inevitable, for no sub-inspector can live within his pay and discharge his duties conscientiously—as the rules stand about his travelling allowance—his responsibility for not only investigating crime, but also preparing the brief, coaching witnesses, producing them in court and keeping them in good humour somehow or other, for witnesses are paid by the Crown as a rule only for the day of their actual appearance in court. Tahsildars and Qanungoes are in similar situation. They are at the beck and call of their sub-divisional officers and Collectors and they get no travelling allowance for moving about in their respective tahsils. These officers have to be judged therefore from a different standpoint. They must not be branded as despicably dishonest, if they receive what they can get, or what the people are accustomed to pay. The case of a police sub-inspector is different, for people will not pay unless they are in trouble, rightly or wrongly, and consequently the exactions of the police are felt by the people more keenly, and the policeman in India is looked upon as anything but a friend of the people; while the money paid to menials and clerks in courts and offices is regarded more in the light of tips and is not felt as a misfortune or an insult.

It almost seems that the wages of menials, clerks and subordinate services in this country has been fixed on the principle that these people are expected and bound to make up the deficiency of their emoluments by customary exactions. Else it is impossible to explain the wages paid to constables, orderlies, patwaries, zilledars and others. In this matter the Government are not much in advance of private landlords and taluqdars. Every officer of some experience knows that it is quite impossible to do away with 'tipping' for there are cases in which the old system has to be continued or the staff considerably increased. The latter alternative is generally out of question. In every district office of the Collectorate and perhaps also of the Judge unauthorized assistants are suffered to help the clerks and are

paid by them, for the work is far too heavy to be managed by the sanctioned establishment. A concrete illustration will make this clear. Registrar Qanungoes who are in charge of old village papers of record-rooms at the Tahsils generally maintain a couple of assistants all through the year and pay them about Rs. 5 a month. The number of assistants increases when the work is specially heavy. The salary given to them is impossibly low and consequently the assistants have to eke out a living by pickings, which form also the source from which Registrar Qanungoes defray the expenses of unauthorized aid and also of a punkha-coolie, during the hot weather, besides reserving for themselves an amount equivalent to 25 to 50 per cent. All this is known to the Government; but nothing is done, nothing is possible, so long as popular opinion acquiesces in it either on account of ignorance or of want of organized effort.

Corruption is universally prevalent in the ranks of the subordinate staff of our courts and the extent to which it is systematized, is amazing. It is taken as a matter of course, and not even commented upon in the press. And yet our old-fashioned people frequently complain about the falling standards of efficiency and integrity of our local institutions now under non-official control, not remembering the almost universal fact of organized corruption in some of the most important and highly supervised departments of the State—such as the police, the Tahsils, the courts and the railways; compared to which some of our worst managed municipalities and district boards will be justified to pose as paragons of honesty and straight-dealing. The truth of the matter is that we in this country have been so much used to official pomp and prestige, that anything done in an atmosphere of less dignity and finality evokes undeserved criticism. Not many non-officially managed institutions can boast of limitless extravagance in paying the higher officialdom and of pitiless economy in employing the subordinate staff of clerks and menials as the present Government of India. But it is a part of the price the country must and will have to pay, so long as it has not got the freedom to manage its own affairs. Something, however can and must be done even with the limited opportunities at our disposal to purge our public services of its stigma, and this is only possible if some amount of thought is applied to organize the work in a

more businesslike fashion and to pay for it wages which would make possible a bare but honest livelihood.

A few remarks may here be made on the subject of rural uplift, which has recently come into prominence. What Mr. Brayne could achieve in Gurgaon at an expense of about one and a half lacs of borrowed money, any Indian Officer worth anything or an energetic servant of India could do, provided he received the encouragement and support of the State in the fullest possible measure. The facts are however otherwise. The Government is so much interested in manufacturing 'loyalty' and suppressing the growing virus of Swaraj, that it has but little time to bother its head about stamping out corruption in the lower ranks of officialdom and in making the lot of the villager better and happier. A decade of concentrated work on rural uplift will revolutionize the social and economic conditions of the country, provided the existing official organization were used in an intensive campaign of helping the villager to improve his home and village, his agriculture and income and enabling him to stand on his own legs as a self-respecting human being. Self-respect is, however, the last thing which an alien bureaucracy would like to see develop in a subject people; and hence slavery may be illegal and depressed classes equal in the eyes of the law as others, forced labour continues to exist and the existing schools are virtually closed to

the members of the depressed community. Pious resolutions or *communiqués* to push on the work of village uplift are useless.

Let the work of a district officer be judged by the work he does to improve the lot of villagers under him, and there will be lightening improvement in the spheres of agriculture and sanitation. The cult of Swadeshi and Khaddar must be an integral part of every scheme of rural amelioration; but the moment an Indian officer showed any interest in it, he would be branded as 'disloyal', for 'loyalty' is at present equivalent to everything which is opposed to the interests of India. The result is despair and paralysis. An Indian officer is at present neither fish nor fowl. Were he not between the devil and the deep sea, he would be able to transform the face of the countryside within five years, if he had only the freedom and the opportunity and the support of the Government to devote himself to raise the level of life of the people in his district. Being only human he finds that the best way to get on lies in spheres other than in faithfully interpreting the wishes of his countrymen or even in working out energetically schemes for their welfare. 'Loyalty' or reactionary obscurantism pays more than competence or sheer capacity. Oh! the path of progress for a subject-race is devious and lies through dark alleys and trackless jungles.

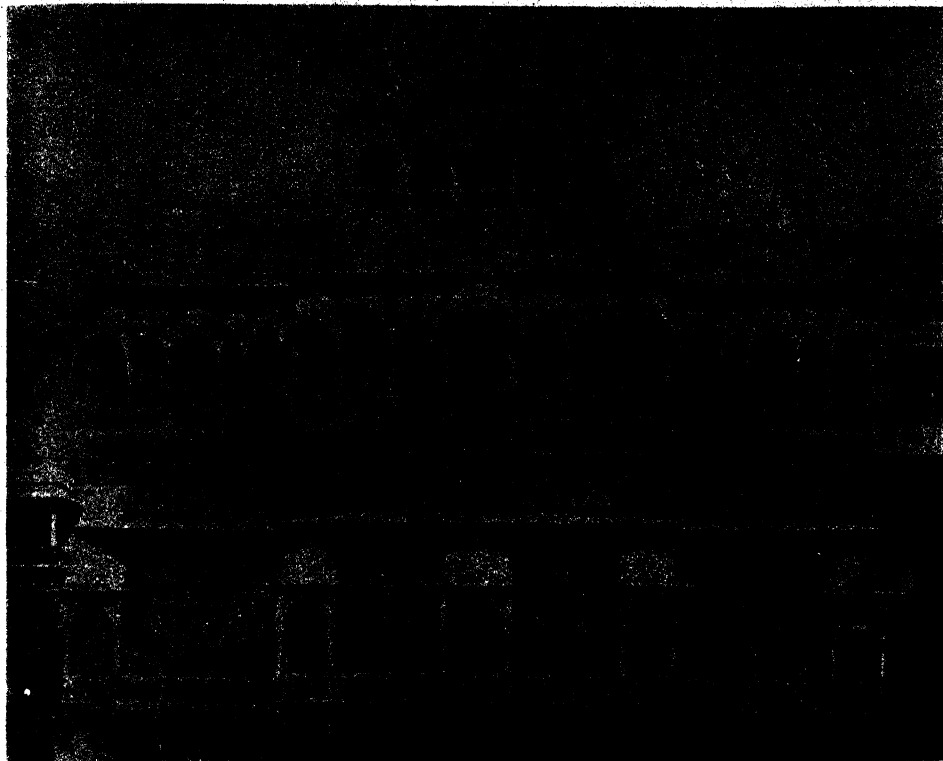
JAISALMER AND ITS ANCIENT AND MODERN BUILDINGS

By N. C. DUTTA

JAISALMER is one of the premier States in Rajputana. It covers an area of 16,062 square miles. It has not to pay any tribute to the Imperial Government.

The Bhati rulers of Jaisalmer claim direct descent from Maharaj Shri Krishna, whose power was paramount in India during Dwapar Yuga. Meghadamber being one of the most venerable heirlooms of the Chandrabansiya Rajput clans of India, is still in possession of the illustrious house of Jaisalmer. Tradition depicts that this holy Meghadamber

Chhatra (umbrella) was held over Shri Krishna Maharaj on ceremonial occasions during his reign in Dwaraka. It is also a tradition that the said Meghadamber had been presented by the God Indra Deva to Maharaj Shri Krishna on the auspicious occasion of his marriage. The ruler of Jaisalmer is, therefore, styled "*Chhatrala Yadava Pati*," the "canopied Lord of the Yadavas." The house has also the proud title of "*Uttar Bhar Kinwar Bhati*," i. e., Bhatīs, the mighty portals of the North



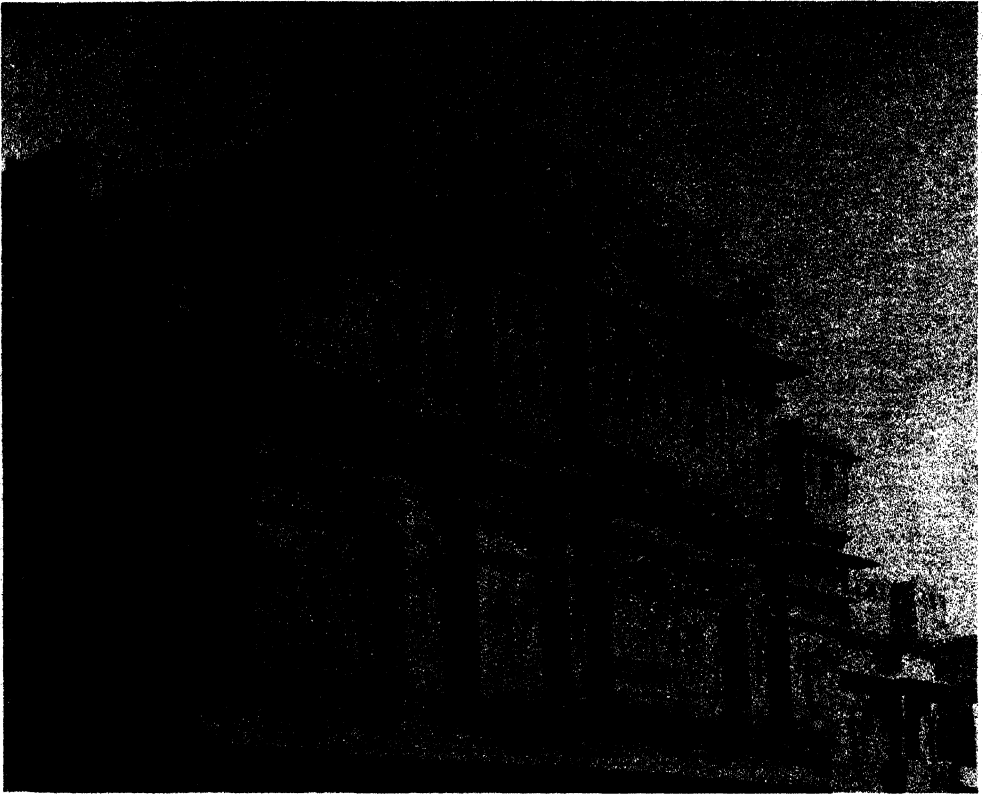
View of Gaj-vilas Palace

f India). The Bhati Rajput clans of Rajasthan in old days succeeded in repelling excessive waves of Mohammedan invasion at generally occurred through the north-western side of Sind and the Punjab.

Before coming to Jaisalmer—the modern name of the tract of country in “Marusthal,” Indian desert, the Bhati tribes reigned in several places of India, and even in Ajmer in Jobulistan. In the desert of Rajasthan they ruled at Tannot, Derawal Ludrova, and finally they founded their capital Jaisalmer in Bikram Sambat 1212 or A.D. 1156.

Ludrova, the late capital of the Bhati Rajputs, is situated about 10 miles west of Jaisalmer and has a high antiquity, though now a ruin, where a very small number of buildings and temples still exist. It possesses a famous temple of Shri Paresh-nathji, Tirthanker of Svetambar Jain sects.

It is, therefore, regarded as one of the important places of pilgrimage of the Jainas. The style of architecture in the lower part of the temple is purely of south Indian Hindu type. The exquisite carvings of the dwarf pillars resemble that type of work done in the world-famous cave temples of Ellora and Ajanta, while the upper part of the temple is of north-west India type of architecture. The “Sikhara” and some portions of the temple were rebuilt in the seventeenth century Vikram Sambat. The Toran Dwar, a massive stone gateway, elaborately carved and nicely decorated, stands very close to the courtyard wall and in front of the main temple. At four corners of the enclosure are four small temples of good workmanship. One Kalpa Briksha, an artificial tree made of copper and brass and coloured, containing different kinds of fruits, is very carefully and artistically preserved within the enclosure.



Mehta Nathmalji's Haveli

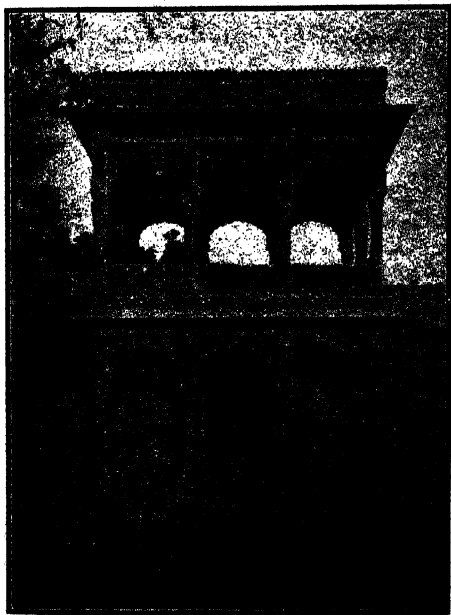
Tradition has it that this tree fulfils all the desire of human beings if very faithfully and earnestly craved. Another small temple of the God Shiva, though it lies in a very bad condition, is worth mentioning. It is supposed to be the oldest temple still existing in that part of Jaisalmer. The four-headed graceful and noble image of God Shiva is weather-worn owing to being left fully exposed, lodged in a primitive type of single chamber Hindu temple, supported on columns and covered by stone slabs on stone architraves, forming a pyramid-shaped "Sikhar" or roof.

Ludrova was a large city having twelve gates, but is now desolate. The major portion of the capital is perhaps under shifting sands and if excavated some rare finds of architectural and archaeological importance may come out at some places under the sands and in the river Kaknai, on the bank of which the capital stood.

It is beyond the scope of the present article to describe the really important workmanship of the hill-fort of Jaisalmer. Colonel James Todd, Mr. Marsden, Captain Baileau and other European and Indian Archaeologists and historians have given detailed descriptions of the huge and beautiful castle of Jaisalmer. It is erected on an isolated peak, triangular in shape, about 250 feet in height. The hillock on which the fort of Jaisalmer is situated and which is about 959 feet above sea-level, is very curious, encircling a rock plain of about 20 miles radius, which provides several places to accumulate rain-water for drinking and cultivation purposes and thereby converting it into a place of real beauty in the heart of the Indian desert. From the bastions of the citadel and the topmost part of the palaces in the fort a magnificent and

panoramic view of the city and the surrounding country is obtained.

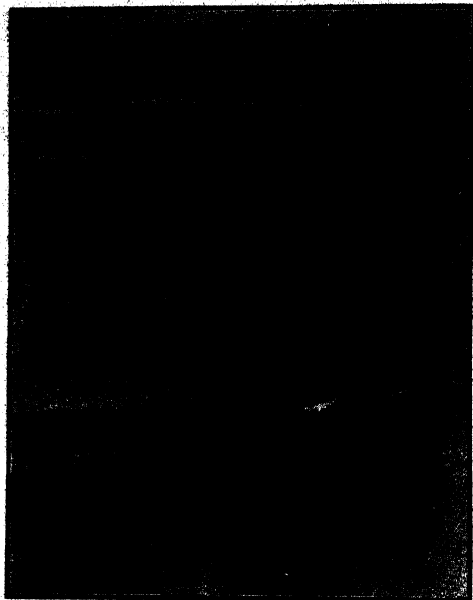
The fort, quite artistically designed, and the strength of the rampart walls, with ninety-nine *burjs* (bastions) surrounding the fort, are practically unrivalled. It has four strong gates and a strong precipitous wall, running round the crest of the hill, adds to the beauty and grandeur of the hill-fort. The noble palaces in the fort display the grandeur of Indian Architecture. Dr. Abanindranath Tagore writes in the Calcutta Municipal Gazette, November 21, 1925—"In the Bengali article in the monthly magazine 'Bharatvarsha' on Indian Architecture there is a picture of the Rani Mahal or the Queen's Palace in the fort of Jaisalmer and I liked the picture of that wonderful structure very much. It looks as if the palace-walls, like a huge dragon with its beautiful coils, has surrounded the Queen's Palace and is



Deodhi Gate

guarding it from danger and from the outer world, as if it were a jewel worth all the treasures of seven kings." Almost all reliable authorities agree as to the merits of such Indian masterpieces.

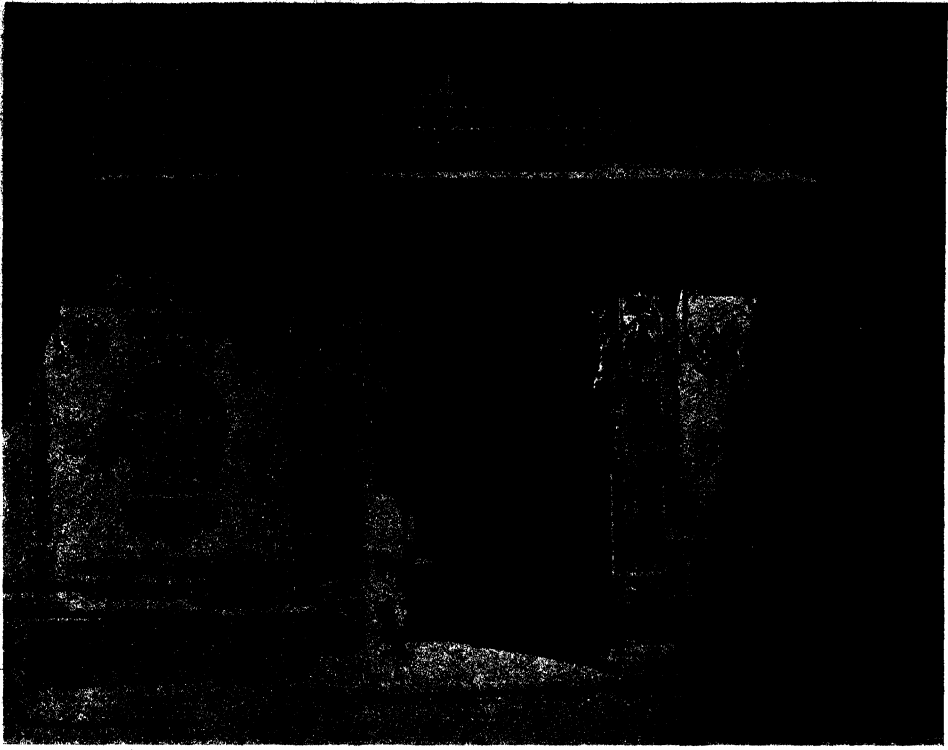
It may be presumed that the craftsmen



A typical balcony—Jaisalmer

and builders who had executed the fort, were in all probability very intelligent and skilled Hindu architects and masons, attached to the Jaisalmer Court. The top of the huge palace buildings of the historic hill-fort is surmounted by a Chhatra (umbrella). It is said to be made of an alloy of eight metals which is an emblem of the aforesaid "Meghadamber."

As one comes to the Chowta (a spacious open yard) on the top of the hill-fort by a steep and circuitous road passing through four strong and heavy gates, named from the bottom, Akheprol gate, Surajprol gate, Ganeshprol gate and Hawahprol gate, he finds on the left and right very high and massive palace buildings. The topmost part of the building is the "Sarbottom Vilas" built in the middle of the 18th century A. D.—the best and highest palace. The interior walls of some of its rooms are covered with Indian-made coloured porcelain tiles of old and fine type. The carving work on each side of the Gokh, a throne-like window, in the main chamber of the Sarbottom Vilas, facing the private audience hall, is so fine and delicate that it required great patience and skill to execute. The monotony of the high and heavy blank walls of this grand edifice in



Sireh Deodhi Gate in Mandir Palace

the north and east facing the town at the foot of the hillock and Gadsisar tank beyond it, is relieved by richly ornamented Gokhras (projecting balcony windows), which are magnificent and exquisite specimens of the indigenous style of Jaisalmer architecture. Below these rooms are "Naya" or "Rang Mahal" (coloured chamber). The interior of this chamber is fully decorated by fine specimens of fresco paintings and the glass works. The paintings represent scenes of "Gangour" festival (a festival regularly observed here on "Chaitra Sukla Chaturthi" each year when the image of Gouri Mata, the Goddess Gouri, is taken to the Gadsisar tank and brought back the same evening with a gorgeous State procession), pig-sticking and hunting, views of Jaipur, Udaipur, etc.

The facade of another adjoining building, named "Gaj Vilas," built in the beginning of the 19th century A. D. is very intelligently designed and carefully constructed. Its pro-

jecting verandahs facing the Chowta with a row and range of Bunglies (Chhatris) supported on nicely carved brackets, and the gracefully made Raoti (sky and wind pavilion) with Bengal type of Chhuja cornice, no doubt heighten the beauty and richness of the building. A deeply carved Gokhra (projecting window) with Jharrokhas on both sides of Gaj Vilas palace facing the interior courtyard, is one of the finest and peculiar specimens of Hindu architecture that Jaisalmer can boast of. There is another fine palace building in the fort, named "*Moti Mahal*" palace built about the middle of the 18th century A. D., which is connected with other palaces by a very high bridge, allowing a road to pass under it. A small garden with stone-laid paths and fountains in the centre, facing the Moti Mahal and "Sava Nivas" (audience chamber), constitutes the glory of the palace. The interior of the main Moti Mahal is very richly and finely



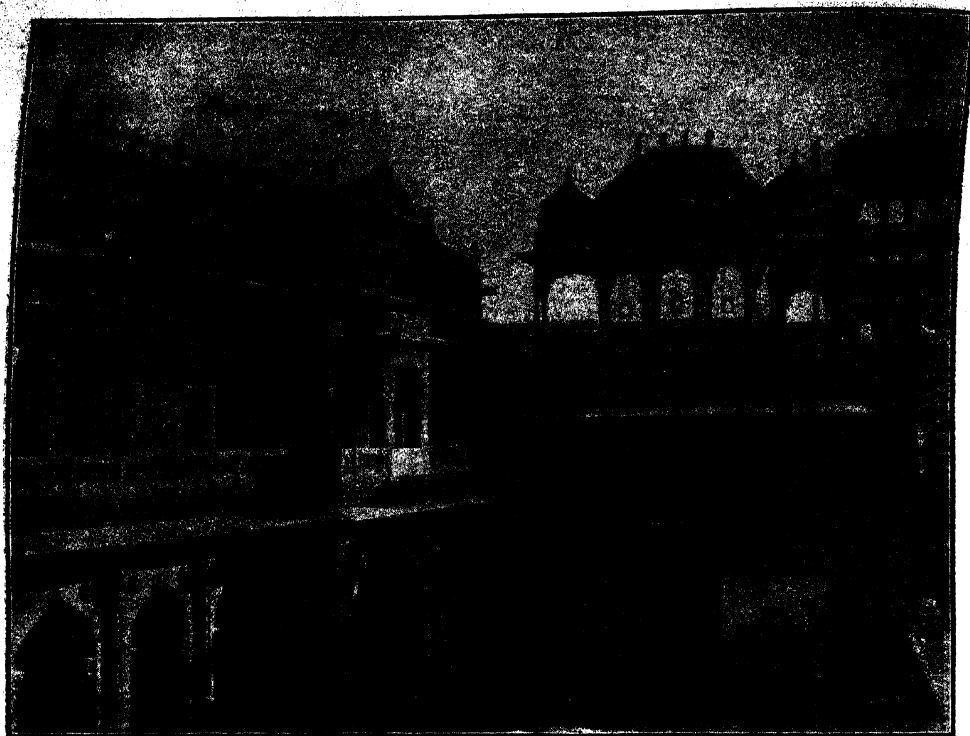
View of Lake "Gadsi-sar"

decorated and painted by master artists and painters of India and is regarded as a masterpiece. The walls of the rooms have fine specimens of fresco paintings of flowers and foliages and scenes of Maharaj Shri Krishna's life. A few unrivalled specimens of water-colour paintings on paper are gracefully and carefully fixed on the walls. God Shiva in contemplation in his holy abode of beautiful Kailas Dham, with Goddess Parvati in front of him and other gods, goddesses and Apsaras around him is really a typical and rare old painting. The scene of "Hind" (swinging ceremony) of goddess Shri Radhika and the Gopis of Mathura and Brindaban Dham, witnessed by Maharaj Shri Krishna from the opposite bank of the Jamuna, is another rare and fine specimen.

In the Chowta facing the palace buildings exist temples of the God Adi Narayan and Goddess Sakti. Tradition says that this image of God Adi Narayan had been regularly worshipped by Maharaj Shri Krishna at Dwaraka.

The temple of the Goddess Sakti has been recently constructed under the supervision of the writer. The facade is very beautifully carved and the "Sikhara" over the roof of the main chamber or cell is nicely decorated and built according to Hindu and Jaina style. Beyond these temples in the south-west is a group of very fine Jaina temples. As said before, Jaisalmer is one of the most important places of pilgrimage of the Jains. The great Jaina temples of Tirthankars—Shri Chintamani Pareshnathji, Shri Rikhabdevji, Shri Shantinathji, Shri Sambhubathji, and Shri Mahabir Swamiji in the fort were built one after another during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries A. D. The huge and noble structure of the temples from outside appeals to the public and especially to those individuals who take a keen interest in Indian architecture and Indian archaeology.

The most important part of the temples is the room containing the image of Thirthankar. The four walls of this cell or

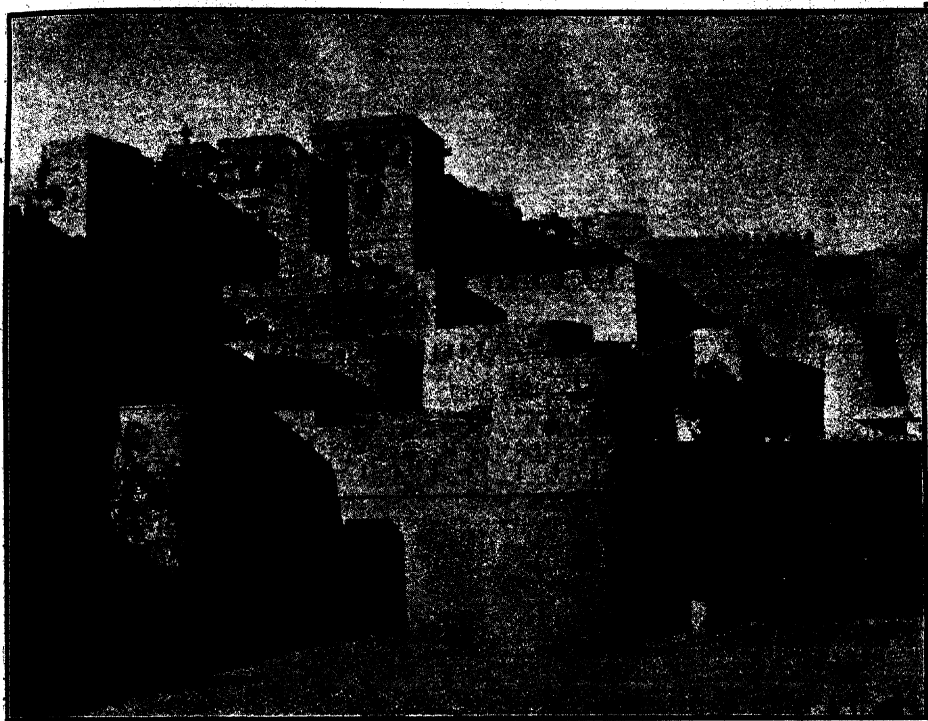


Jawahir-vilas Palace

shrine are beautifully carved, containing innumerable figures of both human beings and animals. Over the roof of this particular cell or shrine, is built a highly decorated Sikhar or spire—a ribbed pointed dome, having a bulging outline and possessing figures of lion and elephant at some particular places. The Sikhar is always crowned by an *Amlaka*, *Ghagar*, or *Mahapadma*—the most sacred symbol of the Hindus, Buddhists and Jains. Above the *Mahapadma* or *Amlaka* is the water-pot (*kalas*), containing a lotus bud—a most appropriate symbol of the creative element and of life. There is a porch, *Bhoga Mandap*, in front of this cell and in front of this porch is the Nat Mandap, octagonal in shape, that usually displays some characteristic details and is decorated with themes of Jain and Hindu Mythology. Profuse ornaments covering every part of the pillar, arch, lintel or bracket in shape of foliage, flowers, birds, and human figures with very typical poses display fine workman-

ship and specially on the ceiling of the Nat-Mandir dome, from the centre of which hang graceful full-blown lotus-shaped pendants. The columns of the porch are surmounted by bracket capitals and over these are attic or dwarf columns which support the architraves of the dome and the struts, supporting the gallery. Between the bracket capitals and under the struts are placed beautifully ornamented Toran-shaped figure, forming a kind of pierced arch. The surrounding courtyard is enclosed by a double colonnade of smaller pillars, finely carved and with ornamented ceilings, behind which stands a range of cells each containing the cross-legged seated "Tirthankar". This is the general description of most of the Jain temples in the fort. A very important and rare collection of manuscripts is preserved in the "Jaina Bhandar".

In front of the temple entrance gate is the porch supported on fully decorated columns. A photograph of a particular



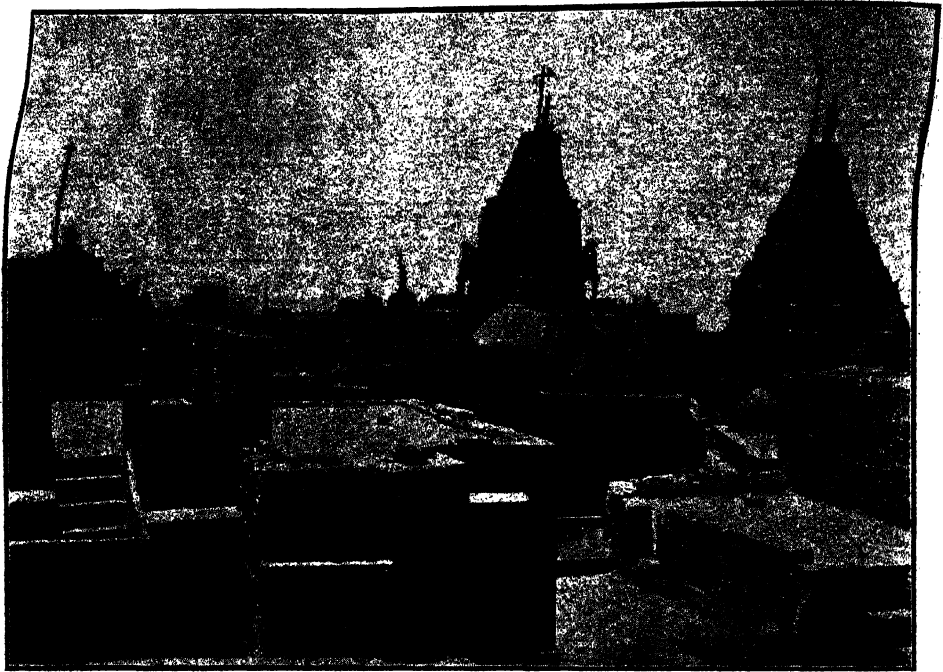
Fort and Palace—Jaisalmer

porch of excellent finish of the temple of Shri Pareshnathji Tirthankar is here given. Just over the Chhujas at both corners in the friezes of the said porch are two figures of elephants. The carving and perforated works in the architraves, Kangura-parapet and specially the Sikhar or dome over the porch, are so elegant, graceful and suited to the purpose that all lovers of true art are naturally attracted, the very moment they pass near the porch. This portion of the porch and some interior works approach the Hindu and Buddhist style of architecture, while all other works in the temples are generally of Jain type. The greatest attraction of these temples is the *Toran* that stands on a pair of decorated columns in front of the entrance porch of Shri Pareshnath Tirthankar's temple. The columns are ornamented with lotus, animals, Makaras, and adorned with sculptures which seem almost instinct with life and motion. There is wonderful grace in these sculptures, representing different gods and apsaras.

It is a great shock to the writer to see that some beautiful stone carvings are spoiled by oil-painting in the interior of Jaina temples in the fort and in Ludrova. The natural colour of the grey limestone with which these temples are built, is so uniform and graceful that it requires no artificial colouring, and I wonder why the members of the Jaisalmer Jain Committee prefer oil-colouring on such wonderful carving works, incurring unnecessary expenses. Further north-west are temples of Shri Laxminathji and Shri Mahadevji.

The objects of interest in Jaisalmer are not entirely confined to religious buildings and palaces in the fort. There are several residential buildings in the city built by the Sethias (rich merchants) and other men of position. The fine carving work of beautiful and artistic designs with true uniformity and symmetry in the facades of those buildings is worth seeing.

The major portion of the city is situated on the north of the hill-fort and is surrounded



Jaina Temples—Jaisalmer

by a Seherpanna (city wall) or circumvallation, encompassing a space of nearly three miles and a half, having at present four gates and two wickets. Almost all the buildings in the fort and the city are constructed of yellow and grey limestone. The stone is obtained at a place just outside the north gate of the city. It is practically adapted for all sorts of structural work, both ornamental and otherwise. The fine and close grain and even texture, as well as the sound nature of the stone, make it especially suitable for fine carving and it is much used for decorative purposes. The speciality of this place is yellow marble, which takes good polish and is more valuable than Italian and Makrana marble.

One most important factor of the town is the "*Mandir Palace*" situated on the west side of the town of Jaisalmer, commanding a splendid view of the west, having picturesque scenery of the "*Ishal Garden House*," and school and "*Public Library*" that are under construction. The present ruler of Jaisalmer resides in the Mandir Palace, where there are temples of Shri Giridhariji

Maharaj and other gods. Several very recent extensions have been made in the Mandir Palace. Different important gates, gracefully and elaborately carved, giving entrances to the main palaces, are constructed according to the design and under the supervision of the writer. And the new palace building there, is the most beautiful piece of work of original and novel style. It is designated after the name of His Highness Maharajadhiraj Shri Maharawalji Sir Jawahir Singh Sahib Bahadur, K. C. S. I., the present illustrious ruler of Jaisalmer and hence termed "*Jawahir Vilas*." He takes a keen interest in the welfare of his subjects and is a sincere lover and great patron of Indian Art and Indian Architecture.

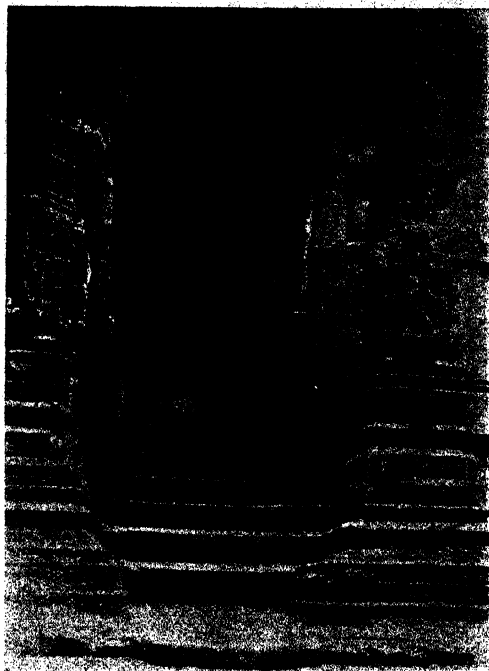
Further west, adjoining the huge fortification wall of the city, is the "*Badal Vilas tower*"—a royal summer tower, to enjoy and watch the rains. It is a Sat-manjil (seven storied) building, very nicely finished. In the heart of the outside compound of the Mandir Palace, is a very beautiful fresh water well, about 275 feet deep. It is very strongly built. On two sides of it there

are big reservoirs and on four corners are four beautiful Bunglis (Chhatris) a sort of pavilion for persons to take rest.

It is customary here and probably in the whole of Rajputana that carving works are done in the frontage of all buildings and the degree of fineness depends upon the position of the inhabitants of the city. It is natural that the people who have sufficient money to spend, are not quite satisfied with small buildings and they construct big Havelis (houses) where every sort of facilities that are generally required for daily necessities as well as luxuries, is provided. The frontage of such buildings with high covered Ddahs (platforms) and passage to the main entrance, is specially meant for outsiders and new-comers to take rest and wait. This portion of the building, being the front porch, is generally called "Dewan Khana." On each side of the main entrance are corridors called "skandhas" the two shoulders of the main entrance. They are meant for guards and watchmen. The main entrance opens on a yard, which, just opposite the door, has a "Darri Khana" for the owner of the building to sit and inspect the work of his Kamdars. Cattle-sheds and stables or horses are also provided there. And these generally have underground cells called Bhawnras" for the storage of grass and grains and other things. Some of the underground rooms are utilized as resting-places in the hottest part of the day during summer season. Rooms in the upper story are often reserved for their bedrooms and other private use. These arrangements are invariably made according to the general custom of the place, and within the enclosure are to be found rooms necessary for the maintenance of the complex life led by the richest people. Patwa Seths' Haveli, Mehta Nathmalji's Haveli and Mehta Shalamsingh's Haveli are buildings of such type, as is mentioned above and are worth seeing. They are all situated in the heart of the city itself.

Close to the city and all around are big tanks (*talaos*) to collect rain-water and there are very beautiful gardens behind the embankments of the biggest talaos. Gadsisar Talao (tank) is the biggest one, situated about two furlongs east of the "Gadsisar Gate" of

the city. "Amarsagar" and "Mulrajsagar" are two gardens with tanks situated about three and four and a half miles west of the city respectively. These gardens have fine buildings and have large collections of fruit trees and flower plants. "Bara Bagh" (the biggest garden) is situated about five miles



Portion of Toran and front Porch of Shri Pareshnathji's Temple

north of the city. Its embankment is very huge and high and the garden behind possesses very old and sweet mango trees.

Royal cenotaphs are constructed on one of the hills bridged by the "Bara Bagh" embankment. Small Chhatris and Bunglis are also built over the cremation spots of well-to-do people of the city and each sect has different cremation grounds at different places outside the city walls.

Some of the villages in the State were well-planned and buildings therein are all made of stone, but most of them are nearly deserted and demolished.



Gas Gun Like Fountain Pen To Aid Bank Clerks

Shaped like a fountain pen, a small container for gas fumes, to foil bandits, has a lever that shoots the vapors a distance of twelve feet and more. It is intended for the use of bank tellers, clerks and others, and is deceptive to an intruder



Pen-shaped Gas Holder for Repulsing Bandits ; It Shoots Fumes Twelve Feet and More

as its appearance gives no indication of its purpose. The "pen" unscrews in the middle for the insertion of a gas cartridge.

Popular Mechanics

Four-day Ships Launched in Germany

A battle for ownership of the speed honors of the North Atlantic, held for many years by the now aging "Mauretania," is in prospect with both England and Germany building larger and faster ships. The German yards have launched two 46,000-ton liners, to be named the "Bremen" and "Europa," and both the White Star and Cunard lines are preparing to build 60,000-ton ships which will equal the ill-fated "Titanic" in size, being

longer than either the American-owned "Leviathan" or the British "Majestic," both of which, incidentally, were built by German yards just before the



Bow View of the "Europa," Taken from the Launching Stand Just Before the New German Liner Slipped Down the Ways

war to make a bid for the Atlantic de-luxe passenger business, but fell into the hands of the allies. The two new liners recently launched are expected to cross the Atlantic in four days.

Popular Mechanics

Spray Tank on Motorcycle Helps Kill Mosquito

Motorcycles have been enlisted in the war against mosquitoes in suburbs of Chicago. A thirty-five-gallon tank of an acid tar oil is carried on the machine and the liquid is sprayed on



Spraying a Small Pool from the Anti-Mosquito Motorcycle with Its Tank of Tar and Oil

small pools of water where the insects breed. The rider operates the spray hose without leaving his seat and, in a single day, can cover a wide territory.

Popular Mechanics



Gleams of Oriental Color at the Congress
These are Eastern delegates, who had never made a long train journey before. Like their Russian, Ukrainian and polyglot sisters, they were officers of local Soviets

Rhinoceros Picture on Rock Shows Dawn of Art

The picture of a white rhinoceros on basalt rock in southern Africa is believed to have been carved by an artist from 25,000 to 50,000 years ago and is in excellent preservation.

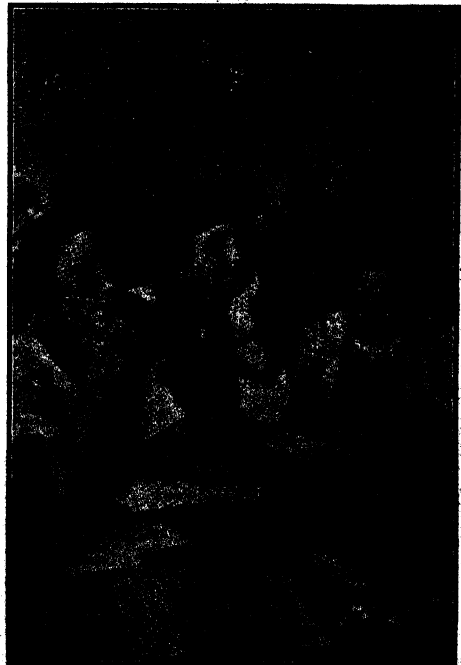
Popular Mechanics



An Artist's Masterpiece of Centuries Ago: Rock Carving of a Rhinoceros Recently Found in Africa

Russia's Governing Women

"The amazing figure of more than one hundred and fifty thousand is given as the number of women holding elective office in the local governing Soviets of towns and village. Very much larger is the number of those serving on sub-committees and commissions of local governments, participating in the work of health, taxation, social insurance, libraries, schools. From year to year the number of women in more responsible posts increases; they are presidents of village Soviets, members of provincial executive committees, delegates to the All-Union Congress, and even members of the



The Women Workers have their magazine. Its name, appropriately, is *Rabotnitsa*—"The Woman Worker"—and here we see one of its title-pages

standing government of the Soviet Union, the Central Executive Committee."

There were 811 delegates present with full vote, and 221 with advisory voice, all chosen from preliminary regional congresses of women. More than two hundred women took active part in the discussions with five and ten-minute speeches from the platform. The hall was a blaze of picturesque color; for, of the delegates only about half were Russians; there were 116 Ukrainians and 221 of the miscellaneous nationalities that make up the great variety of the Soviet Union. They wore their good clothes to the congress, but these were not good clothes of European pattern; they were embroidered peasant smocks from the Ukraine, high peaked head gear from the East, great white woolen head-



Rabotnitsa in a Merry Mood

Reflecting the spirit of the Soviet women who boast that they are better at governing than the men

drapes, for instance, marking the Uzbek women. The only form of head-gear not visible in the entire congress was an ordinary European hat; all wore some form of kerchief or shawl or Oriental drapery. The Leningrad delegation proudly proclaimed its unity by appearing in red kerchiefs, stamped with the year and an appropriate design, the gift of the Leningrad Textile Workers to the preliminary regional congress.

"All Made in Madras!"

Madras may well be proud of the above aeroplane every part of which was made and fitted by the Sri Ram Motor School, Madras and was exhibited in the Madras Park Fair Exhibition on Dec. 29. Successful flights were given in Park Fair during Christmas week.

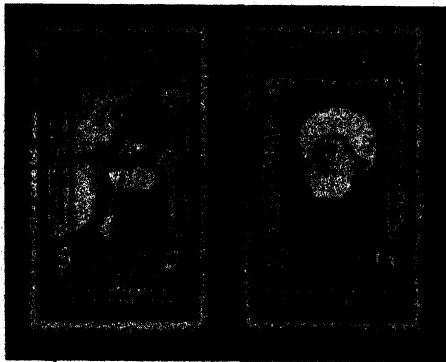
Indian Daily Mail.



A Country-made Aeroplane

Stamps and Medals for Cairo Faculty of Medicine Celebration

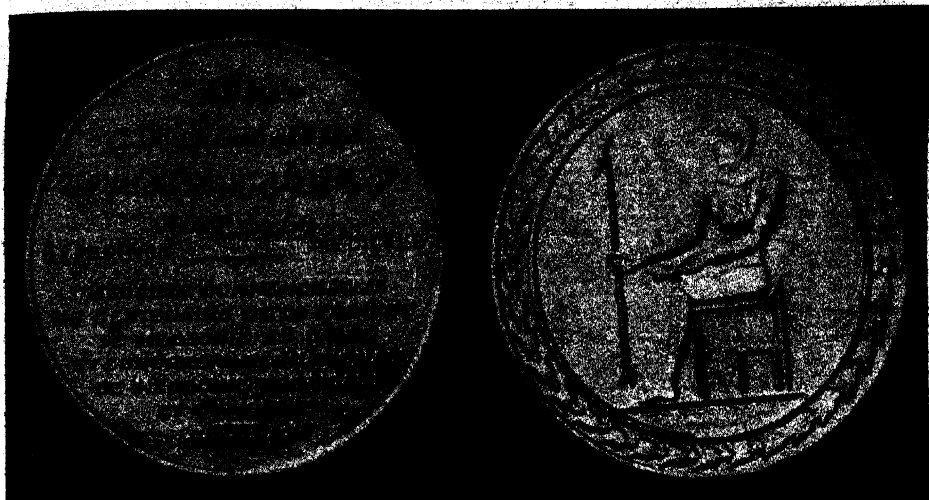
For the Centenary Celebration of the Faculty of Medicine, Cairo and the International Congress of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene under the patronage of his Majesty King Fouad I (December 15th to 22nd, 1928) special postage stamps are issued to commemorate the Centenary Celebration and Congress. Two types were available, one bearing the figure of IM-HOTEP and the second that of the VICEROY



Stamp

MOHAMMED ALI PASHA by whose orders the Cairo Medical School was established.

A medal was to be issued to exhibitors. It is of



Medallion

gilded bronze with the figure of IM-HOTEP on one face and the name of the Centenary Congress, in Arabic and French, on the other.

By the Courtesy of Luigi M. Molinari.

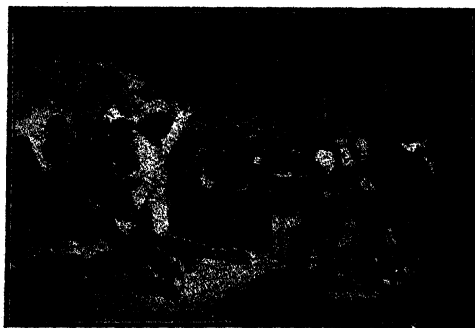
The Magnificent Goya

The centenary of Goya's death passed on April 16, 1928. Piero Torroano writes on *L'Illustrazione Italiana* (Milan) about Goya whose self-portrait was published in the *Modern Review* (January):

"His keen instinct made him sense intuitively the new problems of light and of movement. He proved himself to be a forerunner on the eve of a new century. Delacroix, Daumier, Manet, Whistler, Sargent are to feel his influence. 'Where indeed are there lines in nature?' said he, as the impressionists will say after him. 'I can see only bodies in light and bodies in shadows, planes which advance and planes which collapse.'

"The pleasures of life appealed to him more than painting did. All his art was born as a result of his actual experiences of life, the consequences of his own activities. His art reflected them and accompanied their every step."

"He was born in 1746 from Country Stock...At the age of 19 he fled to Sargossa, where he studied painting...At Madrid again he threw himself into a desperate life of adventure and loves...In June, 1771, he was awarded the second prize in a painting competition sponsored by the Academy of Parma. In 1775 he marries Josefa Bayeu in Madrid...He painted genre works with a swift and lively brush. His broad effects were brilliant, his colors bright and harmonious. They were genial improvisations to which a new and enthusiastic feeling



EPISODE OF THE NAPOLEONIC WARS
The soldiers of Murat shoot the Madrid populace,
May 3, 1808. Goya indulging in the macabre.

for reality was added to the suggestion of color. It was the Spanish life of his time in so far as its most pronounced characteristics and passions were concerned. Goya, the artist, had a predilection for bull-fights and, as has been stated, for women. In all these paintings, which formed the most daring and subtly malicious part of his art, Goya instilled his entire youth. Yet he was already insinuating into his works a suggestion of gloom, or a breath of caricature. Behold the 'Procession of Saint Isidore,' the 'Flagellants,' the 'Tribunal of the Inquisition,' and 'Insane Asylum,' works of a grim mind, which have their foundation in part in real life, just as those desperate lunatics struggled with their own manias."

"At this time he freely came to the Spanish



THE QUEEN WHO RULED ALL THAT WORLD

Goya's masterpiece—the Family of Carlo IV, who sat on the throne of Spain in Napoleonic days.

Court, first as the painter of the Chamber, then a first painter of King Charles IV.

"The painter, who lived with his subjects seized them in the mobility of their life. The critic went hand in hand with the observer. While he painted, he judged. Some one has well compared him to Saint-Simon.

"His principal gifts were displayed in his masterpiece, 'The Family of Charles IV.' In the center, the Queen, the one who ruled all that world tall, fat, an evil, sulky, petulant look, a mixture of shrewdness and lasciviousness; a little to one side the King, with his air of a good fellow, in whose flabbiness one still glimpses the imprint of his great ancestor, Louis XIV.

"Then followed [for Goya] times of sorrow. The deafness which had been ensnaring him for years finally enclosed him within a circle of silence. The invasion [of Napoleon] came and with it the years of his darkest solitude. He painted and etched only to curse and to rave. His mocking changed to curses. The restoration, with Ferdinand VII, dealt the final blow to our painter. A widower and broken in spirit, he, too, followed the path of exile and died there in 1828."

Literary Digest.

PROF. RADHAKRISHNAN'S REPLY

The Editor,

The Modern Review.

Sir,

Ever since I came to Calcutta in March, 1921, my writings have been criticized adversely in the pages of your *Review* on several occasions, the first being, as far as I remember, in the issue of April 1921, only three weeks after I had joined my post in the University, and the latest in the current number. I have been accused of faulty English, ignorance of Bengali, lack of Sanskrit learning, imperfect acquaintance with Western philosophy and careless and inadequate references. I did not feel called upon even once to reply to these criticisms; for I respect the rights of reviewers to hold any opinion they please regarding works which are public property. Even when the critics adopt the attitude implied by the maxim, "would that my enemy wrote a book," I feel it is not for us to complain. Besides, perhaps it ought to be a matter of satisfaction to me that my writings, of whose shortcomings none is more deeply convinced than myself, have actually stimulated so much criticism and comment in your pages, even

though my books on *Indian Philosophy* were not received by you for review according to your own statement in a recent issue.

It is, however, an altogether different thing when statements are made not merely challenging one's intelligence and scholarship but questioning one's honour and character. You will pardon me if I depart from my general habit and break my silence for once in view of the extraordinary allegations made by Mr. Jadunath Sinha and published prominently in the January, 1929 number of your *Review*.

I am afraid I must be working in the matter under certain disadvantages. Mr. Sinha's thesis is not available for me. He got back the thesis from the University office immediately after the report was sent and it is not therefore available for verification at present. *The Meerut College Magazine* in which parts of it are published, is not to be had in the local libraries to which I have access. I have to proceed, therefore, on the data supplied by him in his article.

1-7. In the exposition of the Samkhya Yoga theory of self-consciousness, I have

used Vyasa's *Bhāṣya*, Vacaspati's *Tattva-
cāraṇa* and Vijnanabhikṣu's *Yogavarttika*
on Yoga Sūtra III. 35. Mr. Sinha complains
that "the author has referred only to those
commentaries on the Yoga Sūtras to which I
referred in my thesis"; as if one could write
on this subject without using these works at
all. I cannot really understand why Mr.
Sinha should feel that he has a monopoly of
them when every writer on the subject had to
use them. I might as well add that it is not
only in the section on self-consciousness but
in several other places in my chapter on the
sāṃkhya (see pp. 258, 260-1, 265-7, 272, 274, 279,
285, 297-8, 324) and all through my exposition
of the Yoga system that these commentaries
have been used. I do not really see why
Mr. Sinha is so sure that I owe to him my
information about the existence of these well-
known works or their importance for this subject.

But it is really going a bit too far to
suggest that I tried to "pass them off" as my
own, when, as a matter of fact, these views
are explicitly attributed to Vyasa, Vacaspati
and Vijnanabhikṣu.

Again, Mr. Sinha seems to believe that I
have used his translations of the extracts he
has set forth without expressing my gratitude
to him. Let me explain at once that, in all
those passages which are not put in quotation
marks, I do not try to give the exact trans-
lations but only expound the significance of
the texts referring the interested reader to the
sources. My usual method is that, when I
give the translations, I adopt the standard
ones where available, making slight changes
here and there where I think necessary and
where there are no authoritative translations.
I take the greatest care to bring out the
sense of the texts. So in the case in question,
I depended on the translations, I do not
see why Mr. Sinha thinks that I should have
rejected the standard ones in favour of his
unpublished attempts, when, as a matter of
fact, we have English translations of Vyasa
and Vacaspati in both the *Harvard Oriental
Series* and the *Sacred Books of the Hindus*
series, which I have mentioned under 'Refer-
ences' on p. 373.

I see from the account in the *Modern
Review* that Mr. Sinha has selected his seven
extracts from three different pages of his
article, pp. 94, 95 and 96. Apparently he has
rought together the textual matter where
resemblances are bound to be striking, leaving
out the comments for which alone even the
best of us can claim originality, if any.

The whole page in my book is devoted to
a discussion of the theory of self-conscious-
ness. The first paragraph begins with the
sentences "Even if puruṣa is knowable, it is
because puruṣa is reflected in buddhi. The
eye cannot see itself except as it is reflected
in a mirror" and concludes with the statement
that "buddhi changes according to the objects
offered to it." The second paragraph opens
with the statement that "the notion of self
is due to the reflection of the self in buddhi",
and this view is strengthened by the first
passage in question "the puruṣa can know
itself only through its reflection in the buddhi
modified into the form of the object," an idea
which is set forth by Keith in these words:
"When the spirit reflects itself in the inner
organ, it brings its reflex to conscious
knowledge" (*Sāṃkhya*, p. 107.) Obviously the
the key words are *puruṣa*, *sattva*, *prati-
bimba* and *parinama*. I use the word 'puruṣa'
itself in the English rendering, as the word
'self' is ambiguous and may stand for either the
puruṣa or the jīva (ego), while Mr. Sinha uses
'self' for puruṣa. For *sattva* Mr. Sinha uses 'mind'
and I use 'buddhi' itself, on the authority
of the commentators (Vyasa: *buddhisattva*;
Vijnanabhikṣu *Sattvadhikya* *sattva* *buddhi*.
Others use other words, thought-stuff (Dasgupta:
Indian Philosophy, p. 242); thinking substance
(Woods: *Yoga System*, p. 6); objective essence
(Rama Prasada: *Yoga Sūtras*, p. 228) and I
felt it was best to leave the Sanskrit word
untranslated. *Parinama* and *pratibimba* are
usually translated by modification and reflec-
tion and it would be difficult to find other
words for them, even if one wanted any.

2. I am stating Vacaspati's view. Here
again I leave 'buddhisattva' practically
untranslated while Mr. Sinha renders it into
"the pure intelligence-stuff of the mind";
Samyama is translated by both of us as con-
centration. Woods uses 'constraint', Sris
Chandra Vasu 'concentration, meditation and
contemplative trance' (*Yoga Sūtra* S. B. H.,
p. ix) while Rama Prasad uses the Sanskrit
word in the English translation as well.

3. I am thankful to Mr. Sinha for admit-
ting that "in actual wording there is not a
great similarity in these two parallel
passages."

4. Here Mr. Sinha is translating Vyasa:
"na ca puruṣapratyayaṇa buddhisattvatmana
puruṣo dṛśyate: puruṣa eva tam pratya-
yam svatnavalambanam paśyati." In the first
place, I do not use 'mind' for buddhi and
'intelligence-stuff of the mind' for buddhi

sattva. Secondly, the clause 'as the mind is unconscious' is omitted in mine. Mr. Sinha is mixing up Vyasa and Vijñānabhikṣu in his translation. It is Vijñānabhikṣu and not Vyasa who says : *purusakarapratyayena buddhisattvadharmena puruso na drsyate tasya jadatvat—Yogavarttika*, iii. 35. Mine is a more faithful rendering of the passage quoted.

5-7 state Vijñānabhikṣu's view on the matter. No. 5 gives his view in his own words. In 6 & 7 I do not state the objection of karmakartvirodha which is interpreted as *svasmin svasambandhanupapatti* but I give the answer of the essential self-luminosity of the self and the distinction between the subject self and the object self. Mr. Sinha repeats in detail both the objection and the answer. In actual phraseology there is some agreement due to the identity of the texts considered but the differences throughout my renderings are striking enough to indicate to the careful reader that they are based on the texts.

Regarding passage No 8, Mr. Sinha urges that he is giving in it his own interpretation, while half the passage is devoted to a quotation from *Sastrapīka* and its translation. He complains that "the author does not give any reference here." As a matter of fact, his *Modern Review* version gives the reference as "Shastrapīka, p.482, ch. S.S." The Chowkamba edition of *Sastrapīka*, to which reference is made, has only 474 pages and page 482 of it is non-existent. My whole page is devoted to a development of Parthasarathi's view and the footnote gives the reference to "pp. 344 ff". The text which Mr. Sinha quotes and I use is found on p. 349 and not p.482. His reference is thus incorrect so far as the Chowkamba edition is concerned. Again, the opinion that the self is not manifested in every cognitive act but is apprehended only through the act of self-consciousness (*aham-pratyaya*) is a view attributed to Kumārila by his followers, notably Parthasarathi (see *Sastrapīka*, p.101) and it is not accepted by all that Kumārila actually held it* ; for he says that the self is a light which illumines itself.† I need not enter into a discussion of this problem here. But in view of it, I attributed the opinion not to Kumārila but "to the

followers of Kumārila" while Mr. Sinha holds that it is the view of 'Bhatta Mīmāṃsaka' which is his designation for Kumārila. That self-consciousness marks a higher degree of conscious life than the mere consciousness of the object is a criticism with which even a beginner in epistemology is familiar and I have referred to it in more than one place. My presentation of it is different from Mr. Sinha's not only on p.411, but on pp. 398-399.

"Prabhakara's view that, in every act of knowledge the object, the subject, and the knowledge of the object are manifested, is not in conformity with the evidence of psychology. When we know an object, there is no need whatever that the content of knowledge should at the same time include reference to myself. Unless the individual is in sophisticated mood, the probability is that it will not include the reference to self. Prabhakara mistakes the evidence of later reflection for that of perception. When one thinks of his knowledge an object, subject and object are present in the thought. We cannot think of a thing as known without reference to the correlative knower. But there is no reason why one should not think things without thinking of them as known. The act of reflection, which represents a higher stage of thought than the mere observation of objects, tells us about the implications of knowledge. Prabhakara believes that we cannot know without knowing that we know. He does not seem to admit the distinction between 'I know' and 'I know that I know.'"

We next come to a batch of statements from Sridhara's *Nyaya-kandali* and Prabhakara's *Prameyakanalamartanda*. Mr. Sinha's translations of the extracts from these works which are reproduced in the *Modern Review* have not evidently been published anywhere else before now. I have not seen the whole of Mr. Sinha's thesis and cannot say at this distance of time whether the part, on which I reported five years back, did or did not contain the passages. You, Sir, as a responsible editor thoroughly familiar with the high standards of journalistic ethics and etiquette, I do say, must have satisfied yourself that the translations set forth in the *Modern Review* were made by Mr. Sinha himself and expressed in exactly the same form in that part of the thesis examined by me, and that alterations, slight or serious, verbal material, were made in them in the last years, not, at any rate, after the publication of my second volume nearly two years ago. Any way I shall deal briefly with these positions where I am supposed to have depended upon the unpublished portion of Mr. Sinha's thesis, a view for which the only author happens to be Mr. Sinha's statement.

* See Keith : *Karma Mīmāṃsa*, p. 71 ; P. Sastri : *Introduction to the Purva Mīmāṃsa* pp. 91 ff.

† *Atmanaiḥ prakāśayam ātma jyotiḥ itiritaṃ (Sloka-varttika : Ātmavāda, verse 142).*

I am surprised to find that Mr. Sinha's rendering of the passages of *Nyaya-kandali*, to which I am said to be indebted for my account, is almost a *verbatim* reproduction of Dr. Ganganath Jha's English translation of

this work (published by E. J. Lazarus & Co., Benares, 1916). I give below Dr. Jha's translation (pp. 213-4) and Mr. Sinha's *Modern Review* version (pp. 102-3), with regard to a few instances.

PARALLEL PASSAGES

Dr. Jha's English Translation

4. After the cognition has been produced, there is produced in the object a peculiar condition known as '*cognisedness*' just as the action of cooking produces, in the rice, the condition of '*cookedness*'. There is not much in this theory. In the case of rice, we distinctly perceive its '*cookedness*' in its being changed from *tandula* (uncooked rice) to *odana* (cooked rice); but in the case of the object in question we do not perceive any such '*cognisedness*'.

5. Then again, just as when the object is cognised, there is produced '*cognisedness*' in it, so in the same manner when this '*cognisedness*' is known, there would be a '*cognisedness*' produced in that '*cognisedness*' also and so on *ad infinitum*.

6. If '*cognisedness*' be regarded as self-luminous in order to avoid this *regressus ad infinitum* (then, why should you object to this self-luminosity (self-cognisability) in the cognition itself?

7. Though, as a matter of fact, the object has its existence extending over all three periods of time, past, present and future, yet when it is cognised it is cognised as belonging to the *present*.

8. And the condition of the object determined by the present time is what constitutes its '*cognisedness*'; and this being an effect of the cognition, serves as the 'mark' for an inference of cognition.

9. But there is not much to recommend in this theory either. Because what the 'condition of the object determined by the present time' means its condition '*qualified*' by that time; and this belongs to the object by its very nature; and by cognition this condition is not produced, but only *known*.

Mr. Sinha's surprise must be very much greater when he discovers that the translation of the passages from *Nyaya-kandali* for which he claims originality, is anticipated not so much by me as by Dr. Ganganath Jha as early as 1915. I do not want to imitate Dr. Sinha by charging him with 'plagiarism'. He has an opportunity of revising his thesis because it is yet unpublished.

Mr. Sinha says that "none of these sentences (from my book) like mine is a close translation of any Sanskrit passage in *Nyaya-kandali*". No wonder. His next complaint is that I have not referred to

Mr. Sinha's version as given in the *Modern Review*, January 1929

4. The Bhatta argues that after the cognition is produced, there is produced in the object a peculiar condition known as '*cognisedness*' or '*apprehendedness*' (*ijnatata*), just as the action of cooking produces in rice the condition of '*cookedness*'. But this is a false analogy. In the case of rice we distinctly perceive '*cookedness*' in the rice in its being changed from *tandula* (uncooked rice) to *odana* (cooked rice); but in the case of the object in question, we do not perceive any such '*cognisedness*'.

5. Then again, just as when an object is cognised, there is produced in it a peculiar property called '*cognisedness*', so when this '*cognisedness*' is known, there would be a '*cognisedness*' produced in that '*cognisedness*' also and so on *ad infinitum*.

6. If '*cognisedness*' be regarded as self-luminous, in order to avoid this *regressus ad infinitum*, then why should you not admit the self-luminosity or self-cognisability of the cognition itself?

7. It may be argued that an object has its existence extending over the past, the present and the future; but when it is cognised, it is cognised as belonging to the *present*.

8. And '*cognisedness*' is nothing but the condition of the object determined by the *present* time and this being an effect of the cognition is the 'mark' for the inference of the cognition.

9. But this argument is unsound, because by 'the condition of the object determined by the present time' we mean its '*condition qualified*' by that time; and this belongs to the object by its very nature; and by cognition, this condition is not produced, but only *known*.

Tarkabhasa, to which he refers. If any inference is possible from this, it is the exact opposite of Mr. Sinha's suggestion. The views set forth in 1, 2 & 3 are not materially different from those of 7, 8 & 9 from *Nyaya-kandali*, the earlier work. Mr. Sinha's next point is my reference to pp. 96-98 of *Nyaya-kandali*. While in the first case I am blamed for omitting Mr. Sinha's correct reference, here I am charged with repeating his incorrect reference. Anything will do to prove a case! Sridhara's Commentary on VI. 56 which deals with this topic actually runs from p. 96 to p. 98 in Dvivedin's edition

(Vizianagram Sanskrit series), though the argument last adduced from it occurs on p.97. Mr. Sinha complains that "only that Sanskrit passage which I quoted from *Nyaya-kandali* in passage (10) has found its place in the book of the author and no other passage has attracted his notice." May I point out that the book is used throughout my third chapter and Sanskrit quotations from it are found not only in the context referred to, but in other places as well ; I may give two instances here :

190 n 2. Asaririnam atmanam na visaya-
vabodhah.

Nyaya-kandali, p. 57.

222 n 6. Bhutanam anabhidrohasamkalpah.

Ibid., p. 275.

I hope Mr. Sinha will not say that all the Sanskrit quotations I have given in my book are contained in the unpublished part of his thesis. At this rate all that I have ever written might be contained in the unpublished writings of any other person.

When I state the source of *Nyaya-kandali* and when my account of a particular passage in it differs, on Mr. Sinha's own admission, from his 'original' translation taken almost *verbatim* from Dr. Jha's version, which I mention in the bibliography at the end of the third chapter. I do not see where exactly my "unacknowledged borrowing" from Mr. Sinha's translation comes in.

We come last to *Prameyakamalamartanda*, where the charge is repeated that my account of Prabhacandra's criticism is based on parts of Mr. Sinha's unpublished thesis. There is not one passage in my version which may be regarded as identical with Mr. Sinha's. He is aware of this and so writes : "None of his sentences like mine is a literal translation of a Sanskrit passage from *Prameyakamalamartanda*." "The author has not followed the book closely in his book." "In my thesis I closely followed the book and gave the translation of many important Sanskrit passages." "This is the gist of" "a beautiful summary of a corresponding passage" or "a beautiful specimen of paraphrasing and summarizing." He has taken the pains to invert the order of arguments in two or three places." I do not know whether the sentences in Mr. Sinha's account are taken from the same context or different ones but whatever it may be, when he admits that the phraseology is different, the development of the argument is different and that

my account is a brief *resume* while Mr. Sinha's is a literal translation, it is difficult to know why he believes that my account is based not so much on the text as on his extracts from it. When two or more writers are using the same texts, there is bound to be similarity in significance and much agreement in phraseology, if the writers are faithful to the sources. I need not tell Mr. Sinha that the translations of, say, the Upanishads by Max Muller, Hume, Mead etc. resemble one another not only in matter but in form and it would be foolish certainly to rush from this resemblance to a charge of plagiarism. I am unable to understand Mr. Sinha's accusations, even assuming that these extracts were found in that part of his unpublished thesis which I looked into in exactly the same form five years back as they are said to be to-day. There are other contexts in my book where *Prameyakamalamartanda* is used and I hope it will not be said that those also are due to Mr. Sinha.

If everybody who uses a few extracts from the texts believes that every other person who follows him is indebted to him in a special sense then the difficulty of writing on Indian Philosophy great as it is, will become practically insurmountable. It was certainly easy for me to have loaded my book with Sanskrit texts and made a display of all the apparatus of learning. If instead of giving chapter and verse for my expositions and criticisms I had actually reproduced the original texts in the footnotes or in an Appendix, Mr. Sinha would not have thought that I was indebted to him for my account. And such a plan would perhaps have added to my reputation as a scholar but it would certainly have taken away from the value of my book to the reader. Rightly or wrongly I still feel that pouring one's note-books into the printed text would fatigue the reader and make it less effective than it would be if the reading and the thinking were fused into an intelligible narrative.

It occurs to me that it is a perilous enterprise to lecture to students on a subject about which you propose to publish a work later. During the time my second volume was in preparation, I had often lectured to the classes on many of the topics discussed in it including the Samkhya theory of self-consciousness and the Mimamsa theory of knowledge. It is not at all impossible that some of the material contained in it might have found currency before the publication of the work.

In the last 12 months or so, I have used in my classes as well as public addresses again and again many of the ideas and sentences which are contained in a small book which will be published in a month or two in Kegan Paul's *To-day and Tomorrow* Series. It will be a serious thing if scraps picked up at random from these talks are used against me when the book is published.

In our unfortunate land self-praise is subtly sought by the dispraise of others. I hope our younger men at least will grow out of this weakness. Even if we have to criticize others, it is possible to do so with courtesy and restraint. Mr. Sinha need not be alarmed if he finds that others also use the Sanskrit classics which he happens or proposes to use. They are not the private possessions of any one author. The value of a philosophical work depends not so much on the extracts we use as on the

interpretative exposition and critical evaluation where the individuality of the writers comes out.

I am very sorry to have been dragged into this kind of controversy but believe me, Mr. Editor, when I say that I have done so completely against my will. I only hope that I have said nothing unfair or unkind to any one in this communication.

I am,

Sir,

Yours sincerely,
S. Radhakrishnan

P. S. The MS. of my second volume was actually sent to the publishers in 1924 as for as I remember, and the delay in printing was caused by the absence of Professor Muirhead in America. The Preface was signed after the final proofs and the Index were sent to them and this was in December, 1926.

A PHILOSOPHICAL WRITER ACCUSED OF PLAGIARISM

II.

To

The Editor,
The Modern Review.

Dear Sir,

I shall be very much obliged if you will kindly publish the following in your esteemed journal.

In continuation of my letter published in the *Modern Review*, January, 1929, I append below a few more extracts from the published and unpublished portions of my

thesis for Premchand Roychand Studentship (1922-1923), which have been quoted almost verbatim by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan without acknowledgement in his *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, (1927.) Many of these extracts have been incorporated in the main body of his book and printed in bold type.

Meerut College, Meerut,

January 15, 1929

Yours faithfully,

Jadunath Sinha

PARALLEL PASSAGES

Extracts from my thesis submitted to the Calcutta University for P. R. S. in 1922 and 1923, and examined by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan :

(I) 1. "But though there is always a direct and immediate knowledge of the self in every act of cognition, there is not always a direct and immediate knowledge of the not-self or an external object.

2. An object is not directly presented to consciousness in recollection and inference.

3. Though in indirect knowledge its object is not directly presented to consciousness, yet the indirect knowledge itself is *directly* presented to consciousness."

(Published in the *Meerut College Magazine*, January, 1924, *Perception of the Self*, p. 92.)

Extracts from Dr. S. Radhakrishnan's *Indian Philosophy*, Vol II, published in 1927 (the preface being dated December, 1926).

(I) 1. "While there is always a direct and immediate knowledge of self in every act of cognition, there is not always a direct and immediate knowledge of the not-self or the object.

2. In recollection and inference the object is not directly presented to consciousness.

3. Though in indirect knowledge the object is not directly presented to consciousness, yet the indirect knowledge itself is *directly* presented to consciousness." (In bold type, p. 395).

[None of the above sentences is a translation of any Sanskrit passage. The whole extract is *my*

(II) 4. "Both in recollection and in recognition it is the *object* of recollection and recognition that appears in consciousness, and not their subject..."

5. It is the self-apprehended as an *object* of previous perception that is *re-presented* to consciousness as the *object* of present recollection and recognition.

6. If, in the recognition of the self, the self is not known as the *object* of recognition, then the act of recognition would be *object-less*. But there can be no consciousness without an object.

7. Hence...the self must be regarded as an *object of self-consciousness*."

(Published in the *Meerut College Magazine*, January, 1924, *Perception of the Self*, p. 90).

(III) 8. "If substantiality constitutes the *object* of consciousness, then the self can never be the subject or knower; for the self is as much a substance as a jar..."

9. It may be urged that the pure form of transcendental consciousness is the subject or knower, and when it is empirically modified...it becomes the *object* of consciousness. (घटवच्छिन्ना हि ज्ञातृता ग्राह्या शुद्धे ज्ञातृता ग्राहिका *Nyāyamañjarī*).....Thus we may distinguish three factors : (i) a pure subject (शुद्धा ज्ञातृता), (ii) a pure object (शुद्धविषयग्रहणम्), and (iii) the subject as modified by the object (घटवच्छिन्ना ज्ञातृता)".

(Published in the *Meerut College Magazine*, January, 1924, *Perception of the Self*, pp. 83-84)

(IV) 10. "An act of knowledge...has an agent or subject of knowledge or knower (*jñātā*), an object of knowledge (*jñeya*), an instrument of knowledge or instrumental cognition (*karanañjñāna*), and a result of knowledge *viz.*, apprehendedness (*jñātātā*) in the object.

11. According to the Bhaṭṭa Mīmāṃsaka, a cognition cannot be perceived, but is inferred from the result of cognition *viz.*, cognisedness (*jñātātā*), or manifestness (*prākātya*) in the object.

12. A cognition is inferred from the relation between the subject or knower and the object known, which is apprehended by internal perception.

13. If there is not an adventitious condition intervening between the self and the object, how is it possible for the self to be related to the object?

14. Therefore, from the specific relation between the subject and the object involved in knowledge we can infer the existence of cognition.

own interpretation of Prabhakara's doctrine as elaborated in *Prakaranapāṇicikā* on p. 56, (ch. S. S). The author does not give any reference here.]

(II) 4. "In the phenomena of recognition and recollection the object appears in consciousness and not the subject.

5. It is the self apprehended as the *object* of perception that is represented in consciousness as the *object* of present recollection and recognition.

6. If, in the recognition of the self, the self were not an object, then the act would be *object-less*, but there can be no consciousness without an object.

7. So the self must be regarded as the *object* of self-consciousness." (In bold type, p. 411).

[None of these sentences is a translation of any Sanskrit passage. The whole extract is *my own interpretation* of Kumārila's doctrine; and it has been quoted almost verbatim by the author without acknowledgment. The last paragraph on p. 411 has already been shown to be borrowed from my thesis published in the *Meerut College Magazine*, January, 1924. (*Vide The Modern Review* January, 1929, p. 101). So, practically the whole page has been bodily taken from my thesis].

(III) 8. "If substantiality constitutes the *object* of consciousness, then the self cannot be the subject or the knower, since it is as much a substance as a jar is.

9. If Kumārila urges that the pure form of consciousness is the subject, while the same consciousness empirically modified is the object, then we seem to have three types, *viz.*, consciousness of an object in itself (*suddhavisayagrahanam*), pure subject (*suddhajñātṛtā*) and the subject modified by an object like a jar (*ghaṭāvachchinnañjñātṛtā*)." (In bold type, p. 413).

[None of these sentences is a translation of any Sanskrit passage. The whole extract is *my exposition* of a passage in *Nyāyamañjarī*, p. 430. The author does not give any reference for the first sentence, since he has not found it in my thesis. And for the second sentence he has referred to *Nyāyamañjarī* without referring to its page just as I have done in my thesis].

(IV) 10. "An act of knowledge has four elements in it: 1. the knower (*jñātā*); 2. the object of knowledge (*jñeya*); 3. the instrument of knowledge (*jñānakaraṇa*); and 4. the result of knowledge, or the cognisedness of the object (*jñātātā*).

11. According to Kumārila, a cognition is not directly perceived, but is inferred from the cognisedness (*jñātātā*, *prākātya*) of the object produced by the cognition.

12. The cognition is inferred from the relation between the knower and the known, which is apprehended by internal perception.

13. Were it not for this other factor intervening between the knower and the known, the self could not become related to the object.

14. From the specific relation involved in knowledge between the subject and the object the existence of cognition is inferred.

15. Here consciousness is hypostatized as a third term between the self and the not-self, which relates the two to each other.

16. Even those who hold that all cognitions are self-luminous (*svaprakāśaka*) must admit that this relation between the self and the not-self, which is involved in knowledge, is an object of internal perception.

17. Otherwise, how can we say "the jar is cognised by me," if we do not know the relation between the cognising self and the cognised object, and also the relation between the cognition and the object of cognition?

18. If it is said that cognition or consciousness is self-luminous, and the object is manifested by consciousness, by what is the relation between consciousness and its object manifested?

19. Hence when a cognition is produced, and its object is manifested, the relation that is produced between the two cannot be the object of that cognition.

20. It cannot be argued that at first the cognition manifests its object, and then it manifests its relation to the object, inasmuch as the cognition is momentary.

21. It cannot be argued that the relation between the cognition and its object is self-luminous, because there is no proof of the self-luminosity of the relation.

22. Hence the Bhāṭṭa concludes that the relation between the self and the object, which is an object of internal perception, proves the existence of cognition.

23. Or the existence of a cognition may be proved by the peculiarity (*atiśaya*) produced by the cognition in its object. (अथगतोवा ज्ञानजन्योऽतिशयः कल्पयति ज्ञानम् ।)

24. This peculiarity must be admitted even by those who hold that the cogniser, the cognised object and the cognition are manifested by consciousness. (अवश्यमेगीकरणीयश्चायमतिशयस्त्रितयप्रतिभासवादिरपि ।) (Original Manuscript of my thesis entitled "*Indian Psychology of Perception*, Vol II, pp. 64-65, submitted to the Calcutta University in 1923).

(V) 25. "The visual organ, according to the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, is not the eyeball or the pupil of the eye; it is the seat (*golaka* or *adhīsthāna*) of the visual organ which is of the nature of light (*tejas*); and this ray of light goes out of the pupil to the object at a distance and comes into direct contact with it; thus there is a direct visual perception of direction, distance, and position."

(*Indian Psychology of Perception*, Vol. II, p. 59.)

[This is not a translation of any Sanskrit passage. It is my exposition of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika view of the visual organ. It is an extract from the chapter on *Perception of Space* in my thesis. So the last

15. Consciousness is here regarded as a sort of *tertium quid* relating the self and not-self.

16. Even those who hold that all cognitions are self-luminous (*svaprakāśa*) admit that the relation between the self and the not-self involved in knowledge is an object of internal perception.

17. We cannot say "The jar is cognised by me" unless we know the relation between the cognising self and the cognised object, as well as the relation between the cognition and the object of cognition.

18. If cognition or consciousness is self-luminous, and if the object is manifested by consciousness, by what is the relation between consciousness and its object manifested?

19. When a cognition is produced it manifests its object, and so the relation between the two cannot be the object of that cognition.

20. Since the cognition is momentary, we cannot say that it first manifests the object and then its relation to the object.

21. Nor can it be said that the relation between the cognition and the object is self-luminous, since there is no proof of it.

22. The followers of Kumārila accordingly contend that the relation between the self and the object is an object of internal perception which proves the existence of cognition.

23. The existence of a cognition may be proved by the peculiarity (*atiśaya*) produced by the cognition in its object. *Arthagato vā jñānajananyo'ṭiśayah kalpayati jñānam.*

24. This peculiarity must be admitted even by those who hold that the cogniser, the cognised object and the cognition are manifested by consciousness (*tritayapratibhāsavādibhip*).

(In bold type, pp. 400-401).

(This long extract from the main body of *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, has been taken almost verbatim from the chapter on *Perception of Cognition* of my thesis, which has already been shown to be bodily incorporated into this book along with its wrong references.

(*Vide The Modern Review*, January, 1929, pp. 102-107). The author has taken the major portion of his interpretation of Prabhākara and Kumārila's theory of knowledge from my thesis.]

(V) 25. "The Naiyāyika argues that the visual organ is not the eye-ball or the pupil of the eye, which is only the seat (*adhīsthāna*) of the visual organ, which is of the nature of light (*tejas*), and the ray of light goes out of the pupil to the object at a distance and comes into direct contact with it. That is why we have a direct visual perception of direction, distance and position." (*Italics mine*). (In small type, p. 55.)

[This has been borrowed from the corresponding passage in my thesis. The author does not give any reference here. And he cannot resist the temptation of referring to the perception of space also in this connection in the last sentence, though

part of the sentence refers to the visual perception of direction, distance and position, which has been elaborated later on.]

(VI) 26. "The Buddhists offer the following criticism to the Nyaya-Vaiśeṣika theory: The visual *gṛāṇ* is nothing but the pupil of the eye through which we see the visual objects. Now, the pupil never goes out of itself to the object, and thus can never come into direct contact with the object....

27. The eye cannot go out to its object, for if it could go out to its object, it would never be able to apprehend objects hidden behind glass, mica etc.

28. [The eye can never directly apprehend the position, distance, and direction of its object.]

The visual perceptions of these spatial characters are not direct, but acquired." (*Indian Psychology of Perception*, Vol. II, chapter on *Perception of Space*, pp. 59-60).

The last sentence of the above passage interprets the Buddhist theory of the visual perception of space as implied in the doctrine of *Aprāpyakāri*. This is my own interpretation of the Buddhist theory. I have explained it more clearly later on. I have pointed out that the advocates of the doctrine of *Prāpyakāri* may be regarded as *nativists* with regard to the origin of the idea of space, while the advocates of the opposite view may be regarded as exponents of the *genetic* theory.

(VII) 29. "Udayana offers the following criticism to the Buddhist theory...in his *Kiraṇārālī*.

30. What apprehends or manifests an object must come into direct contact with the object.

31. A lamp manifests an object, only because the light comes into direct contact with the object.

32. The visual organ is of the nature of light, and hence the ray of light goes out of the pupil to the object.

33. The light issues out of the pupil, and spreads out and thus can cover a vast object, and hence the field of vision is not co-extensive with the eye-ball or the pupil of the eye.

34. There must be some difference in the moments of time required in the apprehension of the two (near and distant) objects, though it is not distinctly felt by us.

35. [Light is an extremely light substance:] and consequently, its motion is inconceivably swift; so even the distant moon is seen just on opening the eyes.

36. Some hold that the light of the visual organ, issuing out of the pupil, becomes blended with the external light, and thus can come into contact with far and near objects simultaneously... If (so), then it would be able to apprehend those objects which are hidden from our view e. g., those objects which are behind our back.

37. Glass, mica etc., are transparent by their very nature; and hence they cannot obstruct the passage of light."

(*Indian Psychology of Perception*, Vol. II, chapter on *Perception of Space*, pp. 60-61).

it is not necessary in his general treatment of the nature of sense-object-contact.]

(VI) 26. "The Buddhist logician objects to the Nyāya view on the following grounds: The visual organ is the pupil of the eye through which we see the objects, and the pupil cannot go out of itself and come into contact with the object at a distance. [The next two sentences in the book are summaries of the corresponding passages in my thesis.]

27. The eye cannot go out to its object, since then it would not be able to apprehend objects behind glass, mica and the like.

28. *The visual perception of distance and direction is not direct but acquired.*" (Italics mine). (In small type, p. 56).

[The last sentence of this passage interprets the Buddhist theory of visual perception of space. Why does the author introduce the theory of space-perception here? On what grounds does he attribute the theory of *acquired* visual perception of distance and direction to the Buddhists? What does he mean by *acquired perception* here? Does he take the term in its technical sense in modern psychology? Why does he make a hazardous statement without giving any reasons? The obvious reason is that he has simply borrowed the whole passage from my thesis without any discrimination. The author does not give any reference here, since there is no reference in my thesis.]

(VII) 29. "Udayana in his *Kiraṇārālī* attempts to answer these objections.

30. Whatever apprehends or manifests an object must come into contact with it.

31. A lamp illuminates an object with which it comes into contact.

32. So also the visual organ, which is of the nature of light, goes out of the pupil to reach the object.

33. The light issuing out of the pupil spreads out and covers the object and it becomes co-extensive with the field of vision.

34. There is a difference in the time intervals required in the apprehension of near and distant objects, though it is not felt by us.

35. The distant moon is seen on opening the eye, since the motion of light is inconceivably swift.

36. The suggestion that the light of the eye issuing out of the pupil becomes blended with the external light and comes into contact with near and distant objects simultaneously is set aside on the ground that on such a theory we must be able to apprehend objects hidden from our view, even those at our back.

37. Glass, mica and the like are transparent in nature, and so do not obstruct the passage of light." (In small type p. 56).

[None of these sentences like mine is a literal translation of any Sanskrit passage. But still

(VIII) 38. "Space must be distinguished as *desā* (locus) and *dik* (direction). According to the *Mīmāṃsaka*, both locus and direction are directly perceived through the auditory organ, though they are perceived as qualifying adjuncts (*viśeṣaṇas*) of sounds.

39. The *Mīmāṃsaka* holds that the ear-drum or the auditory organ is *prāpyakāri* and hence produces the perception of a sound, only when it actually comes into contact with the sound.

40. The ear does not go out to its object *viz.*, the sound which is at a distance, but the sound is propagated to the ear-drum through the air-molecules.

41. [Kumarila offers the following criticism to the Buddhist view.] On the Buddhist hypothesis, we cannot account for the apprehension of a sound by a person near at hand and the non-apprehension of a sound by a person far away.... Nor can we account for the fact that sounds have different degrees of intensity (*tībra-mandādivyavasthā*) according as they come from greater and greater distances.

42. If the ear could apprehend a sound even from a distance, without coming into direct contact with the sound, as the Buddhists suppose, then all sounds far and near would be simultaneously perceived through the ear.

43. Thus when sounds come into the ear-drum from different directions, they come into it not as mere sounds, but as coloured by the different directions from which they come.

Therefore, just as sounds are directly perceived through the ear, so also the directions from which they come...

44. But how can distance be perceived through the ear? Sounds coming from a proximate point of space are perceived as most intense (*tībra*); but their intensity becomes feebler and feebler as they come from greater and greater distances."

(*Indian Psychology of Perception*, Vol. II, chapter on *Perception of Space*, pp. 51-58.)

(IX) 45. "The former (indeterminate perception) is an undifferentiated and non-relational mode of consciousness devoid of assimilation and discrimination, analysis and synthesis, while the latter (determinate perception) is a differentiated and relational mode of consciousness involving assimilation and discrimination, analysis and synthesis.

46. The former is dumb and inarticulate, free from verbal images, while the latter is vocal and articulate.... The former is abstract and indeterminate, while the latter is concrete and determinate."

(*Indian Psychology of Perception*, Vol. I, with the seal of the Calcutta University, pp. 1-2.)

(X) 47 "When we perceive a cow, we have

why is there such a great similarity? There is no reference to the pages of *Kiraṇavali* here, because there is none in my thesis.

(VIII) 38. "Space is distinguished into *desā*, or locus, and *dik*, or direction, and both these are directly perceived as qualifying adjuncts (*viśeṣaṇas*) of sounds.

39. The auditory organ is *prāpyakāri* i. e., comes into contact with the object, sound.

40. The ear does not go out to the object, *viz.*, sound at a distance, but the sound is propagated to the ear-drum through the air-waves.

41. This view accounts for the fact that persons near at hand apprehend sounds, while those at a distance do not. It also explains the different degrees of the intensity of sounds (*Tīra-mandādivyavasthā*).

42. If the ear could apprehend sounds, without coming into direct contact with them, as the Buddhists imagine, then all sounds, far and near, would be simultaneously perceived through the ear.

43. They reach the ear, not as mere sounds, but as coloured by the different directions from which they spring. So, sounds as well as their directions are directly perceived.

44. Even distance is perceived through the ear, since sounds coming from a proximate point are more intense (*tībra*) than those coming from a distance."

(In small type, pp. 380-381).

[The author does not give any reference here. He has quoted the same Sanskrit words as he found them in my thesis. But why does he not give any reference? Because there is none in my thesis.]

(IX) 45. "It (indeterminate perception) is a state of undifferentiated, non-relational consciousness, free from the work of assimilation and discrimination, analysis and synthesis.... Determinate perception is a mediate, differentiated, relational mode of consciousness involving the results of assimilation and discrimination.

46. It (indeterminate perception) may be regarded as dumb and inarticulate and free from verbal images... It (determinate perception) is articulate, concrete and determinate." (In bold type, p. 60.)

[This passage like mine is not at all a translation of any Sanskrit passage. It is an interpretation of the nature of indeterminate perception and determinate perception. But why should it be absolutely similar to the corresponding passage in my thesis?]

(X) (47) "When we perceive a cow, our

such a perception as 'this is a cow' इयं गौः and not as 'here is the class-essence of cow in the individual cow' (इह गवि गोत्वम्).

48. This clearly shows that the universal . . . is not entirely different from the individual.

49. Then, again, what is meant by inseparable connection (अयुगसिद्धिः)? It is the absence of separable connection (युगसिद्धिः). What, again, is separable connection (युगसिद्धिः)? Does it mean the capacity for separate or independent movements (व्यवृत्तिवत्त्वः)? Or does it mean subsistence in different substrata (व्यवृत्तिवत्त्वः)?

50. In either case, there would be no relation between the composite whole and its component parts, because there can be a movement in the parts without a movement in the whole, and because the whole and its parts inhere in different substrata,—the whole inheres in its part and the parts inhere in their component atoms.

51. Likewise, the universal and the individual too have different substrata, because the substratum of the universal is the individual, and the substrata of the individual are the parts of the individual.

52. Hence Pārthasārathi Mīśra concludes that inherence is such a relation between the container and the contained, that the latter produces a corresponding cognition in the former. येन सम्बन्धेनापेक्षमाधारे स्वानुरूपं बुद्धिं जनयति स सम्बन्धः समवाय इति। (Śāstrādhīkā).

53. The universal inheres in the individual. This means that the universal (e.g. *gotva*) produces an apprehension of it in the individual (*govyakti*). (Indian Psychology of Perception, Vol. II, chapter on Perception of Jāti, pp. 40–41).

(XI) 54. "To this Vedāntist view the Naiyāyika offers the following criticism: The self is said to be of the nature of unconditioned or unmodalized consciousness. But has anybody ever experienced an unconditioned consciousness? Our consciousness is produced by an external organ or by the internal organ.

55. It may be urged that the self . . . can be known by immediate and intuitive consciousness (अपरोक्षज्ञान). But this is self-contradictory.

perception is to the effect 'This is a cow' 'iyam gauḥ', and not 'Here is the class-essence of cow in the individual cow' (iha gavi gotvam).

(48) The universal is not, therefore, different from the individual.

49. The two are said to be inseparable. The absence of separability (*yutasiddhi*) means either the capacity for separate or independent movements (*prthaggatimatva*) or subsistence in different substrata (*Prthagāsrayā-srayitva*) (Italics mine).

50. In either case, there would be no relation between the composite whole and its component parts, since there can be a movement in the parts without a movement in the whole, and since the whole and its parts inhere in different substrata, the whole in the parts and the parts in their component atoms.

51. Likewise, the universal and the individual have different substrata, since the substratum of the universal is the individual and that of the latter the parts composing it.

52. So Pārthasārathi Mīśra defines inherence as a relation between the container and the contained, such that the latter produces a corresponding cognition in the former. "Yena sambandhena ādhāre svānūrūpam buddhim janayati sa sambandhaḥ samavaya iti." (Śāstrādhīkā).

53. To say that the universal inheres in the individual means that the universal (cowness) produces an apprehension of it in the individual (cow)." (In small type, foot-note, pp. 214–215).

[This long extract from the foot-note on pp. 214–215, *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, is absolutely similar to the corresponding portion of my thesis. There are the same Sanskrit words! There is the same Sanskrit sentence! The author has made a change only in one place. He has only summarized the passage (49), and in doing so he has committed an egregious mistake. 'Yutasiddhi' does not mean 'absence of separability', and the 'absence of separability' never means 'the capacity for separate or independent movements (*prthaggatimatva*) or subsistence in different substrata (*prthagāsrayā-srayitva*)' as the author holds. Such an unpardonable mistake is the inevitable consequence of indiscriminate, unintelligent borrowings from other sources.]

(XI) 54. "The Naiyāyika objects to this theory on the following grounds: Nobody has experienced pure consciousness, since our empirical consciousness is always conditioned by the mind and the senses.

[This is the summary of the corresponding passage in my thesis.]

55. To say that it is known by intuitive consciousness (*aparokṣajñana*) is self-contradictory.

56. It may be urged that the self is luminous, and hence it is known by an immediate and intuitive consciousness. If so, then a luminous lamp too would manifest itself* to a blind man, though unperceived by him.

57. If the lamp manifests itself only to him by whom it is apprehended, then the self too must be regarded as manifesting itself, only when it is apprehended.

....And as apprehended it must be regarded as an object of apprehension or consciousness. It cannot, therefore, be regarded as the pure, unmodalized or transcendental consciousness.

(Published in the *Meerut College Magazine, Perception of the Self*, January, 1924, pp. 85-86.)

(XII) 58. "The Bhāṭṭa argues that if the self is self-luminous, because it is of the nature of consciousness, then why should the mental states of pleasure and the like be not regarded as self-luminous?"

59. Besides, if the self were self-luminous by its very nature, then it would never cease to be so, and it would manifest itself even in dreamless sleep. But in fact, the self is not manifested in deep sleep.

60. The Vedāntist urges that in dreamless sleep the self alone is manifested, neither the organism, nor sense-organs, nor external objects, but in waking consciousness all these are manifested. But this is contradicted by our experience. On waking from sleep we have a consciousness that we apprehended nothing during deep sleep.

61. Hence the self cannot be regarded as self-luminous, as the Vedāntist holds, but it must be regarded as the object of internal perception or self-consciousness. (मानसपञ्चनमयं पञ्चायमिति स्थितम् ।

Sāstraṭīpikā, pp. 487-490, Ch. S. S.)

(Published in the *Meerut College Magazine, Perception of the Self*, January, 1924, pp. 90-91.)

(XIII) 62. "The self knows an external object through the... mental modification on which it casts its reflection. This is the view of Vācaspati-miśra. Vijñānabhikṣu assumes that the self casts its reflection on the unconscious mind functioning in a particular way, and the mental function which takes in the reflection of the self and assumes its form is reflected back on the self, and it is through this reflection that the self knows an external object."

(Published in the *Meerut College Magazine, Perception of the Self*, January, 1924, p. 94.)

[This is my own exposition of the classical distinction between the view of Vācaspati and that of Vijñānabhikṣu in Sāṅkhya philosophy.]

(XIV) 63. "Dream cognitions are... presentative in character. They are... aroused by external and internal stimuli."

(Published in the *Meerut College Magazine, Dreams*, January, 1926, p. 71.)

56. If it is argued that the self as self-luminous is known immediately, it may be said that a shining lamp is manifested to a blind man though unperceived by him.

57. If the lamp manifests itself only to one who apprehends it, then even the self is known only when it is apprehended, i. e. when it becomes an object of consciousness, and then it ceases to be pure and undefiled." (In small type foot-note, p. 481.)

[This extract is a summary of the corresponding portion of my thesis. The author does not give any reference here.]

(XII) 58. Kumārila asks, if the self as being of the nature of consciousness is self-luminous, are pleasure and pain to be regarded as self-luminous?

59. On this view we cannot account for its suspension in sleep. [It is the gist of the corresponding passage in my thesis.]

60. If it is said that the self alone is manifested in dreamless sleep, but not the body or the senses or the objects, which are all manifested in waking life, Kumārila denies it on the ground that we have a consciousness that we apprehended nothing during deep sleep when we awake from it.

61. He contends that the self is an object of internal perception (mānasapratyaksagamyam). See also *Sāstraṭīpikā*, pp. 487-490. (In small type, foot-note, pp. 481-482.)

[The above extract is a beautiful specimen of paraphrasing and summarizing. There are two editions of *Sāstraṭīpikā* (Ch. S. S.). The author has always referred to *Sāstraṭīpikā* with *Yuktiśneha-prapīṇam* in his work, (Vide pp. 376, 379, 381, 384, 385, 389, 393 etc.). But here only he refers to the other edition of the book with *Sāstraṭīpikā-prakāśa* (Ch. S. S.) to which I have referred here,

(XIII) 62. "While Vācaspati thinks that the self knows the object through the mental modification on which it casts its reflection, Vijñānabhikṣu holds that the mental modification which takes in the reflection of the self and assumes its form is reflected back on the self, and it is through this reflection that the self knows the object." (In small type, foot-note, p. 295.)

[It is a wonder that such commonplace doctrines of the Sāṅkhya philosophy cannot be expressed by the world-renowned scholar of Indian Philosophy in his own language! He has had to quote verbatim from my thesis. We must note here that Dr. Radhakrishnan has incorporated numerous passages from one chapter on *Perception of the Self* only (published in the *Meerut College Magazine*, January, 1924), into three chapters of his book and distributed them over as many as seven pages in order to escape detection by me.]

(XIV) 63. "Dreams are presentative in character, aroused by external and internal stimuli." (In bold type, p. 71.)

64. "Pṛāṣastapāda....recognized only three causes of dreams, viz., intensity of subconscious impressions, intra-organic disorders, and *adṛṣṭa* or merit and demerit. संस्कारपाटवान् धातुदोषात् भट्टश्चाह ।"

(Published in the *Meerut College Magazine, Dreams*, 1926, p. 73.)

65. "There are certain dreams which are due to the suggestive force of spiritualistic agents." (*Ibid.*, p. 71.)

[I have here referred to the Buddhist account of dreams due to spirit-influence as explained by S. Z. Aung in his *Introduction to Compendium of Philosophy*, pp. 48-49. See the *Meerut College Magazine*, January, 1926, p. 73.]

(XV) 66. "Kāṇāda defines dream-consciousness as the consciousness produced by a particular conjunction of the self with the central sensory or mind in co-operation with the subconscious impressions of past experience. (Sanskrit quotation, v. s. 9. 2. 6-7.)

67. Pṛāṣastapāda defines dream-cognitions as internal perceptions through the mind, when all the functions of the external sense-organs have ceased. (P. B., V. S. S., p. 183.)

68. Śrīdhara clearly points out that dream-cognitions are not mere reproductions of past experience... But they are produced entirely through the mind (मनोमात्रप्रभवं तत् स्वप्नज्ञानम्). [There is no reference here.]

69. Udayana admits that in the state of dream the peripheral organs do not altogether cease to operate. [There is elaborate discussion in my thesis.]

70. According to Prabhākara, dream-cognitions are really representations or reproductions of past experience; but they appear to consciousness as direct and immediate sense-presentations, owing to the obscuration of memory (स्मृतिमोह). "

(Published in the *Meerut College Magazine, Dreams*, January, 1926, pp. 74-75.)

64. "They are produced by the revival of subconscious impressions *caused* by organic disturbances as well as past merit and demerit." (In bold type, p. 71).

[It refers to Pṛāṣastapāda's view (*Vide Pṛāṣastapādabhāṣya* V. S. S., p. 184). But this sentence is misleading.]

65. "Prophetic dreams, which even Aristotle recognized, are said to be due to the influence of spirits." (In bold type, p. 71).

[The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika *never* accounts for prophetic dreams by the influence of spirits; as the author erroneously holds. I have described four kinds of dreams in the beginning of my chapter on *Dreams* (*Vide the Meerut College Magazine*, January, 1926, p. 71). So, the author has thought that all of them are recognized by Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika.]

(XV) 66. "Kāṇāda attributes dreams to the conjunction of the self with the central organ, manas, aided by the subconscious impressions of past experience. (V. S., IX, 2. 6-7).

67. Pṛāṣastapada regards dreams as internal perceptions caused by *manas*, when the senses are subdued into sleep and cease to operate. (P. B., p. 183.)

68. Śrīdhara does not look upon dreams as mere reproductions of past experience, but holds that they are centrally excited *Manomītraprabhāvām* (?) *svapnajñānam*. [There is no reference here also.]

69. Udayana is of a different opinion, and thinks that the peripheral organs do not cease to function in dream-states. [There is no reference here.]

70. Prabhākara makes dreams reproductions of past experiences, which, owing to obscuration of memory (*smṛtipramosa*), appear to consciousness as immediate presentations." (In small type, pp. 71-72).

[This is a summary of the chapter on *Dreams* in my thesis. Dr. Radhakrishnan has similarly summarized my chapters on *Recognition* (*Vide Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, pp. 69-70), *Acquired Perception* (p. 69), and *Indeterminate and Determinate Perception* (pp. 57-61). I have shown in these letters that he has taken numerous passages from my chapters on *Perception of the Self*, *Perception of Space*, and *Perception of Jāti*. And he has bodily transplanted the complete chapter on *Perception of Cognition* from my thesis into his book. I have given numerous extracts from the published portions of my thesis, which have been quoted almost verbatim by him without acknowledgment. So he has borrowed not only my ideas but also my language in many places. He is indebted to me for so much of his specialized knowledge! But there is no trace of acknowledgment anywhere in his book. Is the thesis of an examinee the property of his examiner? But I have one consolation. He has not only obliged one, but also many eminent authors of English works on Indian Philosophy. One cannot imagine the magnitude of his plagiarism.]

THE GARDEN CREEPER

By SAMYUKTA DEVI

14)

[T was hard to make Shiveswar believe that it was against existing social conventions to allow Mukti to go about with Jyoti. The venerable lady had tried her best to convince him, but he had behaved with his usual obstinacy. Jyoti was the most trustworthy person he knew, and so he did not see why his daughter should not go out with him.

As the young people got down from their car in front of the Elphinstone Picture Palace, Mukti cried out: "Look, there's Mrs. Ghose, with Chapala-di and the other children."

The young lady, referred to as Chapala-di, overheard them and advanced smilingly. "Hallo, Mukti," she said, "I have not seen you for ages." Chapala's mother, too, turned round to have a look at them. The lady was enormous in bulk and had a dark complexion and a snub nose, on which was perched a pair of spectacles.

"How do you do Mukti?" she asked patronisingly; "with whom have you come?"

"With Jyoti," replied Mukti shortly.

"Oh, your father has not come then?" the lady asked again, "Very well, you come and sit with us."

Mukti could not refuse, though she felt far from pleased at this arrangement. "Hang on!" muttered Jyoti, "she will pester me to death with her endless questions."

The party entered the hall. Jyoti manoeuvred cleverly and obtained the seat next to Mukti. Chapala was next to Mukti, on the other side. So everybody felt satisfied.

Jyoti cast a look around, after he had made himself comfortable. He found some of his class-mates in the row in front, and he had no doubts whatever that they were talking about him and his beautiful companion. He tried to look supremely unconscious of these facts, but needless to say, did not succeed much.

It was doubtful whether he saw more of the film or of his friends' faces. The girls, on the other hand, were completely immersed in the picture and whispered to each other excitedly over the fate of the heroine.

As the orchestra struck up the English national anthem, all stood up. Before Mrs. Ghose could make her way out, Jyoti whispered to Mukti and both disappeared instantly.

As soon as they were outside, Mukti turned to him in surprise. "Why did you rush away like that?" she asked.

"What else was there to do?" he answered. "I was bent upon escaping Madame Ghose's clutches. I saw that she was planning to ask for a lift. It would have made us frightfully late, besides being extremely unpleasant. Hallo, is that you, Dhiren?"

Dhiren had been trying to pass by unnoticed. Finding himself discovered, he stopped in embarrassment and said: "The fellows from our mess came, so they brought me along too."

"But how do you propose to return?" asked Jyoti. "You won't get the tram now."

"Oh, we shall walk," said Dhiren; "it is not so very far."

"Come along," said Jyoti, "we shall give you a lift. It is just on our way."

Dhiren began to feel very awkward at this proposal. He had never dreamt of riding in the same carriage with Mukti. "Oh, please don't trouble about me," he said, "I shall be all right."

"Why not?" asked Jyoti. "Are you feeling shy on account of Mukti? But you know each other, don't you?"

"Yes, indeed," said Mukti, coming to the rescue, "he knows me quite well. Don't you remember, you came to my birthday party? Come along, Dhiren Babu, we shall be very pleased if you come."

Dhiren had no other option; so he got in after them. Jyoti talked on, all the time, and Dhiren answered him, in monosyllables. Mukti was feeling a bit uncomfortable at Dhiren's evident embarrassment. "Jyoti is a fool," she thought, "why on earth did he drag this fellow in? I wonder what he is thinking of us." She too remained silent, busy with her own thoughts.

As soon as they had dropped Dhiren at the corner of the road, Jyoti turned to

Mukti and cried: "Well Mukti, you are a very good pupil of Mrs. Ghose, the leader of our society. As you have not been properly introduced, you did not think fit to speak a word to the poor boy."

"Don't talk like an idiot," said Mukti, now in a temper. "Why did you insist on his coming with us? Haven't you got a grain of sense? Couldn't you see that he did not at all want to come? I can guess what he will tell his friends."

Jyoti began holding forth on the subject of feminine narrow-mindedness and love of formality. Mukti retaliated by giving her candid opinion about masculine idiocy and conceit. When at last they reached home, they had not finished even then.

Mrs. Ghose had decided to send Chapala and one of the boys home in Mukti's car. Mukti's father was too silly for words. Still as Mrs. Ghose was there, she must try to preserve social conventions. It would never do to allow a young girl to go alone with a boy. But the good lady was mortified to find that the Ganguli's car had vanished with its two occupants before she could carry out her plans. She became extremely angry, as she had to pay for two taxis.

The short spring was nearly at an end. It was becoming too hot in the metropolis and Shiveswar was feeling more and more unwell. He was advised to go for a change to the hills. Mukti and her father were trying to decide between the rival attractions of Simla and Darjeeling.

Jyoti's examinations were over and so were Mukti's. Both of them were doubtful about the results, as their preparations had been none too good, due to their being together. Each was determined to cast the whole blame on the other, if he or she happened to get plucked.

Suddenly, Shiveswar made up his mind. "We start for Darjeeling, my dear," he announced to Mukti, at the tea-table. "If mother agrees to go, we shall take her along too. Otherwise, she will spend the two months in her father's house."

"And what about Jyoti?" asked Mukti, with a laugh. "Is he going to be left alone in the house?"

"No, indeed," replied Shiveswar, "he is to take a longer trip than either of us. First a sea-voyage, then two or three years in England."

Both Jyoti and Mukti jumped up at this news. Shiveswar had to finish his tea alone,

his companions being too excited to care about it.

"So then, I need not think about the results at all," said Jyoti, as soon as he got out of the dining room. "As I am going to England, it does not matter a bit whether I pass or fail."

"You need not get stuck up so soon," said Mukti. "Even a degree, obtained here, will count. Otherwise they will set you to learn the alphabet there."

Everyone was excited at the news of Jyoti's going abroad. Preparations began and Jyoti spent most of his time outside. He was busy getting his outfit ready and making his table manners perfect. Shiveswar was busy arranging for his berth and writing to his friends in London. Mukti had nothing to get busy over, yet she seemed the busiest of all. She said she was having some warm dresses made for her coming trip to Darjeeling.

Jyoti had almost ceased to speak to Mukti—he had no time to spare. Even if he spoke, it was in English, because he was trying to become fluent in that language.

So poor Mukti had to pass the time as best as she could. She could not fully understand why she felt so fearfully sick at heart. She got angry and thought of returning to the boarding house; only it had closed for the vacation now. The time hung heavy in her hands and there was no friend or companion. Within the week, Jyoti would be gone. He had finished all his arrangements and had only to get on board. He had more leisure now and hovered round Mukti frequently in the hope of making amends for past neglect. But it was Mukti's turn now to get busy over dresses and ignore her friend altogether. So whenever Jyoti was seen approaching, Mukti would become wholly engrossed in pieces of velvet, Kashmere and lady's serge. Jyoti would lose his temper and go away after a few minutes.

There were only two days more. Jyoti came out of his room in the evening, very smartly dressed, and was about to pass down the stairs. Mukti happened to be standing near, with a piece of sewing in her hand.

"You look quite a dandy," she remarked. "where may Your Highness be going?"

"They are giving me a farewell party at Dhiren's mess this evening," Jyoti replied.

"Farewell party!" said Mukti turning up her pretty nose. "You seem to have become a mighty important personage!"

"I am not important to you, I know the

ell enough," Jyoti said, "but others may hold different views." With these words, he ran down the stairs.

Under ordinary circumstances Mukti could have run after him to utter some word of sarcasm at such a melodramatic utterance. But strange to say, she did nothing of the sort, only stood there with her face turned pale.

Jyoti returned late, with a silver-mounted ring in his hand. "This is a present, from my friends," he said. "They are real friends. Look at Mukti! Instead of giving me a parting gift, she would like to steal something from me, if she could."

"Steal something indeed!" said Mukti. "You seem to think, you possess Aladin's treasures. You would not have your things, if you offered them on your bended knees."

Jyoti smiled and went off to his own room.

Next morning, Jyoti came and knocked

Mukti's door very early. He had a beautiful casket of ivory in his hand. "Did you leave this by mistake, in my room?" he asked as soon as Mukti had opened the door. "This seems to be your jewel box."

Mukti looked utterly surprised. "My jewel box?" she asked. "How many jewels do you think I have got, to need a box for them? And even if I possessed a box, why should I leave it in your room? I have not taken leave of my senses yet. Open it and see what's inside."

Jyoti opened it and cried out, "No, the ring certainly does not belong to you. It would only belong to a handsome young man, like myself." He went off with the casket.

The time of Jyoti's departure arrived too soon. He had to get on board in the evening, though the steamer would usually start the next morning. His luggage had been sent to the steamer long ago. Jyoti had shut himself up in his room, getting dressed. He wanted his appearance to be flawless. Mukti had finished dressing long ago, and the car was standing ready to take them to the wharf.

After a while, Jyoti came out, dressed. Mukti was standing at the head of the stairs, waiting for him. "I thought you were never going to finish," she said.

"Go and get into the car" said Jyoti. "Your mother is calling you. I am coming after my leave of grandmother."

He went and bowed down to the old

lady's feet. "Good-bye, grandmother," he said.

She stood up, saying, "Good-bye, my dear boy, good-bye." Before she could say anything else, the boy had rushed out of the room.

Mukti was already in the car. Shiveswar stood on the steps, giving instructions to his secretary. As soon as Jyoti appeared, he went and got into the car also.

They were soon at the wharf. Every one was silent, being too moved to speak. The steamer lay just before them, with lights streaming from every door and window.

They accompanied Jyoti to his cabin. "There's no foreigner with you," said Shiveswar. "That's good. The other passenger seems to be from Madras. Mukti, you have never been on board a ship before. Let's go and have a look around."

"But father, will they allow us to go everywhere?" asked Mukti.

"Why not?" said her father. "All right, let me enquire first." He walked out, hat in hand.

"So I am to pass a fortnight within this hole?" said Jyoti, sitting down; "all my enthusiasm seems to be evaporating."

There was no answer. Jyoti turned round to find Mukti hiding her face against one of his suit-cases.

He ran to her and pulled her up saying, "What's this Mukti? Did not you take me for your *dekhani-husi*? Now at this most important time you give me tears, instead of smiles?" He could not say anything more, as tears began to run down his own cheeks. He clasped Mukti's head to his breast and sobbed like a child.

After a while, Mukti drew apart and began to wipe her eyes. Jyoti too tried to smile and went and stood by the door. "This was not the farewell I had planned," he said. "I had rehearsed quite long speeches, but you spoilt all."

Shiveswar returned at this juncture, saying, "I have obtained permission from the Captain, come along. But why are you both wiping your eyes? Fie, fie, you are no more children. Jyoti, you are a man, you should not be so silly." He blew his own nose violently, and took them out of the cabin.

A bell rang a few minutes later. A signal for visitors to depart. Shiveswar shook hands warmly with Jyoti. Mukti followed her father silently, without speaking any word of farewell. Jyoti ran to her and took her hand

in his own. "Good-bye, Mukti" he said. As father and daughter left the steamer, he ran inside his cabin and did not come out again.

All night Mukti lay awake, thinking and thinking. Had the steamer actually started or not? Towards the small hours of the morning, she fell asleep and did not awake till the sun was high up in the heavens.

(15)

Shiveswar's house in Bhowanipore stood in the midst of a garden of good size. During the vacation, Jyoti and Mukti had made good use of it. The garden had resounded with their merriment. In the morning they strolled about, plucking flowers; in the hot noon, they would find out a shaded nook, either under the huge Neem tree, or under the flowering Gold-mohur, where there was a wooden seat. They would begin literary discussion with a great show of wisdom and knowledge. They read a good deal, though there was little discrimination in their choice. Classics and moderns enjoyed their favour in equal degree. English and continental authors reposed side by side with Bengali poets and novelists on their shelves. Whenever they saw some new book advertised, they went and got it at once.

The blossoms of the Mango, Neem and Sirish would spread a fragrant and beautiful carpet for the reception of these two friends. They would get some book, go and sit down and then talk and talk. Sometimes one would read and the other would listen. If it was Jyoti's turn to read, he would set about it seriously and diligently. But if it happened to be Mukti's turn, she would read for a few minutes, then begin talking about some wholly irrelevant subject. She could never keep her attention concentrated on one subject for any length of time. Jyoti would try to call her to order, but would soon give up the attempt as fruitless, and join in her conversation. The book would slide down from their laps, and find a resting-place amongst the fallen leaves and blossoms.

They would talk on every subject under the sun. Jyoti's college and Mukti's school, the cinema, the monthly magazines, the latest novel and drama and every one of their friends and acquaintances, were discussed and criticised with merciless candour. The noon would merge into evening before they would finish, grope for the neglected books and get up. They would laugh at the fate

of the books, but next day, again they would come to the very same spots, with the very same books again, and consign them to the very same fate.

In the evening, they would generally go out together for a drive. Shiveswar would sometimes accompany them and sometimes not. They would order the driver to put on full speed and enjoy the wind whistling past their ears. They would traverse Bhowanipore, Ballygunge and sometimes even Barrackpore.

So this morning, when Mukti got up, she found her heart strangely empty. It seemed to her as if some demon had blasted all the joy and smile of her life. She would never laugh again, she would never feel happiness bubbling within herself again. Only sorrow and tears were left for the future. With the close of last night, had closed the happy chapter of her life. That portion was dead it would not come to life ever again. A new period was about to begin, but Mukti dreaded to face it.

She tried to console herself with the thought that there was no occasion for so much sorrow and despair. But in vain. The tears would gather in her eyes and splash down her cheeks.

Mukti took herself to task severely. What has happened? Nothing much. Jyoti has gone abroad to continue his studies, he would return after two or three years. It was unlikely that his heart would change completely, during that period. So why worry so much?

But her heart refused to be comforted. Jyoti was gone to England. It was so far so far away. Mukti would not see his face she would not hear his voice. Could she ever think of him as clearly as she used to? Jyoti had gone, and taken Mukti's smile with him.

Poor Mukti sat on her bed, thinking and weeping. She tried to smile, she could not. She tried to recall some funny incident which would make her laugh, but she could not recall the scene inside the cabin and Jyoti's face at the time of farewell. She tried to drive them away, but they persisted, in spite of her efforts.

Grandmother called from downstairs "Mukti, my dear, come down. You are very late. Don't sleep any more." As if Mukti could sleep or had been sleeping! The old ladies! She had not slept a wink, but had been thinking of a certain steamer carrying

away a certain person. She tried to follow it. Then she must have fallen asleep. Suddenly she heard somebody calling out, "Good-bye Mukti!" She woke up with a start to find the sun shining through the window and the new maid saying, "Here's your tea, Miss."

The tea too had remained on the bedside table, untasted. Now, at her grandmother's call, she had to get up. She washed her face, and went down.

"Why are you looking so pale and tired?" asked her grandmother. "I hope you are not unwell?"

"I had a headache last evening and could not sleep well," said Mukti.

"The way you go on, is enough to make any head ache. You need not have gone to the wharf. But who listens to an old woman," said Mokshada.

Mukti went and had a bath. She tried to soothe her aching mind as well as her aching head, by splashing in the cold water for a long time. Then she went into the garden. But everything was bent upon reminding her of Jyoti. She found a favourite book of his lying under the Gold-mohur tree. It must have been there for a long time. The cover was ruined by the heat of the sun, and looked humped up like a camel's back. Mukti now remembered that Jyoti had taken the book down to the garden, three or four days ago. He had invited Mukti too, but she had kept away under pretence of being busy with her sewing. Jyoti had come up to superintend her work and left the book there. The book had been lying there ever since.

Mukti picked up the book and walked about with it for a long time in the garden, then returned with it to her room. She knew well enough that mere pulling and thumping would not make the cover straight again, but she would not give it up. Work is the only solace of aching hearts; so Mukti welcomed this work, thankless though it was. She pulled and pressed for a long time, then getting tired of it, left the book under four or five heavy volumes to get straight as best as it could. She took her sewing machine and sat down to her dress-making. That she had not taken any breakfast, seemed not to matter at all.

Her grandmother waited and waited, thinking Mukti was having a long bath. But when one complete hour passed off, without any sign of her grand-daughter, she began to feel annoyed. "Mukti, Oh

Mukti," she called. "Where have you gone to? Don't make your headache worse, by remaining on an empty stomach."

Mukti started up, ashamed of her forgetfulness, and ran down to her grandmother. "My head is all right now, grandmother," she said. "I sat down to do a bit of sewing, as I was not feeling hungry at all."

The old lady became angry. "I knew how it would be," she said. "First headache, then want of appetite, then giddiness, then you become positively ill. So much for your trip to Darjeeling. Your father's money was made to be thrown away. He himself is a fool, and has got another fool for a child. You two will drive me crazy. I know, you are sickening for something serious, in order to give me a good time. Come now and eat your breakfast. I will see whether you have an appetite or not."

Mukti was tired of lying, so she went like a good girl and had her breakfast. Her grandmother's scolding had served to bring her back to the world of reality. She gave up her reveries, and began to feel more her old self.

As the day advanced, her heart grew lighter and lighter. The fierce sunlight seldom fosters sad thoughts and mournful imagination. Star-light and darkness create the fitting atmosphere for them.

In the evening Mukti's heart was beginning to get heavy again. But fortunately Shiveswar arrived at that juncture with a load of things, he had just purchased from the new market. "Here, little mother," he said, "these are for Darjeeling. You better begin your packing right now. You will be boss from now on, you know. Mother is old and should be allowed to retire."

Mukti accepted her new responsibility gladly. She pulled out trunks and suit-cases, arranged and re-arranged things, in a perfect frenzy of hurry, as if she were starting that very evening. Shiveswar went away quite satisfied. He had understood perfectly what was ailing Mukti and had tried this remedy.

Mokshada was determined to stick to Shiveswar wherever he went. Shiveswar would be glad enough to send her home. He could then make a perfect Mem-sahib of his daughter and roam about with her everywhere, giving no thought to getting Mukti married. And Mokshada would have to bear the scathing remarks and insinuations of all her friends and relatives. Far better it would be to follow Shiveswar to the hills.

So when Shiveswar came and said, "Mother, I hope you are going with us?" she replied, "Yes, child, where else shall I go? Where you are, there is my home."

Shiveswar was a bit surprised at this answer; still he felt satisfied on the whole and went to buy blankets, shawls and vegetable shoes for her.

Mukti worked enthusiastically, and got everything ready much before time. She was impatient to start, Calcutta had become quite unbearable to her.

The looked-for day arrived at last. The luggage were piled up mountain-high in a hackney carriage and sent to the station in charge of the Hindustani durwan, while Shiveswar drove on there later, with his mother and daughter.

Mukti did not like the small compartment of the train at all. It had a corridor running along the entire length, along which passengers passed and re-passed continually. Mukti was accustomed to the large compartments of the E. I. Railway, and she liked them. "What a nasty hole," she said, turning up her nose, "I don't know how I shall stay in it for such a long time."

"You have not seen the worst yet," laughed her father. "You will have to get into positive toy trains after this."

Next morning at Siliguri Mukti found her father's predictions confirmed. On one side of the platform stood the big train of the plains, on the other side stood a very small train, which could only be fit for dolls. Mukti laughed and laughed. How could people travel in it? Where could they sit and where were they to keep their numerous luggage? She seemed at her wit's end. But the guard soon relieved her by taking away most of their luggage and stowing these away in the brake van. Mokshada did not want to let her own special trunk go, but the *Sahib* would not listen to her.

The train started. The compartments had

no doors or windows, it had only curtains. Mukti sat in one of them, eager for her first glimpse of the Himalayas.

As they went up and up, the trees, rivers and everything else belonging to the plains grew smaller and smaller, losing the look of reality and taking on the look of a toyland. New wonders awaited them at every turn. Mukti drew his father's attention to everything she found exciting. Here was a gushing mountain stream, there a glorious fern, and there again a bank of clouds rolling up to envelop them in its misty embrace. At last, they reached Darjeeling.

There was a dense fog. The whole town, the deep *khuds*, the huge walls of mountain, nothing could be seen. Mukti did not feel as cold as she had anticipated, but her young body thrilled with pleasure at the touch of the fleecy clouds on her face and hair. She was amazed at everything she saw. There were no male porters. The short and sturdy hill-women took up the heaviest loads quite easily. They put the load on their back and fastened it with a strap of cane to their forehead and then began to climb up the roads. Dirty Bhootias, with glowing rosy cheeks, stood before them, shouting, "Mem-sahib, do you want a rickshaw? Mem-sahib, do you want a dandi?" Rickshaws and dandis were the only conveyances here in those days. Mukti did not like them much. The rickshaw looked like a wheelbarrow to her, and the dandi even worse. She refused to get in, she preferred to walk.

It came on to rain, when they were half way up. The fog was too dense to allow anything to be seen, but they felt the rain drenching them through and through. Mukti felt pleased at everything she saw and felt and reached her new home very soon. She changed and had her breakfast. Then suddenly she fell to shivering. She knew now that she had really reached Darjeeling.

(To be continued)

PEACE OR WAR?

By MAJOR B. D. BASU, I. M. S. (Retired)

WHAT has contributed most to the advancement of humanity? Peace or war? It is a question which has been often asked, but is difficult to answer satisfactorily. Of course, those who worship

the god Mars have no hesitation in declaring with Heraclitus: "War is the father of everything"; or, with Empedocles: "War is the mother of all good things."

The great European war of 1914-1918

produced a voluminous literature in which the Allies condemned the Germans for praising war and decrying peace. But long before that war, not only Germans but other Christian nations also eulogised war as greatly advancing the cause of humanity. Thus one Lafcadio Hearn wrote :—

"The highest conditions of civilization have been reached only through the discipline of militancy. However much we may detest and condemn war as a moral crime, it will be scarcely reasonable to declare that the results are purely evil."

The well-known English author De Quincy said :—

"War has a deeper and more ineffable relation to hidden greatness in man than has yet been deciphered... The great phenomenon of war it is this, and this only which keeps open in a man a spiracle for breathing a transcendent atmosphere and dealing with an idea that else would perish; the idea of mixed crusade and martyrdom, that made its realization in a battle such as Waterloo, a battle fought in the interests of the human race."

What eminent German writers and military men said in praise of war was selected in book-form by one Mr. William Archer and published by T. Fisher Unwin Ltd. in 1916 under the name of 501 Gems of German Thought. In these gems, German "Kultur" seems to be another name for bloodshed and war. A few of these gems are given below :—

"The surest means of serving the ends of humanity is to work at the elaboration of our national personality, and to develop the full strength of its crystalline radiance."—F. Isley.

"Germany is the future of humanity." "...The downfall of Germanism would mean the downfall of humanity."

"The highest steps of Kultur have not been mounted by peaceable nations in long periods of peace, but by warlike peoples in the time of their greatest combativeness."—R. Thenden.

"War is held to be a divine institution, a law of the universe, present in all nature, ... wars purify the atmosphere like thunderstorms."—Burckhardt.

"Perpetual peace is a dream, and it is not even a beautiful dream. War forms part of the eternal order instituted by God... Without war humanity would sink into materialism."—Count V. Moltke.

"...War shall always recur, as a drastic medicine for ailing humanity."—Treitschke.

"Christ himself said : 'I am not come to send peace on earth but a sword.' There never was a religion which was more combative than Christianity."—General Bernhardt.

"It is nothing but fanaticism to expect very much from humanity when it has forgotten how to wage war."—Fr. Nietzsche.

"Unless we choose to shut our eyes to the necessity of evolution, we must recognize the necessity of war. We must accept war, which will last as long as development and existence; we must accept eternal war."—K. Wagner.

"Only over the black gate of the cemetery--can

we read the words, 'eternal peace for all peoples. For peoples who live and strive, the only maxim' and motto must be Eternal War."—K. Wagner.

"The so-called world peace is not order, but chaos. It means in the first place the forcible dominion of capitalists and proletariat over the productive powers of the nations, and lastly, in the struggle of all against all, a return to those prehistoric conditions, out of which, in the opinion of our cosmopolitans, all our culture took its rise"—Nippold.

"A people of parasites like the Jews strives, with all the instincts of its craving for power and for wealth, towards the abolition of war, for if that could be effected, its work of disintegrating the living bodies of the nations could go on unhindered."—F. Lange.

"Jean Paul called war the strengthening iron cure of humanity."—Prof. W. Sombart.

It is not difficult to select passages embodying views and sentiments regarding the necessity and beneficial effects of war from the writings of Christian English and French authors similar to the Gems of German Thought quoted above. Did not Montaigne, not a German, declare that war is "the greatest and most magnificent of human actions?"

War becomes a necessity under the present circumstances of the human society. *

This is admitted by thinkers of all ages and countries of the world. On the battle field of Kurukshetra, when the armies of the Pandavas

* Mr. J. Perry, writing in *The Hibert Journal* for October 1917 on *The Peaceable Habits of Primitive Communities*, says that the folk-tales of all nations

"show a remarkable tendency to claim that there was a time when sin and strife were unknown, that men were once peaceful and innocent, until by some mischance war and misery came into their lives."

According to him there was no war in the Stone Age.

"The art of the Aurignacian Age affords an additional reason for concluding that the people of the Stone Age were peaceful. The Aurignacian people painted on the walls of their caves pictures of the animals they hunted... Men who lived in a state of constant warfare would have neither the time nor the inclination to devote themselves to such work."

"The evidence, therefore, as far as it goes, is in favour of the conclusion that the most primitive people of whom we have information were peaceful."

In his subsequent papers on "*War and Civilization*" published in *Bulletin of the John Ryland's Library, Manchester*, Vol. IV, Nos. 3 and 4, February and July, 1918, Mr. Perry looks upon plunder as the root of war. According to him the beginning of war was caused by the conquest of peaceful peoples by adventurers bent on gold, pearls and amber, and on servile labour to produce them. Thus "Imperialism" in the modern sense brought on war.

and Kauravas were arrayed against one another, the warrior Arjuna refused to fight. The author of the Bhagavad Gita—"the Song Celestial", puts in his mouth arguments used by pacifists of our time. The Lord Shri Krishna answered all his objections and after all succeeded in inducing him to fight.

In the Mahabharata it is also mentioned that in warfare the fighters on both sides attain to Heaven if they fall on the field of battle.

Views not differing from the above are to be met with in the religious scriptures of some other creeds—especially of Islam.

According to the French psychologist, M. Ribot, this fighting instinct has been beneficial to human society. He writes:—

"This instinct common to all primitive races, has not been without its use in the progress of humanity, if as we may believe, it has assured the triumph of the stronger and more intellectual races over those less generously endowed. But these warlike instincts, preserved and accumulated by heredity, have become the cause of destruction, carnage and ruin. After having served to create social life, they are no longer of any use but to destroy it: after having made certain the triumph of civilization, they then only work for its destruction. Even when these instincts are not bringing two nations to blows, they are manifested in ordinary life, in certain individuals, by a quarrelsome and combative humour which often leads to vengeance, the duel, and murder."

Writes another psychologist of note:—

"These important social effects of the pugnacious instinct seem to be forcibly illustrated by a comparison of the peoples of Europe with those of India and of China. In neither of these areas has there been a similar perennial conflict of societies. In both of them, the mass of the people has been subjected for long ages to the rule of dominant castes. The bulk of the people are deficient in the pugnacious instinct: they are patient and long suffering, have no taste for war, and in China especially, they despise the military virtues. . . . Among these peoples Buddhism, the religion of peace, found a congenial home, and its precepts have governed the practice of great masses of men in a very real manner, which contrasts strongly with the formal acceptance and practical neglect of the peaceful precepts of their religion that has always characterized the Christian peoples of western Europe."—Mr. McDougall's *Social Psychology*, 2nd edition, pp. 291 and 292.

As said before, in the present circumstances of society, war has become a necessity. Society tries to be static. But there can be no progress if it remains in that condition. It must be dynamic. It is war which makes it so, since it brings about revolution, which is rapid evolution. It contributes also to the preservation of the higher type of humanity by infusion of

new blood into the veins of the conquered.

One of the objections, of Arjuna against fighting was that, after the death of the warriors, their women-folk would go astray, thus producing a progeny of mixed peoples or half-castes. Shri Krishna did not say anything against it, because this is the natural sequence of war.

Professor Giddings in his "Principles of Sociology" writes:—

"The first effect of conquest is secondary congregation and a more varied demotic composition.

"The secondary congregation in the evolution of tribal societies is one that brings aggregations of racially related groups into such contact with populations of a different race or sub-race that social and demotic amalgamation are inevitable. The evidences are inexhaustible that the great historical peoples were created by the superposition of races or sub-races.

"Ancient and modern examples from every part of the world show not only that groups of the same stock that become socially integrated accept intermarriage as one of the implied consequences, but also that conquering tribes seldom exterminate the conquered. The women especially are saved, and as slaves, concubines, or wives bear children of mixed blood. How large a proportion of the total population of a State may have had this origin in ancient times is indicated in the command to the Israelites on the eve of the battle with the Midianites: 'Now therefore kill every male among the little ones, and kill every woman that hath known man by lying with him. But all the women children that have not known man by lying with him, keep alive for yourselves,'" and by the subsequent record that the prey over and above the booty which the men of war took, included thirty and two thousand persons in all of the women that had not known man by lying with him."†

The Muhammadan conquest of Christian countries bordering the Mediterranean Sea, was effected by the confiscation of women. Writes Draper, in his "Conflict between Religion and Science" (pp. 100-101), that

"It was the institution of polygamy based upon the confiscation of the women in the vanquished countries, that secured for ever the Mohammedan rule. The children of these unions gloried in their descent from their conquering fathers. No better proof can be given of the efficacy of this policy than that which is furnished by North Africa. The irresistible effect of polygamy in consolidating the new order of things, was very striking. In little more than a generation, the Khalif was informed by his officers that the tribute must cease, all the children born in that region were Mohammedans, and all spoke Arabic."

Close inter-breeding is not good for

* Numbers XXVI, 17, 18.

† Ibid, 32-35.

nan or any living creature. Writes Giddings in the work referred to above:

"There is also reason to believe that without some intermingling of unlike elements and occasional cross-breeding, the line of descent would end in enough physiological degeneration.

"Cultures of no less than twenty different species of infusoria, made with extreme care by Maupas, of Algeria, were maintained during periods of time varying in different cases from six weeks to between four and five months. He found that after from fifty to one hundred generations had been produced by fission, there was clear evidence of a physiological decline, which seemed to indicate the approaching extinction of the culture. He withdrew some of the infusoria from the culture and allowed them to mix with others of a different origin. With these they conjugated, and their full vigour seemed restored. On the other hand, they conjugated among themselves, observation showed that decline was far advanced that the culture was doomed.* The evidence that close inter-breeding is injurious to animals and to men is familiar, and generally accepted as conclusive." (*Principles of Sociology*, pp. 95-96).

War by putting a stop to this close inter-breeding for some time, proves beneficial to the human race.

"Necessity is the mother of inventions." Some of the most useful inventions have come into existence during wars. The preparation of sugar from the beet root and the manufacture of margarine are the most notable instances to mention.

War is the best teacher of conservation the world has known. It abolishes luxury and shows the necessity of plain living and high thinking.

In the present stage of society, war becomes a necessity. It is an evil, but it is a necessary evil. We find peace brings luxury and oppression on a subject race, creates luxury and voluptuousness. Hence deterioration takes place.†

* Gardiner: "Weismann and Maupas on the origin of Death." "Biological Lectures delivered at the Marine Biological Laboratory of Woods' Holl, 90" p. 121.

† "Civilization consists of certain means or instruments (material and intellectual) for human well-being, and these means or instruments are capable of being inherited in the legal or social, that is in the biological sense of inheritance. Civilization is not evil in itself, but because its products are unequally distributed and so irrationally used. Again, the mere fact of social inheritance, whilst bringing enormously the advance of humanity, confined in it the possibility of danger. It implies a very great extent a cessation of natural selection. Thus, what is in many respects a highly civilized race, may become more and more physically enfeebled, till it falls a prey to internal

The modern Christian nations, though professing to be humane in war, do not observe it as a rule in actual warfare. The outspokenness of some of the German military men and philosophers is much to be commended. Thus one General V. Hartmann writes:—

"It is a gratuitous illusion to suppose that modern war does not demand far more brutality, far more violence, and an action far more general than was formerly the case.

"The enemy State must not be spared the want and wretchedness of war: these are particularly useful in shattering its energy and subduing its will."

The philosopher Fr. Nietzsche writes:—

"That the lambs should bear a grudge against the great birds of prey is in no way surprising; but that is no reason why we should blame the great birds of prey for picking up the lambs. To demand of strength that it should not be a will for overcoming, for overthrowing, for mastery, a thirst for enemies, for struggles and triumphs, is as absurd as to demand of weakness that it should manifest itself as strength."

Again, in another place, he says:—

"We...believe that [man's] Will to Life had to be intensified into unconditional Will to Power; we hold that hardness, violence, slavery, danger in the street and in the heart, secrecy, stoicism, arts of temptation and devilry of all kinds; that everything evil, terrible, tyrannical, wild-beast-like and serpent-like in man contributes to the elevation of the species just as much as its opposite—and in saying this we do not even say enough."

Another German author writes:—

"Whoever enters upon a war in future, will do well to look only to his own interests and pay no heed to any so-called international law. He will do well to act without consideration and without scruple. In the days of old, conquered peoples were completely annihilated. To-day this is physically impracticable, but one can imagine conditions which should approach very closely to total destruction."

The Germans are a philosophical race and hence it seems they are not proficient in the art of duplicity which goes by the name of "occidental diplomacy." The author of "European Morals" has said that

"A disinterested love of truth can hardly co-exist with a strong political spirit. The object of the politician is expediency, that of the philosopher search after truth."

The German philosophers and writers

degeneration, and to the attack of some rudely equipped, but vigorous, barbarian invaders. Peace is generally accounted a blessing, and is usually lauded by those who preach the return to nature; but peace means a cessation of natural selection, and consequent decay in the average physique." Ritchie's *Natural Rights*, pp. 59-60.

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"This instinct, common to all primitive races, has not been without its use in the progress of humanity, if as we may believe, it has assured the triumph of the stronger and more intellectual races over those less generously endowed. But these warlike instincts, preserved and accumulated by heredity, have become the cause of destruction, carnage and ruin. After having served to create social life, they are no longer of any use but to destroy it; after having made certain the triumph of civilization, they then only work for its destruction. Even when these instincts are not bringing two nations to blows, they are manifested in ordinary life, in certain individuals, by a quarrelsome and combative humour which often leads to vengeance, the duel, and murder."

Writes another psychologist of note:—

"These important social effects of the pugnacious instinct seem to be forcibly illustrated by a comparison of the peoples of Europe with those of India and of China. In neither of these areas has there been a similar perennial conflict of societies. In both of them, the mass of the people has been subjected for long ages to the rule of dominant castes. The bulk of the people are deficient in the pugnacious instinct: they are patient and long suffering, have no taste for war, and in China especially, they despise the military virtues. . . . Among these peoples Buddhism, the religion of peace, found a congenial home, and its precepts have governed the practice of great masses of men in a very real manner, which contrasts strongly with the formal acceptance and practical neglect of the peaceful precepts of their religion that has always characterized the Christian peoples of western Europe."—Mr. McDougall's *Social Psychology*, 2nd edition, pp. 291 and 292.

As said before, in the present circumstances of society, war has become a necessity. Society tries to be static. But there can be no progress if it remains in that condition. It must be dynamic. It is war which makes it so, since it brings about revolution, which is rapid evolution. It contributes also to the preservation of the higher type of humanity by infusion of

new blood into the veins of the conquered.

One of the objections of Arjuna against fighting was that after the death of the warriors, their women-folk would go astray, thus producing a progeny of mixed peoples or half-castes. Shri Krishna did not say anything against it, because this is the natural sequence of war.

Professor Giddings in his "Principles of Sociology" writes:—

"The first effect of conquest is secondary congregation and a more varied demotic composition."

"The secondary congregation in the evolution of tribal societies is one that brings aggregations of racially related groups into such contact with populations of a different race or sub-race that social and demotic amalgamation are inevitable. The evidences are inexhaustible that the great historical peoples were created by the superposition of races or sub-races."

"Ancient and modern examples from every part of the world show not only that groups of the same stock that become socially integrated accept intermarriage as one of the implied consequences, but also that conquering tribes seldom exterminate the conquered. The women especially are saved, and as slaves, concubines, or wives bear children of mixed blood. How large a proportion of the total population of a State may have had this origin in ancient times is indicated in the command to the Israelites on the eve of the battle with the Midianites: 'Now therefore kill every male among the little ones, and kill every woman that hath known man by lying with him.' But all the women children that have not known man by lying with him, keep alive for yourselves," and by the subsequent record that the prey over and above the booty which the men of war took, included thirty and two thousand persons in all, of the women that had not known man by lying with him."†

The Muhammadan conquest of Christian countries bordering the Mediterranean Sea, was effected by the confiscation of women. Writes Draper, in his "Conflict between Religion and Science" (pp. 100-101), that

"It was the institution of polygamy, based upon the confiscation of the women in the vanquished countries, that secured for ever the Mohammedan rule. The children of these unions gloried in their descent from their conquering fathers. No better proof can be given of the efficacy of this policy than that which is furnished by North Africa. The irresistible effect of polygamy in consolidating the new order of things was very striking. In little more than a generation, the Khalif was informed by his officers that the tribute must cease, all the children born in that region were Mohammedans, and all spoke Arabic."

Close inter-breeding is not good for

* Numbers XXIV, 17, 18.

† Ibid. 32-35.

man or any living creature. Writes Giddings in the work referred to above:

"There is also reason to believe that without some intermingling of unlike elements and occasional in-breeding, the line of descent would end through physiological degeneration.

"Cultures of no less than twenty different species of infusoria, made with extreme care by E. Maupas, of Algeria, were maintained during periods of time varying in different cases from two weeks to between four and five months. He found that after from fifty to one hundred generations had been produced by fission, there was clear evidence of a physiological decline, which seemed to indicate the approaching extinction of the culture. He withdrew some of the infusoria from the culture and allowed them to mix with others of a different origin. With these they conjugated, and their full vigour seemed restored. If, on the other hand, they conjugated among themselves, observation showed that decline was so far advanced that the culture was doomed." The evidence that close inter-breeding is injurious to animals and to men is familiar, and is generally accepted as conclusive." (*Principles of Sociology*, pp. 95-96).

War by putting a stop to this close inter-breeding for some time, proves beneficial to the human race.

"Necessity is the mother of inventions."

Some of the most useful inventions have come into existence during wars. The preparation of sugar from the beet root and the manufacture of margarine are the most notable instances to mention.

War is the best teacher of conservation the world has known. It abolishes luxury and shows the necessity of plain living and high thinking.

In the present stage of society, war becomes a necessity. It is an evil, but it is a necessary evil. We find peace brings tyranny and oppression on a subject race. It creates luxury and voluptuousness. Hence deterioration takes place.†

* Gardiner: "Weismann and Maupas on the Origin of Death". "Biological Lectures delivered at the Marine Biological Laboratory of Woods' Holl. 1890" p. 121.

† "Civilization consists of certain means or instruments (material and intellectual) for human well-being, and these means or instruments are capable of being inherited in the legal or social, not in the biological sense of inheritance. Civilization is not evil in itself, but because its products are unequally distributed and so irrationally used. Again, the mere fact of social inheritance, whilst aiding enormously the advance of humanity, contained in it the possibility of danger. It implies to a very great extent a cessation of natural selection. Thus, what is in many respects a highly civilized race, may become more and more physically enfeebled, till it falls a prey to internal

The modern Christian nations, though professing to be humane in war, do not observe it as a rule in actual warfare. The outspokenness of some of the German military men and philosophers is much to be commended. Thus one General V. Hartmann writes:—

"It is a gratuitous illusion to suppose that modern war does not demand far more brutality, far more violence, and an action far more general than was formerly the case.

"The enemy State must not be spared the want and wretchedness of war; these are particularly useful in shattering its energy and subduing its will."

The philosopher Fr. Nietzsche writes:—

"That the lambs should bear a grudge against the great birds of prey is in no way surprising; but that is no reason why we should blame the great birds of prey for picking up the lambs. To demand of strength that it should not be a will for overcoming, for overthrowing, for mastery, a thirst for enemies, for struggles and triumphs, is as absurd as to demand of weakness that it should manifest itself as strength."

Again, in another place, he says:—

"We...believe that [man's] Will to Life had to be intensified into unconditional Will to Power; we hold that hardness, violence, slavery, danger in the street and in the heart, secrecy, stoicism, arts of temptation and devilry of all kinds; that everything evil, terrible, tyrannical, wild-beast-like and serpent-like in man contributes to the elevation of the species just as much as its opposite—and in saying this we do not even say enough."

Another German author writes:—

"Whoever enters upon a war in future, will do well to look only to his own interests and pay no heed to any so-called international law. He will do well to act without consideration and without scruple. In the days of old, conquered peoples were completely annihilated. To-day this is physically impracticable, but one can imagine conditions which should approach very closely to total destruction."

The Germans are a philosophical race and hence it seems they are not proficient in the art of duplicity which goes by the name of "occidental diplomacy." The author of "European Morals" has said that

"A disinterested love of truth can hardly co-exist with a strong political spirit. The object of the politician is expediency, that of the philosopher search after truth."

The German philosophers and writers

degeneration, and to the attack of some rudely equipped, but vigorous barbarian invaders. Peace is generally accounted a blessing, and is usually lauded by those who preach the return to nature; but peace means a cessation of natural selection, and consequent decay in the average physique." *Ritchie's Natural Rights*, pp. 59-60.

quoted above have spoken the naked truth as to how wars are, and ought to be, conducted by Christian nations. It is, therefore, that their outspokenness is to be commended.

That no humanity is shown to their enemies by any Christian people was admitted by General Dyer in his evidence before the Hunter Committee. That gallant Christian General felt no scruple in massacring several hundreds of non-Christian and unarmed men of all ages in cold blood and did not give them any aid; for, in his words, "that was not his job; they were treated like rebels and enemies."

No nation excels the Hindus in the exhibition of humanity to their enemies in war. The Mahabharata especially deals with the manner in which the fallen foe should be treated and magnanimity to be shown to the vanquished and conquered peoples. Bhishma said that a king should never slay a larger proportion of the enemy's army than necessary. He advised moderation in war. That Bhishma's advice was practised by the Hindus is borne testimony to by Megasthenes and other foreign travellers to India.

But wars in the future will be more cruel and inhuman than they have been in the past. In *Causes of International War* published in the Swarthmore International Handbooks, Mr. G. Lowes Dickinson writes that "modern war makes no distinctions of civilian or soldier, age or sex" (p. 73). In a foot-note on the same page, it is stated that

"It is generally agreed that air-raids on cities will be a principal feature of the next war. And air-raids do not select for slaughter soldiers or male adults."

He says that

"The next war ('inevitable' of course) is to open with attacks 'not against the enemy's army, but against the civil population, in order to compel it to accept the will of the attacker.' Chivalry, mercy, a fair fight, all the apparatus of romance which still does duty among school boys, and is still served up, on occasion, in literature, or the cinema, or the press, all this the modern soldier knows to be nonsense.....He knows that victory will be to the most unscrupulous, the most pitiless, and the most ingenious."

Hence, thoughtful men of all Christian countries of the West in whom the instinct of Humanity has not become extinct, are proposing schemes to put a stop to all wars in the future. This is the genesis of the League of Nations.

But nothing will put a stop to war unless there is a "change of heart." The causes

which are responsible for wars should, as far as possible, be removed.

There should be "the will to peace." It has been also suggested that

"If every great Power will look at the problems from the point of view of humanity, they are soluble." (*Round Table*, No. 20, p. 792.)

Professor Forster writes in the *Hibert Journal* for October 1916 (p. 35) that

"Humanity has reached a point at which mutual completion, co-operation, education, of the nations is essential. No nation can solve its own problems without the aid of the traditions of foreign nations. France needs Germany, and Germany France. Germany needs the spirit of the Slavs, and the Slavs need that of Germany. England needs Germany, and Germany England...The individual nations are no less necessary to one another for their spiritual completion than are the two sexes. Without such higher companionship both nations and souls must be ruined by their own one-sidedness."

But it seems that the colourless peoples do not require the aid of the coloured peoples for their "higher companionship." Hence their perpetual wars on the latter and against which no Christian nation raises even its little finger in protest. Writes Mr. Dickinson in the work already laid under contribution above :

"The raw materials lie very largely in Africa and Asia; The cheap labour is on the spot, once the natives have been turned off the land and prevented from living in any other way than by working at a nominal wage for white masters. The markets are where the natives are, if a demand can be created. Driven by these impulses, the principal European states, especially since the eighties of the last century, have been annexing enormous tracts in Africa and Asia. The consequences of this policy to the native populations belong to another discussion" (p. 50.)

"Native populations, driven off the land and sufficiently taxed, may be compelled to give their labour at very low rates. They may possibly even be induced to 'demand' European manufactured goods, and to abandon their own handicrafts. We should expect, therefore, to find that schemes of expansion are favoured not only by soldiers and imperialistic politicians, but by business interests..." (p. 78).

"The trouble, of course, is that this expansion cannot take place without war. It implies, first war upon the natives. For however cunningly they may have been deceived into the grant of concessions, the time comes when the mask must be thrown off, and it must be made plain to them that they are to lose their lands, to abandon their traditional way of life, and to become workers in a semi-servile condition under white masters.... These native wars, after all, do not cost much, except to the natives, and if that were all it might plausibly be maintained that empire pays. Unfortunately, all states are playing the same game..." (P. 79)

Because the exploitation, enslavement and extermination of non-Christian coloured peoples by the colourless Christian nations pays their co-religionists, therefore, "wars upon the natives" are looked upon as processes of civilization!

Mr. Dickinson has devoted a chapter to "Remedies", in which he has given sound advice as to how to put down wars. He says very rightly :

"If ever there were a people who might fairly be accused of making a bid for world dominion, that people is the British. Now, let it be clearly understood, the continued expansion of the British Empire is incompatible with the peace of the world. For it can only be expanded at the cost of other Empires, that is, by war. If a League of Nations is to be a reality, the ideal of Empire must disappear, and its place be taken by the opposite ideal—the peaceful co-operation of all states and nations in the interests of a common world-civilization." (P. 102)

He concludes that chapter by saying that the workers for peace

"must treat war as a problem, not an axiom, a catastrophe, not a glory, a disease to diagnose, not an achievement to idealise. The way is laborious and difficult. But there is no other." (P. 108).

Institutions exist in all Christian lands for giving instructions in the science and art of war. But there are no seminaries for showing the way to maintain peace. Mr. George Young, in *Diplomacy Old and New*, published in the Swarthmore International Handbooks, writes.

"We have military schools of every sort for the study of the art of war-making and of the science of war in foreign relations. We gladly pay large sums for such education of military experts, as an insurance against defeat in war and an investment in victory. Even our universities have schools of military science and history. But we have made no educational provision whatever for the study of the art and science of peace. We have established no educational insurance against war itself." (P. 96.)

There are men in every Christian State in the West who have vested interests in war—there are soldiers, sailors, and manufacturers of armament and other military accessories. It is they whose interest is to promote war. But it is the interest of the taxpayers to maintain peace. So in future, as democracy gets established, people will think more of peace than of war, for war degrades Humanity.

HIS EXCELLENCY'S SPECIAL

By RABINDRA NATH MAITRA

IT was noon-tide in January. Squatting in the courtyard with his bare back to the sun, Benu Sardar, the village *Chowkidar* or watchman, was just beginning to start his midday meal with a heap of pancakes in a stone platter before him. His wife Biraj stood in front of him—her coloured apron-towel, wet and wrung, was placed over her head and shoulders and slightly pulled forward like a not too low wimple, and in her hand she had a wooden bowl of cakes. Just then came a call : "Friend Sardar, do come out once."

Benu was about to rise when he heard the voice of the *Duffadar* (for it was his superior officer calling), but Biraj cried out at once—"Do eat the mouthful you were just going to take!"

"I shan't have enough if I took a couple of them, my dear Biraj; just wait here, I'll be back in a minute."

Benu washed his hand, rose and came out.

After about ten minutes Benu came back and said in tones of resignation, "Biraj, it is not in my luck to eat any more pancakes made by you. Now, give me my turban, I'll have to go out again immediately."

"What burnt-faced fellow has got his face scorched again, at this time of midday, that you must go?" said Biraj.

"You are a madcap darling! now, don't talk loud. The *Lat Sahib's* train will be passing, and we must go on guard duty. Now, give me my turban. Do wait a bit, Brother *Duffadar*! I'll just tie my turban round my head and join you," Benu said, looking towards the street door.

The reply came from outside—"Hurry up please, Friend Sardar! Twelve clear miles we shall have to tramp, you know!"

When he had fixed his turban, Biraj stood

in front of her husband with two of the pancakes in her hand, and in pleading tones said, "On my head, do gulp down only these two and wash them down with a good drink of water from the *lota*. You remember, the other day too I had prepared some, but you could not eat, you went away to watch over some deadbody somewhere. And to-day—"

"I shan't be able to walk if I ate them now, Biraj. As soon as we pass the train in the evening, I shall be back within the first watch of the night. You keep some water heating on the oven; and go and keep the cakes well-covered." While he said this he cast a hungry look on the pile of cakes, and then took his staff in his hand,—and out went Benu the watchman.

So she could not sit beside her husband and serve him with this most favourite dish of his for which he had been longing for many a day, although she had tried to do it on numerous occasions. Biraj gathered up the cakes and put them away carefully, and wiped her eyes with her towel.

Benu in this way could somehow get over the obstacle in the home, but on the road another obstacle presented itself. His seven year old boy Monai was shaking his fishing rod beside a puddle, shallow and dark with overshadowing trees, and was trying to catch small fry. Every day at noon this was a regular pastime of his. Benu was walking very lightly to avoid his sight, but he did not succeed in escaping little Monai. He had seen his father's blue turban from a distance, but as he had feared that his father would go away by some other way he did not show any fidgeting in his manner. As soon as Benu came close enough with careful steps, Monai threw away his rod, and at one bound he was up on the middle of the road, and caught hold of the edge of his father's tunic tightly in his fist, and said, "Where are you going, daddy?" Benu felt himself in an awkward situation. If he said the truth his son would cry to go with him. He thought a bit and said, "I am going to the Kalitala common."

The only place in the world of which Monai was afraid was this Kalitala common, where they held the annual village festival. Through some inexplicable line of argument the idea had got into his child's brain that the Kalitala field was the camping ground of all the ghosts and spirits of the world. So when he heard the name of that place he

moved back one step through fear, and said earnestly—"You must come back before it is evening, father, do you hear?"

Seeing his child's frightened look Benu said, "Yes, Monai, I shall be back before evening; you go home." Then he was going to stretch both his hands to lift his boy up as high as his chest, wishing to kiss him, when the *Duffadar* cried out, from behind, "Friend Sardar, pray don't stand on the road and be late, the sun is already on the downward path."

So seeing no other way poor Benu leaned his head and gave a hasty kiss upon his son's cheek, and said, "Go home, Monai, your mother is waiting for you with the cakes." When he heard about the cakes he picked up his fishing rod and without a word took the way home; and after going a little distance he put his face out from behind a rattan bush at the turning of the lane and advised his father for the second time to be very sure about returning home by evening.

[2]

The very short-lighted hours of the close of a winter's day were finished long ago. At every forty cubits a watchman was waiting for His Excellency's Special, standing with his staff on his shoulder and shivering with cold in the keen air of the open land—they were called watchmen, but each of them was after all a human being. The time for the train to pass was evening, but the first watch of the night was over, and yet no train came. Benu became impatient. With the eye of imagination he could see that by that time Biraj had nicely piled up the pancakes on the stone platter and had lighted the lamp and was waiting for him. Benu asked, "Brother *Duffadar*, what about the train?"

The *Duffadar* himself was getting angry, he said: "I have come just to carry out orders of their lordships, our masters; they told us from the police outpost that the train would pass in the evening, and now it is first watch of the night; and I have not brought my rag quilt either!" The *Duffadar* took his turban off from his head and wrapped it round his body like a shawl. The cold was gradually becoming more and more cruel.

As a matter of fact, the departure of the train was delayed by some five hours, but the news did not reach the *Chowkidars* of the village.

And now clouds began to spread. The *Chowkidars* looked with apprehension. They told the *Duffadar* in clear terms that if it started to rain it would be impossible for them to return home hale and alive. The *Duffadar* held up on high a little bundle and said—"I have brought with me the antidote for cold. Now come along!" They all understood the gesture. Within a few minutes the place became alive with the *ganja* or *hashish* smoker's cry in honour of the God Shiva, "Bom, Bom, Bholanath!" And the darkness became still more solid with the *ganja* smoke. The *Duffadar* cried out, "Where are you, Brother Sardar?"

Benu said in reply, "Ah, no, I shan't smoke, Brother *Duffadar*." There was a time when he was a regular *ganja* smoker, but about three years ago Biraj had made him get rid of the intoxicant habit by making him swear on her conch-shell bangles and on the vermilion mark on her brow—the Hindu woman's symbols of wifehood; and since then Benu never again touched the *ganja* smoker's earthen pipe-bowl. The band of the *Chowkidars* were quiet for a while after they had dosed themselves with this antidote for cold. Only Benu crouched on the ground with knees folded and his head between them, and went on shaking with the cold like a stick.

Hiss, Hiss!

"Stand up, all! attention, stick on shoulder and eyes front!" the *Duffadar* shouted.

Hiss, Hiss! the train passed—it was a goods train.

The *Chowkidars* were angry, and cursed their luck. The *Duffadar* said, "Now then, once again get ready the medicine against the cold, and the cold will run away in fear."

The treatment with that medicine went on, and Benu looked on at the thick curls of smoke from a distance, but he did not move.

It drizzled a little when it was ten o'clock. Benu somehow got up and stood, and saw that his companions were gathered in little knots of four or five and were curled upon the earth as on a bed.

Benu felt envious in his mind. His whole frame was then becoming numb with unbearable cold; and the smooth and rounded pebbles under his bare feet seemed to be

like bits of ice. A little way off was the *Duffadar*, leaning against the wire fence and sleeping. For a short while Benu pondered over something; then he brought out the *Duffadar*'s bundle of smoke requisites. He lighted the earthen bowl and said softly to himself: "Don't take it amiss, Biraj! may your conch-shell bracelets and your vermilion spot endure for ever, marking you as a happy wife! But on a day like this I shan't remain alive if I don't have a puff. Bom! Bom!"

He was out of practice for a long time, so that as soon as he had two pulls at the earthen bowl his head was in a whirl; he struck against something and fell down towards the line, and shouted out, "Brother *Duffadar*, do pour a little water on my head; the whole world is turning round and round!"

The words came out of his parched throat but very faintly, and the *Duffadar*'s sleep was not disturbed by that.

It was midnight. Under their garments which formed their covering, all wetted by the cold dew, the drowsy men on guard duty were curled up and were shivering. Then the voice of somebody far away who was awake was heard—"The *Lat Sahib*'s train! the *Lat Sahib*'s train!"

Piercing through the darkness of the night with its glowing blades of light, the red-eyed demon of iron came on at its run. The band of the *Chowkidars* shivered and stood up, flurried and floundering. But one individual among them did not get up. A very faint cry of pain was heard—though for an instant only—from where Benu Sardar was standing guard. The engine shook a little as it dashed against some unknown object, but its speed did not slacken.

The Special passed on its way. Next morning it was announced in the papers that His Excellency's Special had reached the city safely.

* * * *

Long before the lifeless mass of Benu Sardar's body torn to hundred bits came back from the morgue in the city, Biraj's pancakes had become dry and stiff like bits of wood.

(Translated from the Bengali by Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji.)

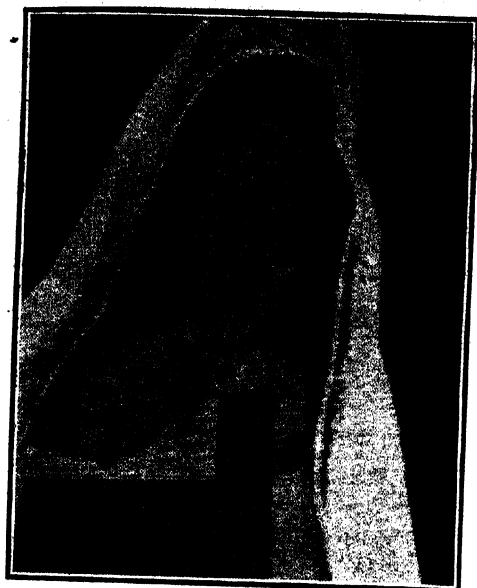


The *Rangoli* pictures exhibited at the last Stri Maha Mandal Exhibition, Bombay, by Lilavati M. Desai, the talented wife of Mr. Mangaldas Desai, Bar-at-law, evoked much appreciation, and she was awarded two gold and one silver medal for her drawings. Her embroidery in silk was an exquisite piece of art and looked more like a painting than a figure in silk-threads. *Rangoli* has hitherto confined itself to pure decorative motifs, and the introduction of human studies in these examples is a new departure. We reproduce here three speci-

mens of Mrs. Desai's work exhibited recently. The vehicle is powdered chalk of different colours, and the floor serves the purpose of canvas. It will be seen that Mrs. Desai takes her models from Halder and Chughtai. Though executed in large size in coloured powder on the floor, they looked like paintings. Our plates do not quite truly represent the real work, as pictures on floor do not present true perspective to the photographic camera. They will, however, give our readers some idea of the high merit of the original.



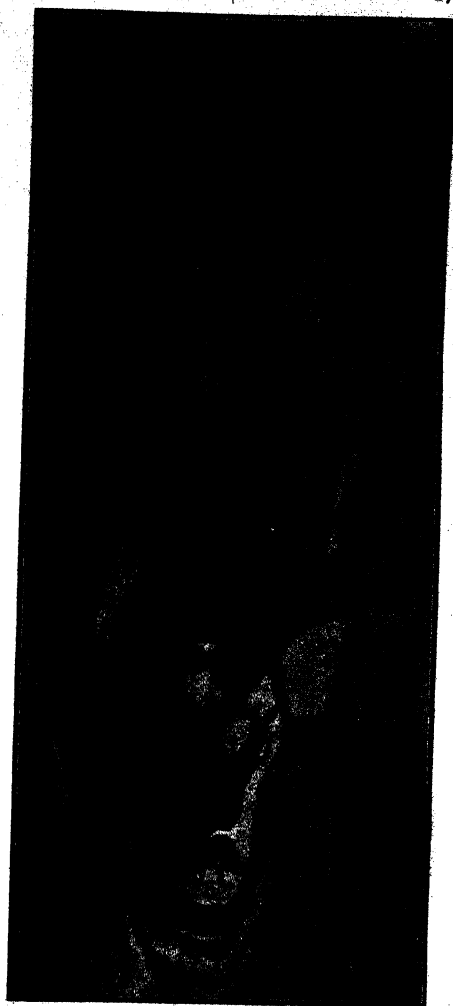
Rangoli Picture—Yasoda and Krishna
after Asit Kumar Halder



Rangoli Picture—Expectation



Mrs. Lilavati, M. Desai



Rangoli Picture—The Lamp and the Moon
after A. R. Chughtai

It is a happy sign of the times, that a certain section of India's womanhood has realized the importance of making the lives of their sisters happier, more hopeful and more useful. A large number of *Mahila Samitis* (or Women's Associations) have sprung up, not only in the different districts of Bengal, but in other provinces also, under the auspices of the Saroj Nalini Dutt Memorial Association located in Calcutta.

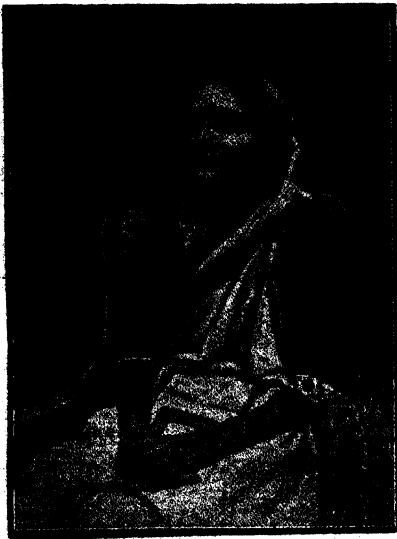


Radharani Sanyal, Secretary, Rajshahi
Mahila Samiti



Nimta Mahila Samiti

They appeal mainly to our middle-class women, and aim at general education, the encouragement of cottage industries, the manufacture of handicrafts, the teaching of midwifery, etc., as well as the performance of social work of a useful kind. Lectures on useful subjects are delivered from time to



Nalinibala Chaudhurani, Secretary, Sylhet
Mahila Samiti



Hemangini Sen, Secretary, Tala Mahila Samiti



Nirapra Chakravarti, Late Secretary of the
Hughli and Pirojpur (Barisal) Mahila Samiti



Barisal Mahila Samiti

time. We reproduce here the portraits of the Secretaries of four of the centres where such zealous and unselfish service is being rendered to our sisters.



Madaripur Mahila Samiti

THE YUGOSLAVIAN CRISIS

By N. N. GHOSH, M. A., L. T.

A constitutional crisis of first class political importance has arisen in Yugoslavia. King Alexander has suspended the constitution, dissolved the chamber (Narodna Skupstina) and assumed the executive and legislative powers in that country. (Reuter,

Belgrade, January 6.) These powers will be henceforth functioned by a Prime Minister appointed by and responsible to the King. The Premier chosen is General Peter Lifkorita, commander of the royal guard. It will not be a matter of surprise if this military man,

endowed with the powers of a dictator under the King, happens to play in the near future the part of a Primo de Rivera or a Mussolini, overriding the King, the kingdom and the constitution! The quarrel between the Serbs and the Croats has led to this crisis.

The formation of the new triune kingdom of Yugoslavia by the union of the Austro-Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian parts of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy with Serbia is one of the results of the Revolution in Austria-Hungary due to her defeat in the Great War. The union of Serbia and Croatia, however, has never been happy. According to the census of 1921, out of the total population of 1 crore 20 lakhs, the Croats numbered nearly 28 lakhs and the Slovenes with whom the Croats are closely linked with a religious, linguistic and cultural tie a little more than ten and a half lakhs. Thus the Croats and their allies almost equalled the Serbs in number who were 41 lakhs. The Croats have always disliked, ever since the union in 1918, the tendency of the administration of the State being more and more 'balkanized' under the influence of the Serbs who predominated in the government. In their campaign against this tendency the Croats have always been supported by the Slovenes. There was another cause of clash between these two largest single groups of people of the new State. The Croats are Roman Catholics, the Serbs mostly of the Greek Church. The Croats, on account of their long connection with Rome, Venice and Vienna are a more cultured and refined people and have a long tradition of ordered rule. The Serbs, on the other hand, are a people of soldier peasants and of scanty culture. When the Croats joined the Union they never believed that they would be deprived of an equal or at least a proportionate share in the administration of the country or that they would have to lose their distinct national character or individuality. But things happened ever since the Union which constantly irritated and angered the Croats. In spite of their cultural inferiority the Serbs have predominated in the successive Yugoslavian Governments, have treated the united country as a conquered 'Greater Serbia', balkanized the administration, exploited the richer non-Serb provinces and aimed at the monopoly of the State. The tension of feelings sometimes broke into open quarrels. Last June an excited Montenegrin killed and wounded some Croatian deputies in the

Skupstina. The trusted and respected Croatian leader Stephen Raditch was among those who subsequently died of the injury received on that occasion. The enraged Croatian deputies vowed not to enter the parliament at Belgrade until a new parliament had been chosen and a new Government formed.

King Alexander tried to conciliate the Croats by appointing the Roman Catholic priest, Father Corosthetz as Premier in whose ministry two Croats were found to serve. But the real cause of the Croats' dissatisfaction still persisted. Most of the important ministers of the old cabinet remained to pursue the same old policy of administration, and the Croatian demand for the dissolution of the old parliament was disregarded. The Croats, therefore, persisted in their decision to boycott the parliament at Belgrade and held a national assembly of their own at their provincial capital, Zagreb and passed a resolution demanding a new constitution of the federal type in which they would be allowed to govern their local affairs and retain their national individuality. Things came to a pass when a month ago, on December 1, during the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the creation of Yugoslavia, a serious collision took place between the police and the townsfolk of Zagreb, leading to many fatalities. Since that time a serious difference of opinion characterized the cabinet meetings, the majority favouring strong and repressive action to deal with the Croats. Father Corosthetz found it difficult to lead the ministry and he resigned. King Alexander finding that there was no hope of the party leaders composing their differences suspended the constitution and appointed a dictator. This is in short the history of events leading to the present constitutional crisis and we are watching with interest what turn its future developments take. Since the above was written came the significant cable from Berlin, January 7 :—

"The news of King Alexander's *coup d'etat* and the formation of the new Government has been received sympathetically in the provinces. Doctor Matschek, the leader of the Croats, is reported to have said : 'The fetters have been burst. The constitution which for seven years has been working against the interests of the Croatians has been abolished, and thanks to the wisdom of the Monarch, we shall now succeed in attaining the ideals of the Croatian people and will really be masters in the House of Free Croatia.'"



Calcutta's Place in Modern India

In *The Calcutta Municipal Gazette* (Christmas Number which ought from its contents to be called the Congress Number) Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal in an illuminating paper 'Calcutta and the Cultural Evolution of Modern India,' discusses the place of Calcutta in the life of Modern India. Mr. Pal prefaces his paper with the famous observation of Mr. Gokhale, 'What Bengal thinks to-day all India thinks to-morrow,' and remarks that the position of Calcutta is due to 'the peculiar genius of the Bengalee people and the inspiration of the Bengalee leaders of thought of the last century.' Mr. Pal is, however, modest and reasonable in his claims:

In claiming, however, a distinct character and type for the Bengalee mind and thought no pretension to superiority over the mind and thought of the other Indian provinces are set up. As Bengal has its distinctive cultural type, so have also the other Indian provinces. The contributions of the other Indian provinces to the cultural revival and evolution of Modern India are, therefore, not ignored in claiming a place for Calcutta and Bengal in this great work of Indian reconstruction. At the same time the dominating factor in this revival and evolution has been our contact with modern European thought and culture. This also cannot be denied. And it is here that we discover the worth and significance of Calcutta's contribution to our present national evolution.

English education and British administration brought about certain developments in Bengal that were not produced by these agencies in the other Indian provinces. The psychology of this phenomenon has not as yet been carefully considered and its cultural value properly assessed. The message of modern European culture has been essentially a message of Freedom and Humanity. And herein lay the strange fascination of this message to the Bengalee mind on account of its original instinct and genius of this very Freedom and Humanity. This is why the Bengalee coming in contact with modern European thought and culture threw himself into this new fight for Freedom and Humanity, with an abandon not seen in the other Indian provinces. And Bengal's loyalty to the new ideals of modern thought and culture helped her to a position of leadership in the cultural evolution of India during the last hundred years and more. Other provinces developed more wide and accurate scholarship; some developed their inherited genius of practical statesmanship; but the idealism and the central thoughtforce of modern cultural evolution of India received their greatest

contribution and strength from the leaders of Bengalee thought and culture. And Calcutta culturally has meant Bengal for the last 150 years of British rule in this country in the same way and in the same sense as London means Great Britain or Paris means France.

The leaders of thought and the course of the different thought movements beginning from Raja Rammohun Roy and ending with the Renaissance of Indian Art of the Bengal School are then surveyed by the writer. Calcutta, it is a fact, is Bengal so far as our intellectual life goes, though Calcutta always draws on the provinces for the purpose.

Christian Message and Non-Christian Religions

Dr. George Howells considers the above topic in *The Serampore College Magazine* in the light of the finding of the Jerusalem Conference and is of opinion that a new era in Christian Missions is indicated by them. The writer notes at least three distinct points in his support:

(1) We have to recognize that increasingly it is coming to be realized in Christian circles that there is justification for the term "A Parliament of Religions," and that we must approach non-Christian systems in the humble spirit of fellow-learners, rather than with the one desire to refute and overthrow. 'On our part' says the Report (of the Jerusalem Conference), "we would repudiate any symptoms of a religious imperialism that would desire to impose beliefs and practices on others in order to manage their souls in their supposed interests. We obey a God who respects our wills, and we desire to respect those of others."

(2) From the standpoint of the Jerusalem Conference, it needs to be noted that ambassadors of Christ need to be more concerned with bearing with them the Christian life than even bearing the Christian message. The first volume of the Jerusalem report is entitled "The Christian Life and Message in relation to non-Christian Systems." This emphasis on life is surely rightly placed.

(3) To approach more closely the subject of our discussion, Christian thinkers of to-day are in increasing numbers gladly and ungrudgingly recognizing the spiritual values in other systems, and the following passage in the Jerusalem report is particularly significant in that direction: "We recognize as part of the one Truth that sense of the majesty of God and the consequent reverence in worship, which are conspicuous in Islam; the deep

sympathy for the world's sorrow and unselfish search for the way of escape, which are at the heart of Buddhism; the desire for contact with ultimate reality conceived as spiritual which is prominent in Hinduism; the belief in a moral order of the Universe and consequent insistence on moral conduct, which are inculcated by Confucianism; the disinterested pursuit of truth and of human welfare which are often found in those who stand for secular civilization, but do not accept Christ as their Lord and Saviour."

Cultural Independence

The *Prabuddha Bharata* for January which we are glad to welcome in its new bigger size with much larger amount of reading matter, strikes the distinctive note, that always characterizes its notes, comments and articles, in criticising the much talked of Faridpur speech of the late Mr. C. R. Das favouring Dominion Status 'for its deep spiritual significance.' The journal leaves the political aspect of the question for politicians to decide and discusses its cultural aspect as follows :

The fact is, the idealism that dreams of the British Empire as the nucleus of a World Empire is inspired by worldly wisdom. True wisdom does not put so much faith on external organization. It seeks the genuine article in the *mind* of nations, not in their form.

India's policy is pre-eminently spiritual. So far as we can see, we do not discern any common spiritual factor between India and Great Britain. The British are materialistic; we are not and we do not want to be. We believe above all in spiritual integrity; the British as a race are scarcely responsive to spiritual realities. Where is the common interest? And without a common interest, what is the use of any federation?

It is theoretically possible that that interest may grow in future,—the British may one day incline to spirituality. But are they making any sincere attempt to reach that consummation? Do they believe in the supremacy of the spiritual vision? Unless they change their individual and national outlook fundamentally, India can never sympathize with the prevailing trend of thought and outlook of the British people.

Thus, in so far as the cultural aspect is concerned, we have to conclude that whether India is to be benefited by her connection with the British or not, depends essentially on Great Britain herself. It depends on her adopting the spiritual view-point of life. It is for her to say if she would have India as her spiritual sister. India has gladly accepted all that are noble and good in the Western culture. Let the West accept all that are good and great in India. Let Great Britain learn spiritual lessons from India. On this mutual acceptance the permanence of the British connection rests. India's path is clear. Whoever is spiritual is her friend and ally, and whoever is otherwise is not so.

Though we consider that without a community of interests and spiritual idealism, no federation

is of any avail, yet we are ready to admit that even a formal federation has some value, however insignificant: India may remain within the British Empire with the hope that she will one day grow strong enough to influence the policy of the whole Empire. But it is essential that the Empire should show a desire to benefit by India's spiritual wisdom and that India should be certain of absolute equality in all respects and freedom of thought and action.

Urdu as the Medium at the Osmania University

The Educational Review observes in commenting on a correspondence in *The Pioneer* on the above topic:

It is not generally realized that Urdu through which instruction is imparted in the University is not the language of the people and only about 6 per cent of the population is conversant with the tongue. In fact, Urdu is as much a foreign language to the bulk of the people of the Nizam's Dominions as English, as the various vernaculars which are spoken are Telugu, Marathi and Kanarese. It is only the accident of the State being in charge of an Islamic Dynasty that enables her rulers to insist on people having their education through the medium of Urdu in preference to one of their own mother-tongues. The correspondent sees a sinister political power underlying this move on the part of the Nizam's Government and argues that it is a blot to emphasize and continue the present Muslim superiority in the State. While not subscribing to this analysis of the motives underlying the educational reform, we are certainly of opinion that the use of Urdu as a medium of instruction at the Osmania University is not the attainment of the millennium which it has been supposed to be by people in various parts of India. As English is in any case a compulsory second language in the University, there does not seem to be much justification in compelling every student to learn not merely his mother-tongue and English, but also a third language which only adds to the weight of the curriculum and prevents students from specializing themselves effectively in any branch of study, either in Arts or Science. Added to it is the serious handicap of having to pursue one's education through translations of text-books which, however well-made, are very inferior in comparison with the originals and rapidly get out of date in view of the great march of knowledge in practically every branch of study in modern times. We have no doubt that the various problems connected with the imparting of instruction through vernaculars in the University stage of study will receive reconsideration in the coming years in the light of the experience gained at the Osmania University, Hyderabad.

Man, Money and Banking

In response to an invitation from Mr. Gandhi Sir D. M. Hamilton contributed in *Young India* (reproduced in *The Young Men of India*), a series of articles 'making banking easy for people to understand.' Sir Dania

quotes at the outset the very first sentence of the 'Wealth of Nations':

The annual labour of every nation is the fund which originally supplies it with all the necessities and conveniences of life which it annually consumes."

and discusses the possibility of our economic development organized on co-operative credit based on paper money. We attempt to indicate his scheme in an outline:—

India does not stand at all: she lies prostrate. She is the greatest real money power in the Empire, and after China the greatest real money power in the world, but for want of these monetary instruments which can be manufactured so cheaply from paper, the productive capital is hampered in its working; consequently, India is a land of poverty, instead of the land of plenty which she will be when her people are supplied with as many of these cheap monetary instruments as are required to keep them fully employed in growing rice, and wheat, and sugar, spinning and weaving, constructing irrigation canals, digging wells, making roads, building ships, etc.

Bankers tell us that paper money is not safe unless backed by ten or fifteen per cent of gold or silver. Even if that were so, Government currency notes are infinitely safer than bank notes, for they are backed for all time by all the gold and silver and goods of the nation, whereas bank notes are backed only by the property of a few shareholders.

Four hundred rupees will sink a well, and yield four hundred rupees worth of food every year. Four hundred rupees spent on the manufacture of paper currency will sink one hundred wells, yielding forty thousand rupees' worth of food every year. Which is the better currency, the silver or the paper?

Only two things are necessary. These are:

1. Reliable men.

2. Government paper currency, or the instruments of credit, in quantity sufficient to turn the labour of every reliable man on to the growing of food, the spinning and weaving of cloth, the construction of irrigation canals, the digging of wells, the making of roads, and other useful purposes; and it must not be issued in excess of this, otherwise it will defraud the country, by giving men the power to purchase goods without producing or giving anything in exchange for such goods.

As it is a physical impossibility for a joint stock bank to reach, individually, the tens of millions of small men who are crying out for someone to save them from the money-lender, it is the imperative duty of Government, through its co-operative department, to do so. The masses must be financed co-operatively in groups, or not at all. It is, therefore, the business of the co-operative department to manufacture the reliable men, who are the real foundation of every sound banking system, and to form them into groups who will stand shoulder to shoulder, to guarantee the return of the money borrowed by themselves and their neighbours. And it is the duty, as well as the business of Govern-

ment, which holds the monopoly of the manufacture of money, to print and issue as much as may be required for productive and constructive purposes; otherwise, so far as the great masses of the people are concerned, their life will remain the empty one it is to-day. And be it noted that the money so manufactured and issued is not government money, but the money of the people; that is to say, their labour monetized and converted into solid assets.

The one-rupee note must come back if India is to move forward; and the sooner it comes the sooner will India take her place among the nations. And the paper currency must be issued not only in exchange for silver received, but (as in Scotland) as capital for the growing of rice, and wheat and sugar; and the more plentifully it is issued for these purposes the greater will be the inflow of gold and silver, and the firmer the foreign exchanges. India now imports every year sixteen crores' worth of sugar which a productive paper currency would enable her to grow within her own borders. If this were done, sixteen crores' worth of gold and silver would flow into India instead of sixteen crores' worth of sugar. There would then be no fear of falling exchanges. To regulate the issue of credit money by the output of gold and silver mines situated at the other ends of the earth, is sheer stupidity and bad finance. To say that the people of India should stop growing rice because some wretched miners in South Africa stop raising gold, is folly. To regulate the food supply of India by the silver output of Mexico would be a sign of senile decay in the finance department of Government.

India's Literature on Music

Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi presents in *The Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society* an outline of India's extensive literature on music, on its theory and practice. Mr. Kavi divides it into three epochs:

Musical literature may be divided into three epochs chronologically if not according to development. The first is the Vedic age when music was completely subservient to Vedic rites. The second may be called mediæval epoch when music was handled by great sages and scholars either as a principal or an auxiliary science and art. This period roughly extends from the 5th century B. C. to 1600 A. D. The last epoch is modern when the old technique was abandoned and the system of teaching both of theory and practice has undergone complete change. This period roughly commences from 1600 A. D. or a few decades earlier when the mnemonic scale of 72 melakartas replaced the cumbersome but logical divisions of ancient system and when the foreign influence and the easy-going sort of study affected both the theory and practice. This epoch closes with the introduction of fiddle and harmonium which driving out *Vina* bestow upon the student a certificate of proficiency in a few months' training. This is of course our own epoch upon which I had better be silent.

After giving a rapid but informative survey of the first epoch, Mr. Kavi observes:

In course of time want of study compelled them to seek new paths current in different countries which greatly differed from the methods of the great sages. Thus a sort of gulf was created between theory and practice of music. As time went on the gulf became wider and wider. The musical authors from the 10th century onwards as far as we examined, profess to reconcile theory and practice and invent new forms of *Vina* to introduce new desi-methods. This went on till the 17th century. About the 16th century when the kingdoms of the *Chaulukyas*, *Bhallas*, *Kakatiyas*, the *Reddis* and the *Velamas*, who one and all maintained musical courts and patronized histrionics passed away, the greatness of *Vijayanagar* especially *Krishnaraya's* reign entirely altered the old system of music in every branch namely *raga*, *tala*, *prabandha* etc. They were the pioneers to introduce the 72 *melakartas* and to increase frets on the *Vinas*. Since then the modern music especially of *Karnata* kind received its full development at the hands of *Raghunatha Naik* of *Tanjore* and his son *Vijayaraghava* in 17th century and *Muddalagiri* of *Madura* and *Rayaragunatha* of *Pudukotaah* subsequently. The impetus given by those courts resulted in the forthcoming of great scholars famous for vocal singing and for playing on *Vina* and flute.

Before this change was effected from about 1550 A. D. the ancient methods and the instruments survived.

Mr. Kavi seems not to have devoted so much attention to the Northern Indian style of music, which through various influences had a very high development though not on pure old lines as *Dakhini* music.

Difficulty in Indian Prohibition

Prohibition writes:

Prohibition in India does not appear to be making much headway. The Reports on Excise administration for 1927-28 which are just coming out shew that Provincial Governments pride themselves on reductions in the total consumption of country spirit; report without much comment the steady increase in consumption of foreign spirits, wines, or beers—and congratulate themselves on the steady increase in revenue. The significance of this situation and its baneful influence on the Temperance Movement is first, that these ever increasing revenues from liquor and drugs are a menace to future administrative changes. The Government of India's Excise policy for the last 50 years has been to get a maximum revenue out of a minimum consumption and the success on the maximum revenue side has been an incentive to Provincial Governments, since Excise became a transferred subject, to follow the same policy.

Now-a-days Provincial Excise Revenues are the standing support of despairing revenue officials and the financial value to the government of so helpful a department, they say, cannot be sacrificed. Thus we have the Bombay Government alarmed at the financial effect of a 50 p. c. drop in the consumption of country spirit—in five years—staying its hand

and saying—no more rationing can be permitted. The Bombay Legislative Council should have something to say on that decision. The Mad Government has thrown overboard a pious resolution passed some time ago that Government should introduce Prohibition in 20 years and the or possible explanation is—the financial difficulty. In this connection it is significant to remember that in the United States of America one million pounds Excise Revenue was lost in the first year of the dry law. Yet the Treasury received two hundred and fifty millions more revenue than the previous year.

Sanskrit and Science in Secondary Schools of Bengal

The Teachers' Journal, in discussing the New Syllabus approved of by the Government for coming into force from January 1 1931 in the Secondary Schools of Bengal writes:

In the Draft Syllabus issued by the Government last year Sanskrit was shown to be an optional subject but in the final Syllabus issued now it has been declared to be a compulsory subject. If the Ministry of Education has, in the mean time, decided to retain Sanskrit as a compulsory subject turning down the resolution of the Senate on the subject it ought to have informed the University its decision before publicly announcing the same in the *Calcutta Gazette*. We believe by this action scant respect has been shown to the Senate of the *Calcutta University*. There is a large volume of opinion in the country demanding the retention of classical language as a compulsory subject and an equally large body opposing its compulsory place in the curriculum. Government itself has shown its indecision of mind on the matter by keeping Sanskrit optional in the present Revised Syllabus for the girl candidates in the Matriculation. Decision on such an important matter should not have been announced from the back door as it has been done in the present instance.

Then again Science has been made an optional subject and grouped with Drawing. We deplore very much the decision of the government making Science an optional subject. All talk of the modernization of the Syllabus have thus ended in a fiasco. The Ministry of Education may congratulate itself on its fine achievement but all thoughtful having the good of the country at heart will pass a different verdict.

Science should be made compulsory, but Sanskrit has been rightly placed on the compulsory subject list.

Keshub Chandra Sen and Religious Harmony

In *Welfare* January 12, Sir Nihatan Sircar thus begins an illuminating study on Keshub Chandra Sen and his contribution towards harmonising of religions:

The world's prophets like the world's scriptures

have one characteristic mark :—They grow with the growth of man : They unfold a new meaning, a new message for every age and every clime ; and in this sense they are not only ever living fountains of truth—they are also true prophets, prophetic of the future of the race.

Every age, every country has its own pressing problems, its own burning questions, its Sphinx's riddles which it must solve, or perish ; and for the India of our day, the Sphinx's riddle is the communal question—more specially the Hindu-Moslem conflict which is as wide as life, being at once religious, social, economic and political ; and which must be solved if India is to take her place in the modern comity of nations.

Let us seek an answer to this riddle from Keshub Chandra Sen.

The answer is known to all :

Keshub declared that every religion was true, each was an expression—a sincere whole-hearted expression of one universal human experience—one fundamental truth of life and universe ; each was an unfolding of humanity in a particular age and tradition, and each is complimentary to the others in the interdependent and organic whole of Universal Humanity.

What is more, each religion must learn to grow fuller and more real in God consciousness as well as in world consciousness, by participating in the cults and practices of the other religions. To this end he preached communion with all prophets and pilgrimage to all saints ; and though born in the Hindu faith, he claimed the symbols of the cross and the crescent as his own, being himself the epitome of all mankind and a member of the Church Universal which has been rearing itself through the ages on the foundations of the historic churches and communions.

This luminous idea in its essence applies not only to the great historic religions but also to the great ethnic and national culture of the world ; they form an 'interdependent organic whole' which is gradually unfolding in time and space in the form of world history ; and each has its own autonomy, its own line of advance, its own historic evolution in that World History.

Concludes the writer with this noble and valuable note :

If the sweet fellowship of man with man, the charities and sanctities or the courtesies and amenities of life are not to be supplanted by murderous hatred and guerilla war, by civil confusions and chaos, we must cleanse and purify our hearts and illumine our understandings with the light of true religion—the religion of love—the love of God as one with the love of man and we must hearken to this message of peace and concord, this Gospel of Harmony and we must begin to reconstruct a Hindu-Moslem social fellowship as wide and deep as life—not merely political pacts but social fellowship as believers in this confraternity of worship, to which Keshub Chandra Sen pointed the way.

Woman and Rural Uplift

In discussing Mr. F. L. Brayne's book 'Village Uplift in India' which has attracted

well-merited notice from many, *The Bombay Co-operative Journal* observes :

Many of the campaigns of rural reconstruction fail to materialize because the workers are told off to make very minute and detailed investigations into local conditions, social, economic, agricultural. By the time these thorough and exhaustive investigations are completed the patience of both the workers and the local population is thoroughly exhausted ! Now it does not seem that before he embarked upon his campaign, Mr. Brayne undertook any elaborate village surveys, the problems of rural stagnation being probably too well known to demand any searching analysis. The second lesson that one derives from this experiment is the need to take a comprehensive view of rural problems and to attempt a frontal attack on all these problems simultaneously. But before the frontal attack was launched, Mr. Brayne and his coadjutors carried on a vigorous propaganda by all means available to them to tell the population where they were wrong and what remedies they should adopt to improve their condition. In most parts of the country, rural life is so disorganized and disrupted that it is well-nigh impossible to achieve betterment unless some machinery is created through which the forces of progress can influence the people. If Mr. Bryne's position as the official head of the district administration proved helpful in any part of the campaign it was in setting up this machinery. It was through his influence, mainly, that a Rural Community Council was formed, the co-operation of the District Board secured and the sympathies of Public Health, Co-operative, Agricultural and Educational Departments enlisted. But all this sympathy and co-operation and co-ordination would have been to no purpose had there not been a band of regular helpers ; and these helpers were secured by enrolment of full-time workers called village guides. These guides are not expected to undertake local activities themselves ; they are to help and guide, and seek assistance from outside wherever necessary. To enable them to assist in the solution of diverse problems of rural life it is necessary first that they should understand these problems, and to this end a school of rural economy has been opened, where systematic training is imparted, instruction is given in the elementary facts of rural economics, methods of propaganda are taught and spirit of labour and service inculcated.

Mr. Brayne rightly thinks that rural uplift to be successful must be accompanied by uplift of women :

As it is the women who are mainly responsible for the upbringing of the agriculturists of the next generation and wield an enormous influence in social and domestic life, no improvement either in economic conditions, social life or domestic environments is possible without their active sympathies and support. Besides, if the life of the average woman in the slums of the towns is one of boredom and misery, the lot of her sister in the villages is only a shade better, inasmuch as the village woman can enjoy free air and light at least during some part of the day. Mr. Brayne and his co-workers wanted to relieve women in villages from the endless drudgery of cooking, grinding corn, from collecting cowdung, and making dung cakes

for fuel, and the still worse tragedy of bringing into the world children regardless of considerations for their own health much less for leisure. A lady superintendent of women's work was appointed, the system of co-education was introduced in rural schools, parents were induced to send girls to school along with boys. And a school of domestic economy was started to train up school mistresses. The school mistresses and others trained in this school of domestic economy were imparted instruction in other aspects of rural life besides education and have turned out to be counter-parts of village guides, for attending to village uplift work among women.

Indian Life in Malaya

In response to a request for a message Mr. Abdoolcader M. L. C., the Indian representative there, writes to *The Indian* (Singapore):

I do not think I can give a better "message" to my compatriots than to ask them to live up to the ancient traditions of Hindustan. As worthy sons of a worthy land, they have come here as if by divine pre-ordination. They have, therefore, certain moral obligations to discharge to this place. In the past they have worthily discharged those obligations: they have contributed their quota towards the social and economic fabric of the colony. I have no doubt that they will continue to exert their efforts towards yet further achievements; but my request to them now is to lead a more co-ordinated and consolidated life. They should strengthen their positions here by laying foundations, deep and wide; they should have permanent stakes in the country; in short they should identify themselves with the interests of the colony.

Some idea about 'Indian Life in Malay' may be gathered from the following account of V. Sivaraman in the same journal—

The life led by the Indian immigrant in Malaya is really much better than what it would have been in India. His earnings are more and, as a result he enjoys life better. The prosperity is all on the superficial side, and if one really cares to analyze it, the demoralizing tendency behind cannot escape notice and emphasis.

The thousands of labourers, mostly of the lower classes, who are recruited from India, are scattered here throughout the whole peninsula, on the various estates. All credit is due to the Labour Department, for it takes scrupulous care to see that these labourers are provided with suitable housing accommodation, good water supply, and adequate medical relief. The planters are required to provide work at least for 20 days in the month. The minimum wages per day is 50 cents the equivalent in Indian coinage being roughly 13 annas. The labourer, if he is thrifty, and contented to lead the life that he would have to if he remained in India, can really put by something; and can remit from Rs. 7 to Rs. 15, to his relatives in India....

The life led by their more respectable brethren

in the towns, is not far removed from theirs. After being drunk, while these people sleep in the streets, their brethren sleep inside houses; that is all. In this class of people may be included the Indian washerman, barber, hawker, petty-trader, artisan etc.

The ordinary Indian clerk is paid here much better than he would be in India. He dresses himself more neatly, he puts on a much better appearance, and enjoys many luxuries of life. Being a little more educated than their brethren, the labourers, these clerks look upon themselves as leaders of the Indian public opinion. They form themselves into clubs, and associations, go to those places in the evenings, read papers, play tennis and enjoy a game of cards or billiards. Though this is the outside life of the clubs, the atmosphere within is found to be full of petty quarrels and jealousies. There are at least two rival parties in almost every association. There is hardly any house of a kerani (clerk) here that does not consume either brandy or beer.

India should not suffer us to wither away here without ideals of life.

Fodder Problem

M. G. Rama Rao suggests a fodder enquiry in *The Journal of the Mysore Agricultural and Experimental Union*. The lines indicated by the writer are:

(1) Bringing together all the facts known about the famines in Mysore with a view to locate the areas which are prone to famine conditions, the manner in which the situation was dealt with, the expenditure involved and the results.

(2) Preparation of detailed meteorological maps to show the areas having the same amount of rainfall and similar weather conditions.

(3) A grass and herbage survey of areas in the State.

(4) A survey of edible forest leaves and fruits.

(5) Introduction of drought-resisting fodder-plants from foreign lands and testing them in typical localities.

(6) Forest Nurseries and Seed Depots to supply seeds and plants useful for fodder.

(7) Opening of plantations of edible forest trees in the dry tracts of the State. (Every village may have its *gomal* lands planted. This may be entrusted to the Village Panchayats.)

(8) Opening up silo-pits and stocking fodder in compressed bales in reserved forests.

(9) Examination of the feeding values of various plants and fodders under investigation.

The recommendations apply to the conditions of all British Indian Provinces as well.

Spirit of a National School

Mr. T. L. Vaswani, in drawing attention to Sogoi Eanna—a National School—of the Irish patriot Padric Pearse, writes in *The Scholar* in his inspiring style:

"A School," Pearse said, "was less a place than a little group of persons, a teacher and his pupils. Philosophy was not crammed out of text-books, but was learned at the knee of some great philosopher; art was learned in the studio of some master artist, and craft in the workshop of some master-craftsman. Always, it was the personality of the master that made the school, never the State that built it of brick and mortar, drew up a code of rules to govern it, and sent hirelings into it to carry out its decrees." Irish language, Irish literature, Irish history, Irish games had the first place in the studies of his pupils, but he neither denounced nor ignored English language, literature, history or games. In a passage in "The Story of a Successor," he says:—"What I mean by an Irish School is a School that takes Ireland for granted. You need not praise the Irish language,—simply speak it; you need not denounce English games,—play Irish ones; you need not ignore foreign history, foreign literature,—deal with them from the Irish-point of view. An Irish school need no more be a purely Irish-speaking nation; but an Irish School like an Irish nation must be permeated through and through by Irish culture." And a National School in India, I have pleaded again and again, must be permeated through and through with the spirit of Indian culture....

The one lesson this Irish 'rebel' taught his boys was, as he himself so beautifully expresses it, "that no one can finely live who hoards life too jealously, that one must be generous in service and withal, joyous, accounting even supreme sacrifices light." Will our National Schools have their activities on these two principles—Freedom and Sacrifice?

Distribution of Power and Federal Function

In the *Madras Law College Magazine* Mr. Rangaswamy Iyengar M.L.A. draws attention to some problems for study by all students of constitution—the problems that the Nehru Report gives rise to. One of them is Dominion Status vs. Independence; the second, Internal Sovereignty and Federation; the third, Distribution of Power and Federal Function, on which last Mr. Iyengar says:—

Apart from the usual orthodox classification of the distribution of powers between the Central and State or Provincial authorities and the retention of residuary powers in either of them, the question how far a scheme of concurrent powers with a machinery of Judicial or Constitutional control for regulating them, can be evolved or found to be more feasible in India, is one which can be studied with profit with reference to recent constitutional developments. The constitution of the German republic now in operation affords a parallel more akin to the trend of the development in the distribution of Central and Provincial powers in India than the Colonial examples.

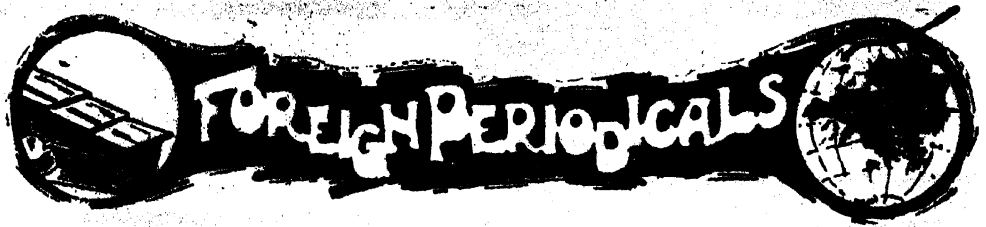
I may also draw attention to the fact that the general assumption that Governmental powers in British federations are divided off completely on the basis of residuary jurisdiction between Central and State Authorities is mistaken. There is now a Royal Commission sitting in Australia before which

very valuable evidence has been given by Sir Robert Garran, the foremost living authority on the Australian Commonwealth Constitution, and by other authorities and witnesses who have had practical experience of the working of the Commonwealth Constitution there. It does appear from the evidence given by them that even in Australia there is a very large field of concurrent powers which could be exercised both by the States and by the Commonwealth Government. It is also clear from the evidence that attempts to restrict the sphere of the Central Authority so long as it has to be the political entity that has to deal with all external affairs or affairs of common concern to the people of the States as a whole, have, besides producing a crop of conflicts and of unexpected judicial decisions, actually hampered the progress and development of the part States on a full democratic basis. It is part of the programme of the Australian Labour Party which has repeatedly been in office and controlling the affairs of the Commonwealth, to have the authority of the Central Government definitely strengthened by amendments of the Constitution. It would be interesting to examine these proposals with reference to the various suggestions made for the establishment of Provincial Autonomy on an enlarged or restricted basis in this country.

Policy of Evasion in British Politics

Ten Years after the University Commission, Sir Michael Sadler referring to the shelving by Government of the recommendations of the Commission observes in the *Calcutta Review*.

This waiting attitude is all very well when those who adopt it know why they have to wait and keep their minds alert and their eyes watchful for any sign of a break in the mist. But the mischief is that what in the best minds is hesitation takes, in less distinguished minds, the form of cowardly evasion. Within my memory—which now runs back for nearly 60 years—there has been a distinct decline in moral courage among British politicians, administrators and dons. I think that this decline is temporary and will not last more than thirty years more. But if it were not for the tonic impression which is always left by contact with ordinary citizens when the latter are called upon to face a grave issue, I should have no doubt that Britain is showing signs of delinquency. Ingenuity in polite evasion, skill in negative criticism, preference for avoiding any discussion of first principles, are now distinctive marks of a well-known and successful type of British administrator in our home affairs—political and academic. Generally these defects are unconscious. In the worst cases, they are assumed because profitable to a man's chances of advancement. Unfortunately these defects are infectious. In the public life of Bengal nothing is more weakening to the welfare of the community than lack of moral courage. I fear that we in England are not at present by our example helping India to shake off this disease.



Tagore Letters

The Times Literary Supplement gives an appreciation of Rabindranath's personality in course of a review of his newly published volume of letters to Mr. C. F. Andrews:

The book, then, comes as an obviously deliberate contribution towards better relations between Britain and India. At the present moment there are many signs that these are desired by both parties. It should be easier for our people to be generous, infinitely easier; it will be inexcusable if we fail in willingness to see the other side's point of view. Reading these letters, many of them written under extreme stress and temptations to bitterness that it was almost superhuman to overcome, we are brought face to face with Tagore's courage, political wisdom, fair-mindedness and freedom from the illusions of a narrow nationalism brings. His fame has suffered in the West, and we all know why. But it is nonsense to say that this man is an ordinary man. His poetry may be often trivial and fanciful, but his qualities of mind and character are magnificent. Where are we to find a parallel to the clearness of judgment and unflinching honesty with which, while rendering full recognition to Mr. Gandhi's genuineness and to the reality of the passion of despair and sense of injustice behind the movement, he stood aside from the non-co-operation agitation? He ensured its failure in Bengal, and thereby in India. How profound and terrible was the darkening of his soul by the Punjab troubles his friends know. But not for one moment did he forget that hatred breeds hatred and that beneath all bitterness man keeps a brotherhood that must surely one day become effective. To a lady complaining of harsh criticism of the British he replies:—

"I feel as much for the negroes, brutally lynched in America, often for economic reasons, and for the Koreans, who are the latest victims of Japanese imperialism, as for any wrongs done to the helpless multitude of my own country."

Elsewhere he writes:—

"The fact is that the best people in all countries find their affinity with one another. The fuel displays its differences, but the fire is one.....Let us seek that fire and know that wherever the spirit of separation is supreme there reigns darkness."

He will have nothing to do with the attempted rejection of the West by the East. His outlook, increasingly yet almost from the beginning, has been international, human and not merely patriotic. He has said hard things of our people; but there is no man so aware of the greatness of our record and the sublimity of spirit that individuals of our

race have shown. And though (to use a favourite word of his) he can be "ferocious" in defence of his own people, he has been austere and unsparing in his chastisement of boastfulness and silliness at social wrongs.

That the time has come for readjustment of our attitude towards this writer, once so extolled and then so decried, is clear. But more is at issue than one man's reputation. The reader grows hardened under continual assurance that here is a book he cannot afford to miss. Nevertheless, occasionally there does come a book which will tell him things he ought to know, will be the poorer for not knowing, and cannot find elsewhere. Such a book as these "Letters," published at a time when Britain and India have come to another parting of the ways.

The Significance of the Russian Experiment

Last month we published some extracts from the series of articles in *The New Republic* in which Dr. Dewey is giving his impressions of Soviet Russia. In the sixth and the last of these articles, Dr. Dewey discusses the meaning of the great experiment and its future. These articles together with others on China, Turkey and Mexico comprising a broad survey of the post-war revolutionary world will soon be published in book form.

To sum up one's impressions about Russia is a necessity to engage in speculations about its future. Even the belief that has inspired what I have hitherto written, namely, that the most significant aspect of the change in Russia is psychological and moral, rather than political, involves a look into an unrevealed future. While the belief is doubtless to be accounted for by contacts that were one-sided with educational people, not with politicians and economists, still there is good authority for it. Lenin himself expressed the idea that with the accomplishment of the Revolution the Russian situation underwent a great transformation. Before it had taken place, it was Utopian, he said, to suppose that education and voluntary co-operation could achieve anything significant. The workers had first to seize power. But when they had the reins of government in their hands, there took place "a radical change in our point of view towards Socialism. It consists in this, that formerly the centre of gravity had to be placed in the political

struggle and the conquest of power. Now this centre of gravity is displaced in the direction of pacific cultural work. I should be ready to say that it is now moving toward intellectual work, were it not for our international relations, and the necessity of defending our position in the international system. If we neglect that phase and confine ourselves to internal economic relations, the centre of gravity of our work already consists in intellectual work." He went on to say that the cause of socialism is now, economically speaking, identical with that of the promotion of co-operation, and added the significant words: "Complete co-operation is not possible without an intellectual revolution."

Further testimony to the same effect developed in an interview some of us had with Krupskaya, Lenin's widow, an official at the head of one branch of the government department of education, and naturally a person with great prestige. Considering her position, her conversation was strangely silent upon matters of school organization and administration; it was about incidents of a human sort that had occurred in her contact with children and women, incidents illustrative of their desire for education and for new light and life—evinced an interest on her part that was quite congruous with her distinctly maternal, almost housewifely type. But at the close she summed up the task of the present regime: Its purpose is, she said, to enable every human being to obtain personal cultivation. The economic and political revolution that has taken place was not the end; it was the means and basis of a cultural development still to be realized. It was a necessary means because without economic freedom and equality, the full development of the possibilities of all individuals could not be achieved. But the economic change was for the sake of enabling every human being to share to the full in all the things that give value to human life.

Even in the economic situation the heart of the problem is now intellectual and educational. This is true in the narrower sense that the present industrial scheme and plan cannot possibly be carried through without preparation of skilled technicians in all lines, industrial and administrative. What Wells said about the world is peculiarly true of Russia; there is a race between education and catastrophe—that is, industrial breakdown. It is also true in a fundamental sense that the plan cannot be carried through without change in the desires and beliefs of the masses. Indeed, it seems to me that the simplest and most helpful way to look at what is now going on in Russia is to view it as an enormous psychological experiment in transforming the motives that inspire human conduct.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer Sums up the Reforms

Pending the report of the enquiry which Sir John Simon is carrying out, it is interesting to read the *ad interim* summing up of the political results of the Reforms by Sir Michael O'Dwyer in *The British Empire Review*:

It is not improbable that if, as originally contem-

plated, the experiment had been confined to the Provinces and the Central Government had not been radically altered, the chances of success would have been much greater. Indian public men would have concentrated on the problems, constitutional and administrative, of their own Provinces with the conditions of which they were familiar. They would have steadily gained knowledge and experience by active co-operation with and participation in the provincial administration.

In some Provinces, notably the Punjab, under the expert guidance of a wise Governor and with the hearty co-operation of the numerically small but highly efficient British element in the Services, the Ministers and the new Councils have settled down to practical work, and have achieved no small success in showing their capacity to handle the branches of the administration entrusted to them. The success would have been greater were it not for the demon of communal discord which tends even in the Punjab, where the people are less caste-ridden and more progressive than elsewhere, to convert political and administrative questions into sectarian issues fiercely contested between the rival creeds, Moslem, Hindu and Sikh. Thus the question of self-determination, even in a Province where conditions are otherwise most favourable for the extension of provincial autonomy, becomes a struggle between the three religions, each eager to grasp the powers of which the British Government has divested or is likely to divest itself, and, unless its claims are accepted, preferring to revert to the pre-Reforms system of government.

In short, the result of the transfer of half the field of administration from British to Indian control has been not to create a sense of common citizenship or nationality, but to revive and intensify all the old racial, caste and sectarian animosities which a century of impartial British rule had held in check, and to create new lines of cleavage. Each minority to-day is fearful of its future under majority, i.e., Hindu, rule, controlled mainly by the Brahmans and a few of the allied higher castes. The prospects of "India a nation" appear to be now much more remote than ten years ago; even the progress towards provincial autonomy is seriously hampered by the rapid growth of bitter racial and religious antagonisms. These have now become so acute as seriously to endanger the "pax Britannica," and to cause a falling off in the standards of administration.

If India is not to relapse into anarchy, a prey to internal revolution and external aggression, a strong Central Government is essential. The Central Government has already been seriously weakened by the attempt to create a Central Legislature which (though representing only one in 500 of the population) claims to speak for British India, and aims at controlling the whole administration, and has already endangered stability and progress. That body will have to be radically recast and its present powers radically curtailed unless we are prepared to sacrifice the interests of 320 millions to a hasty political experiment.

After all this it is not surprising to find him quoting with approval a saying of Rabindra Nath Tagore. "The problem," he says, "has been admirably summed up in a few sentences by that great Indian thinker and patriot, Rabendra (*sic*) Nath Tagore,

quoted in *The Times* of 29th November: "Our real problem in India is not political. It is social. How, then, can we think that our work is to build a political miracle of freedom upon the quicksand of social slavery?"

Malaria Control in Bengal

The following appeared in a recent issue of *The Lancet*:

Birnagar or Ula, credited with being the place whence spread the disastrous malaria epidemic of 1886, is one of those half derelict towns so frequent in the upper Gangetic delta, with a population of 23,000 in place of 40,000 of 70 years ago before malaria, speaking without metaphor, laid it waste. Five years ago some inhabitants, stung by the position, formed a local public health society, whose keen honorary secretary has just issued one of his periodical reports (*Malaria Control at Birnagar, 1927*, By Krishnasekhar Bose). Funds are supplied by considerable private subscriptions, by a substantial grant from the Bengal Government, and by a large gift of quinine from its Director of Public Health. The anti-malarial measures used have been the oiling of anopheline breeding places and a wide administration of quinine. The difficulties encountered in this private enterprise have been those familiar when such campaigns have been attempted in India by Government officers. There has been some stubborn opposition to oiling, two and a half out of eight and a half miles of water edge in the small area actually covered having had to be left unprotected. These untreated tanks have bred larvae profusely, and it is significant that while the municipal authority has contributed generously to the funds of the society, the municipal tank is not one of those which the society has been permitted to oil. Some of the observations made have a wide applicability. The washing of muddy water into tanks was followed by destruction of all larvae, breeding recommencing immediately as it settled and cleared. While, apart from this, mosquitoes bred continuously they did not torment human beings during dry weather, but as soon as rain fell entered houses and bit, while the malaria-rate rose after the usual interval. It is believed that in dry weather the insects remained inactive in the all-embracing jungle, and that this is also the explanation of the immediate but temporary influx of mosquitoes into houses when neighbouring jungle is felled. Such clearance has been begun with sale of wood and cultivation of land, but permission for further clearance is being withheld by owners. It is felt that the determination of the mosquito species most implicated locally in transmitting malaria requires more expert knowledge than is available on the spot, but it is, after all, improbable that the ungrudging co-operation of the Bengal Malaria Research Laboratory, already afforded in identifying larvae, will not be extended to the dissection of mosquitoes locally collected, a subject particularly appropriate. It is believed, too, that the local campaign should be merged in a wider one to be undertaken, the writer

suggests, by the District Board. If our indications in the report are read aright it is questionable whether anything will replace adequately an enthusiastic local patriotism.

Should Married Women Work for Money

The Literary Digest summarizes discussion that has been going on in the British Press regarding this very interesting and controversial question:

"A man ought to be doing your work and supporting you out of it," said an old lady reproving to a young married woman in London, who was earning a salary of her own. We can imagine the old lady's look and the look, too, that she got in return! "You mean," retorted the young woman, "that he would get my salary, and give me a very small fraction of it back, if he were generous, I working in the home." These remarks are quoted in the London *Daily Express* by an English writer of fiction, May Edginton, who in a debate as to whether married women should work, declares that the question is not merely whether they should work, but rather whether they should do paid work, because "every generation of women has been allowed to work for nothing or for very little pay, freely and without criticism." It is declared that the strictly logical and just answer to this question is that married women have a right to work even if they are well paid. They may wish to work in office, shop, bank, or surgery, and their husbands and families may find it pleasant and beneficial that they do so. Modern woman, we are told, can usually look back and see behind her among the older generation quite a number of financially unhappy marriages, or marriages where the wife's money, when she had inherited any, has been lost in foolish business ventures by the husband, or marriages which have resulted in unequipped widows being left stranded and unprovided for.

In total disagreement with May Edginton is another English woman writer of fiction, Ethel Mannin, who holds that the married woman who works for pay is an enemy of society. She charges that married women have not the right to earn the money to help make the home more comfortable and give the children a better education. Miss Mannin gives as a reason for this argument the statement that none of us who avail ourselves of the advantages of civilized society has the right to obtain luxuries even of the smallest kind at the expense of the necessities of life of some other member of society.

Bernard Shaw Interviewed

When Bernard Shaw went to Geneva, he was continually surrounded by journalists seeking an interview. But, we are told by a contributor to the *Living Age*, having once refused the Nobel Prize, he puts an extremely high price on an interview. Under no circumstances will he give a lecture. But the International Students' Union was fortunate enough to capture him through an

invitation to take a cup of tea with 'a group of guaranteed young people.'

When the genius at last appeared in the doorway, with his soft, white beard, sparkling eyes, creamy complexion, his sprained arm in a sling, he was received with wild enthusiasm and the clicking of cameras. Professor Madariaga led him to an armchair, saying: 'You see before you a gathering of serious students,' to which Shaw replied that most students he had known had been quite the opposite. Moreover, he said, he saw nothing of the cup of tea of which he had been invited to partake, but he really didn't mind this very much and would be glad to answer the students' inevitable questions to the best of his ability.

The first question asked was:—

'What is an intelligent woman?'

'One who will buy my latest book, *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism*, price fifteen shillings,' replied Shaw.

'Is it true that you have lost faith in humanity?'

'Whoever told you that I at any time have ever had any faith in humanity? Humanity is for ever changing. History tells us of six or seven civilizations which have gone to ruin. All reached a point of development similar to ours, and collapsed because humanity in its political phase destroyed everything. I see no reason why we should not disappear in the same way; all signs point in that direction.'

A student: 'Can we do nothing to save civilization?'

Mr. Shaw: 'The League of Nations tells what can be done, and I too have told it in my books; but people neither listen to what the League says, nor do they buy my books. Modern humanity, however, is not Creation's last word. We have the consolation of knowing, that if we succumb, it will only hasten the moment when the Life-Force will produce something better.'

A third student: 'What is your impression of the League of Nations?'

Mr. Shaw: 'As a dramatist I am most interested in the stage setting. We behold a Tribune from which a certain number of gentlemen deliver speeches; but not the slightest attention is paid to what they say, because they say nothing except what they have been ordered to say from home. It was only Briand who, by a slip of the tongue, let out some real facts the other day. But in my character of stage-manager, I may tell you confidentially that the curtain behind the Tribune is very effective. The ladies of the Secretariat know how to make admirable use of it. Towards the end of a longwinded oration, one of these young persons suddenly steps out from behind the folds of the curtain. In a new dress, with charming movement she glides over to a seat—while the audience wakes up at the sight of her and the orator congratulates himself on having caught the attention of his hearers!'

Asked if he thought it possible to improve the human race, he answered: 'It would be very much worth while knowing if desirable human types can be produced. In London once, when I was discussing this subject, a lady told me it was most improper to speak about such things. Those of you who have some knowledge of horse-breeding know that it is very difficult to breed a perfect speci-

men, of either a race-horse or a work-horse—and here we care nothing about the kind of character or soul the horse may have. But what kind of man, or, even more important, what kind of woman, is it that we want to breed? We say we will have no epileptics, no drunkards but only good men. Yet every time a really good man has appeared in the world, we have slain him. The only thing we have constantly to guide us in this matter is sexual selection. If you walk along the streets of Geneva here, you will meet many young and attractive girls, none of whom, however, has a special attraction for you. At last, it may chance that you do meet one who makes strong appeal to you both physically and intellectually; and, so far as the intellect is concerned, you have probably made a mistake.'

Career of Sir John Simon

The following account of the career of Sir John Simon is taken from the *Living Age* and will surely serve to counterbalance the unfair criticism to which he has been subjected personally in this country on account of his acceptance of the presidentship of the Parliamentary Commission:

John Simon's career began at Oxford. The son of a Non-Conformist clergyman acquainted with poverty, he made his own way through the University by a series of intellectual feats that won him scholarships and cash prizes and every well-paid fellowship that was offered. At Wadham College, he was one of a group of four renowned for their debating skill. There was Charles B. Fry who excelled alike in cricket and scholarship. There was Frederick Smith, of unfailing brilliance. And there was the formidable Hilaire Belloc. Smith and Simon both attained the presidency of the Oxford Union Debating Society. No single party can contain us twain,' Smith told him as they both set out from Oxford to conquer the world, and the future Lord Birkenhead thereupon became a Tory.

In the busy years that lay between Oxford and the outbreak of war, Simon rose to incredible heights in the practice of the law. In 1914 his net annual income is understood to have been in excess of £50,000. Nor was he less brilliantly successful in the House of Commons. He became the favourite of Asquith and the inseparable companion of Morley and Bryce. To the country at large he was the incarnation of 'scholarship in politics.' An immoderately handsome man, his countenance betrayed no crass emotion, and 'vulgar enthusiasm' never disturbed the fine balance of his thought. He gave his public addresses careful preparation and kept them terse, lucid, and well within the definition of 'a plain tale without any missionary fervour.'

His ideal in politics was, like the religion in which his father reared him, simple, practical, and hard. Bred in the Bunyan tradition, he had upon him the unmythical stamp of the fervent English 'Bible Christian.'

The fellow countrymen of Shakespeare and Milton cannot look askance upon the fellow countrymen of Goethe and Schiller, he declared in course of an address on the New Year's Day of 1914 in

which he decried the then current talk of approaching war with Germany. It is significant that he added: 'Those who have the tradition of Wycliffe and Wesley have no ground of quarrel with the descendants of Luther.' There was no doubt about his sincerity.

But in these years he had undoubtedly one defect which was advertised by his constant association with those elder prophets, Morley, Bryce, and Asquith. It is not that he acquired of them the odour of omniscience, for he was too sensible. It is not that he grew arrogant, for he was not vain. Lord Birkenhead was arrogant, brazenly affirming that he owed his success to no such vulgar virtues as industry, modesty, and thrift. But rather, Sir John had the fatal deficiency of knowing too little of human kind. He had come by success too easily, perhaps, and in proportion as he was now restricting himself to the company of scholars, he was failing to broaden, as he should have done, his sympathy with all men—with men who toil and are disappointed and whose cup of happiness is full if on occasion they attain small measures of success.

And yet he is not without very human qualities. There is the Simon dubbed contemptuously by Lloyd George 'the Little Gladstone,' because of his opposition to the policy of reprisals in Ireland. There is also the lover of sport, regretting that he must return home from America without having seen Ruth play baseball. There is the Simon of popular story, pouring tea in his office, one cup for his wealthy client, a peer of the realm, and the other cup for himself. He discourses learnedly on problems of philosophy, and swept along by the magic of his own words, he drinks both cups of tea himself and ushers his astonished visitor off the premises without realizing his error and without even learning the purpose of his lordship's visit.

Tall and in appearance remarkably like the late Lord Curzon, Sir John is possessed of a very melodious voice and a swift and fertile brain. No one who heard him can ever forget the day in 1924 when he began his summing up for the Midland Bank in the notorious 'Mr. A' case, nor could one doubt that he was by nature intended for the bar. And see him in the House of Commons when the general strike had been in progress for a day or so in the spring of 1926 and when others were beside themselves with fear or anger. Turning slightly to the Speaker, he treats exhaustively, in quiet, even tones, of the Trade Disputes Act of 1906 and concludes: 'The general strike is illegal and for breach of contract the individual strikers can be made to pay damages to the utmost farthing of their personal possessions.' The *Encyclopædia Britannica* hazards the cautious comment: 'Coming from such an eminent legal authority, this speech created a deep impression.' As a matter of fact, it was said in Labour circles, later on, that Simon's address had been the factor above all others which determined the executive council of the Trade Union Congress to call off the strike.

When he accepted the latter (i.e., Presidentship of the Indian Statutory Commission), many observers of British affairs were aghast and the London correspondent of the *New York Times* wrote home: 'Sure of a brilliant future in domestic politics, he has chosen to stake his entire public life on what is considered a forlorn hope of creating within a partially democratic framework a satisfactory political machinery for the fiercely

antagonistic peoples of backward India.' Certainly the job he has taken up is appalling to contemplate—the sort of thing an opportunist, a soldier of fortune, would avoid. And yet what ~~it~~ ^{it} could be better suited to the genius for hard work and the spirit of modesty in the face of public need, which John Simon has shown?

China To-day

In the December issue of the *China Journal* Dr. A. de C. Sowerby surveys the political situation in China and wishes the new regime success:

To-day in China the terrible internal wars that for over fifteen years have been tearing the country to pieces have ceased, and while we are fain to admit that there are still rumblings in certain quarters, and there are those who prophecy that fighting will soon break out again, yet on the whole we find a feeling of optimism prevailing throughout the country, a feeling that at last the birth pangs of the new republic are over, and that this country is entering upon a period of growth and civil, political and industrial development that will soon place her where she rightly belongs amongst the nations.

For almost the first time since the outbreak of the revolution in 1911 the country is at least nominally under one government, and while that government may have a big task before it to straighten everything out, and will doubtless have many difficulties to overcome, yet a great deal has been accomplished. It is to be congratulated on having so far got the situation in hand.

We see in the present state of affairs great promise for the future, and we are heart and soul in sympathy with the aims of the present government in so far as it is doing its utmost to get the country rehabilitated as regards its commerce, industries, internal politics and foreign relations.

We have no hesitation in saying that if all those in power now will sink their differences and their own personal ambitions, and will all work together allowing wise counsels to prevail in the many difficult problems to be solved, China will indeed have entered upon a period of peace and prosperity such as we have many times discussed in the pages of this journal.

After all, peace on earth and goodwill toward all men are not prerogatives of the Christian nations. The teachings of China's sages have all pointed in the same direction, and we would as those who have the destiny of this country in their hands to turn to the teachings of their sage and learn from these founts of wisdom the secret of national greatness.

And the chiefest of those secrets is the sincere regard for the welfare of the people and a deep respect for the rights of all men. Only in so far as a government has these matters at heart can it hope to succeed.

Once more our greetings go out to the ruler and people of China, coupled with our most sincere wishes for the country's abounding prosperity.

Passing away of Religion in India

Under the heading "A Christian Looks at India" Dr. N. Maenicol contributes to the *International Review of Missions* (January, 1929) a very penetrating study of the religious situation in India. There are new factors in the situation, he says, which should induce the missionary not to consider himself as engaged in a conflict against Hinduism or against Islam. New and more powerful enemies of religious life have entered the field.

The editor of the *Prabuddha Bharata*, the monthly organ of the Ramkrishna Mission, recently contributed to his magazine an article bearing the title, 'Whither India?' We ask the same question. To him the greatest danger of the time is from those leaders whose aim is 'to banish religion from India'—'Occidentalists', yet wearing *khaddar* dress, nationalists who are the enemies of India's national ideals. With this writer's fears and forebodings we must fully sympathize. It will be a disaster not for India only but for the world if this people should abandon the controlling interest of all her past history and should shift her course now from 'spirituality' to secularism. In seeking to avert that catastrophe the Christian will stand side by side with the adherent of the Ramkrishna sect.

I am speaking now of course, of the educated, politically minded section of India only and I wish to evaluate its capacity to see and respond to religious truth. We must be aware, for example, of a profound change in the outlook of educated Bengal to-day from what it was in the days of Keshub Chandra Sen. All over the land there has been felt a returning tide of Hinduism, but what I wish to note is what, in the case at least of the educated classes, has been the cause of this return and what, as a result, is its religious value. It may be illustrated and its religious value appraised by means of two incidents that have taken place recently in different parts of India—the one in the City College, Calcutta, and the other in Bangalore—both of them symptomatic of a wide-spread malady. The City College is a Brahmo College, the product of a period of religious activity and earnestness when reforming zeal was unimpeded by politics or patriotism. In these circumstances idolatry was rejected and within the walls of the college hostel forbidden. But to-day Hinduism and idolatry have returned, not as a result of any religious conviction but because they have become a flag of patriotism. And so, Saraswati must be worshipped by the students in even the Ram Mohun Roy hostel of the college. Similarly in Bangalore alleged disrespect to the idol of Ganesh has set passion aflame in the colleges and high schools of the city and caused riot and bloodshed.

These are only two incidents indicative of a subtle transformation that has been passing over the whole of India.

Those who breathe the atmosphere of political passion—and that means especially the students—have found it impossible to keep separate their politics and their religion. Inevitably, real religion has suffered from the association. It is impossible

to believe that in the case of most of these young men there was any real religious attachment to Saraswati or Ganesh.

This shifting of the centre of interest from religion to politics is the key to our understanding, it seems to me, of the religious situation in India at the present time. Religion has no longer the central place in the life of educated India that it once had. It has been degraded to become a means to a secular end. It has been deliberately so used by political leaders.

Now in so far as this account that I have given of things in India is true, it represents a serious religious decline. And what I have been saying of Hinduism applies also to Islam. If it were my concern here to consider Christianity I could demonstrate how it too shares in this general degradation. *Sangathan* and *shuddhi* with the Hindu, *tabligh* and *tanzeem* with the Moslem, talk of 'the white man's religion' in the case of the Christian—these are all indications of a common distortion of outlook that rivalry and conflict have created. All these things are symptoms of sectarian partisanship, and not of religion.

Then the writer goes on to discuss the coming of the new spirit of secularism:

There is another and even more fatal influence around us that is equally hostile to religion, whether it be the religion of Christ or that of a sincerely Hindu or Moslem spirituality. This is represented not by a return to a Hinduism professed but no longer believed, but by an acceptance of the creed of secularism.

There has been everywhere grievous loss from the loss of faith. We see this even in Poona, a city that has been a centre of some of the most self-sacrificing service that modern India has produced. A generation ago there were in this part of India men of deep religious life and conviction such as M. G. Ranade, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. They were able in those days both to keep politics in their place and to hold secularism at bay. But to-day the barriers are down against both these enemies, and secularism especially has come in like a flood. For the spirit of this new generation, as of the older one, the eagerness of so many to serve, their sacrifice, no one can have anything but praise and admiration. But we have to add that, admirable as is their idealism and self-devotion, it is not religion.

But whether their ideas tend to Moscow or to Benares, they tend in either case away from real religion. Whether their religion is made the instrument of politics or whether it is flung away as outworn, in either case they are definitely the enemies of the real religious spirit and attitude.

On the other hand, when some in India, fearing the consequences to their people of an abandonment of faith, have advocated, as was recently the case in Bombay, the teaching in all schools and colleges of the principles of theistic religion, the proposal has produced violent protests on the part of those who desire to be rid finally of God—that baneful thing called God, as one of them writes. 'Of all the people in the world,' he goes on, 'it is we Indians that require more and more materialism. We have had too much of religion; that accounts for our position to-day as a bankrupt nation. No doubt it is this wide-spread feeling, that has caused Pandit Motilal Nehru and his coadjutors, in framing

the new Constitution for India which has been widely accepted as the national demand, to exclude religion from their concern and apply themselves to the task of establishing a secular state. One group among the young political leaders, with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as their spokesman, have definitely set before themselves as one of their aims, 'to free India from the grip of religion.'

British Cabinet Split on the Eve of the Great War

Professor Sidney B. Fay, the well-known American historian, and author of the latest book on the origins of the World War, summarizing for the *Current History* the recently published memorandum of Lord Morley on the circumstances which led to Great Britain's entry into the war observes:

In all the literature of the World War origins, no memoir perhaps is more profoundly moving than the memorandum of Lord Morley, entitled "On the Eve of the Catastrophe." For brevity, sincerity, nobility of thought and expression and stern determination to follow the dictates of his own conscience rather than the dictates of office or public opinion, it has hardly a parallel. It records the mental anguish of a great soul forced by his own vision to part company with old friends whom he loved and revered. More than that, it reveals to the world what a few men have long known, but which none have publicly described in any detail—the seriousness of the split in the British Cabinet which was caused by Sir Edward Grey's long-standing "conversations" and moral obligations to France and which was preliminary to Great Britain's entrance into the war.

After which he proceeds to give a summary of the memorandum. When Grey and Asquith began to press the question of British attitude in the event of a war between France and Germany, in which the neutrality of Belgium might be threatened, the Cabinet split into two camps, Asquith, Grey, Churchill and Haldane on the one hand, and Lord Morley, John Burns, Lloyd George, Sir John Simon on the other.

On Saturday, Aug. 1, Grey raised the question of warning Germany not to come into the Channel or attack the French coast. Burns vigorously denounced the idea as being virtually tantamount to a declaration of war on the sea against Germany and as leading inevitably to war on the land in support of France and Russia. Two days later, when the Cabinet was persuaded to acquiesce in having Grey give the warning to Germany and inform Cambon, the French Ambassador in London, of it, Burns resigned. Morley also, on Monday morning, Aug. 3, wrote to Asquith asking to resign, but consenting to attend the Cabinet meeting to be held in the evening. "Saw Lloyd George and told him I had sent in my resignation. He seemed astonished. *But if you go it will put us who don't go in a great hole.*" I made the obvious reply to this singular remark.

Of his own conflicting emotions on this Lord Morley writes:

"Two hours rumination at the club. Felt as if what Mr. Gladstone had often told me that a public man can have no graver responsibility than quitting a Cabinet on public grounds *** involving relations for good or ill with other people, as possibly affecting besides all else the whole machinery of domestic government. ***

The significance of the French Entente had been rather disingenuously played with both before the Cabinet and Parliament. *** The Prime Minister and Grey had both of them assured the House of Commons that we had no engagements unknown to the country. Yet here we were confronted by engagements that were vast, indeed because indefinite and undefinable. *** The famous letter to Cambon of November, 1911 which we had extorted from Grey—what a singularly thin and deceptive document it was turned out to be!

I could not but be penetrated by the precipitancy of it all. What grounds for expecting that the ruinous waste and havoc of war would be repaid by peace on better terms than were already within reach of reason and persistent patience? When we counted our gains, what would they amount to when reckoned against the ferocious hatred that would burn with inextinguishable fire, for a whole generation at least between two great communities better fitted to understand one another than any other pair in Europe? This moral devastation is worse incident of war even than human carnage and all the other curses with which war lashes its victims and dupes. ***

Grey after too long delay, had wisely and manfully posed the issue of the hour for his colleague when he declared that we must now decide between intervention and neutrality, and that for neutrality he was not the man. Nor am I the man I said to myself, to sit in the Council of War into which Campbell-Bannerman's Cabinet is to be transformed."

Then came the Cabinet meeting at 6-30 P. M. Grey reported his conversation with Cambon. Burns said he must go. As they got up from their chairs, Morley said to Asquith that he feared he too, must go: but he consented to sleep on it. A midnight came a note from Asquith imploring him to think twice and thrice "before you take a step which impoverishes the Government, and leaves me stranded and almost alone." Mental anguish again held Morley by the throat. He paced his library and his garden, and then got into a motor to drive to Whitehall, but as he drove, all his doubts cleared away, and he sent the Prime Minister his final resignation.

"The old liberalism had done its work, and the time had come for openly changing imperial landmarks and extinguishing beacons that needed new luminants."

Roots of Imperialism

A contributor to the *New Republic* discusses Imperialism from the point of view of food production and population:

Analysis of the food-and-population problem

reveals the sources of imperialism. Recent economic interpretations of imperialism give this phenomenon primarily an industrial or financial, rather than an agricultural, *raison d'être*. It would be absurd to deny that certain influences making for imperialism, such as the struggle for oil or for industrial raw materials, can be powerful apart from immediate or urgent connection with food necessities. Yet imperialism resulting from food requirements seems to have a specially implacable character. Imperialistic impulses that come from a desire for more industrial raw materials, or from the hope of increased investment returns, may conceivably be frustrated without working serious damage. It is otherwise with the urge to expansion felt by nations whose numbers make agricultural self-sufficiency impossible. For such peoples imperialism may be an affair of life and death, a mandatory business whose driving force is the Malthusian law. But the connection between food requirements and war is not the simple one that is usually traced. Growth of population does not lead to imperialism always and everywhere, merely by the need of expanding bodies for more space, as will be shown in a moment.

Growth of population, although not leading to imperialism always and everywhere, may do so when it is the result of expanding economic power resting on insufficient agricultural resources and, therefore, tending to develop an excessive industrial specialization. Such specialization necessitates large food imports; an impulse to control foreign sources of supply and to control trade communications thus arises inevitably. This incentive to imperialism may exist without any urgent immediate pressure of population on subsistence, and even without any extreme pressure of population upon the supply of land. Food necessities are less acute in imperialistic Europe than in non-imperialistic Asia. As for the pressure of population upon the land supply, that is several times greater in Asia than in Europe. Some of the most imperialistic nations have done wonders in increasing their domestic food resources. Their inveterate hankering for territorial expansion is the outcome of a potential threat to their food supply, rather than of an acute immediate shortage. It is the political expression of the necessity they feel to correct a discrepancy that has developed between their food wants and their secure command of food supplies. Modern imperialism, in short, is fundamentally a means of permitting the growth of population beyond the point at which it would be stabilized by an exclusive reliance on domestic agriculture.

In the nineteenth century this principle found its classic illustration in the imperial policy of the United Kingdom. Germany finally tried to apply it and failed; Japan is attempting the same thing with more success. Our turn may come next. Heretofore, the United States has been a food-exporting nation, and has not felt any impulse to imperialism arising from food necessities. In recent years, however, our agricultural export trade has declined. In the production of corn, dairy products, beef, and spring wheat, we are close to the margin between the import and the export basis, and the producers of these commodities may soon regularly have to contend with foreign competition in the United States market. Already we import 55 per cent of our wool, 20 per cent of our sugar, 50 per cent of our flax seed, 12 per cent of our cheese, and large amounts of nuts, fruits, and

vegetable oil materials. In the calendar year 1924, not less than 45 per cent of our imports of dutiable articles consisted of competitive agricultural products. Our progress toward dependence on food imports is portentously rapid, and will unquestionably have a profound influence on our foreign policy. Such dependence has made other nations imperialistic. As our human nature is presumably of the same stuff as theirs, we are likely to behave similarly.

More Workers Become Capitalists

The Literary Digest gives an account of a recent financial transaction in the United States by which a large Electric Corporation have been sold to its employees:

It is a sad sight to apostles of discontent to see the American worker wearing good clothes, eating the best cuts of steak, driving around on rubber tires, and finally blossoming out as a stock-and-bondholder of the very concerns that are supposed to hold him in some awful kind of "wage-slavery." Moscow is said to be particularly disgusted, after spending large sums here, taken from the starving Russian peasants, to convince the American worker that he is wretched only to find that the effort has all gone for nothing.

The latest example of this sort is the decision of the Western Electric Company, of New York City, to sell its subsidiary, the Graybar Electric Company, to the latter's employees.

What makes the action of Western Electric especially noteworthy, remarks the *New York Evening World*, is that it is giving up a profitable business:

"Such corporations are not much given to parting with growing, and paying businesses in their own full possession, either to employees or any one else. Indeed, it is said to be the first instance of the kind where a business of such magnitude and importance, and so promising of future growth, has been turned over to the men who have built it up.

Says the *Nashville Tennessean* of these developments:

"There has been no more significant advance in American financial operations in recent years than the wide distribution of corporate stock. Ten or fifteen years ago the capital stock of practically all the leading financial, industrial, and transportation concerns was in the hands of a comparatively few people. Now millions of men, women, and children own industrial, utility, and financial stocks.

"The wisdom of this policy is apparent. People who have a direct and financial interest in the institution by which they are employed, are naturally more loyal and more zealous to promote its welfare than otherwise would be the case. This wide distribution of corporate stock is not without its political and social significance. It is unquestionably the chief factor in making the American people so conservative and so adverse to any radical political changes. It makes the people more loyal to the established order, and less likely to become victims of political fads and isms. They are loath to contribute to any movement that might jeopardize the industrial and financial fabric of the nation.

"This distribution of corporate ownership also

means a wider diffusion of prosperity. It makes thousands of wage-earners the recipients also of annual or monthly dividends. It enables them, through purchases of the partial-payment plan, to save and to accumulate for the inevitable rainy day.

"It is, perhaps, the best bulwark that we could erect in America against Communism and Bolshevism."

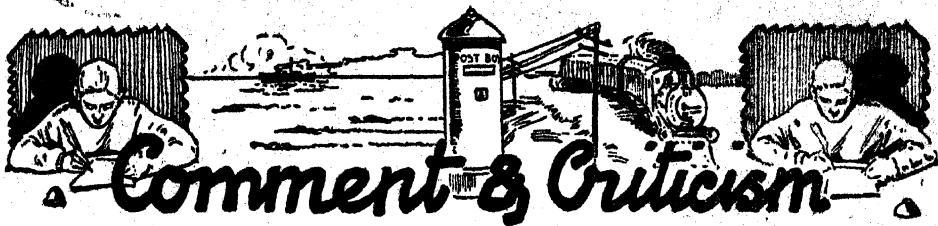
The Future of Oxford and Cambridge

M. Andre Maurois, the well known French writer speculates on the future of Oxford and Cambridge in the centenary number of the *Spectator*. After noting the opinion of some Englishmen who consider that the wonderful loveliness of these universities is a superfluous luxury and that the formation of an aristocracy, which is the real function of Oxford and Cambridge, has ceased to be necessary in a society which, whether we wish it or not, is becoming more and more democratic, comes to the conclusion that the hour of Oxford and Cambridge has not yet come, and for three reasons:

(a) It is not certain that the educational methods of Oxford and Cambridge do not turn out (even from the technical point of view) individuals as well adapted to modern conditions as do more modern methods. Some of the greatest discoveries in modern physics were made at the Cavendish Laboratory. A man like the Master of Trinity is deeply attached to the traditions of the University, but this does not prevent him from being one of the greatest of European scholars. Oxford and Cambridge have produced, and still produce, great economists and great statesmen. Possibly the future Labour Prime Minister is at the moment a Fellow of All Souls. Mr. Keynes is a Fellow of King's College; that does not prevent him from being a remarkable financial expert. Certainly it is permissible to argue that it is not the public school and University system which create Englishmen of genius, but rather that geniuses remain themselves in spite of such systems. But I do not think this would be true. The unusual excellence of English scientists during the nineteenth century is too striking for its origin not to lie in the English educational system. It is possible that minds that are little specialized and allowed to develop in an unorthodox way retain more of their freedom and freshness. The average level of culture is higher in Continental Universities than at Oxford or

Cambridge, but culture of the highest quality perhaps commoner in England. Now modern society cannot get on without a creative aristocracy of intellect. (b) Keyserling is absolutely right when he says that the aim of education in England is form a ruling class, but I do not think this type of man, remarkable of his qualities of character rather than for his specialized knowledge, is less necessary to-day than formerly. I have yet to meet any one with the quality of leadership strongly developed in him who is in search of employment. The supply of rulers does not exceed the demand. If it be true that the Dominions prefer to choose their leaders from their own countrymen, it should be added that many persons of substance in the Dominions send their sons to Oxford or to Cambridge. The Rhodes Scholarship will doubtless do much to confirm this custom. Even if the business world dominates more and more the social, even if the qualities required to direct a large industry become more necessary than those required for a Governor-General of Canada or a Viceroy of India. That is no reason to condemn the "ruling class." For nothing goes to show that this type is not very well adapted to industrial or commercial life. In all these businesses the head is a ruler rather than a technician. He must have about him many different experts, but to co-ordinate their work a man is required who is above all remarkable for qualities of character, of prudence, of courage, of fair play—that is to say for all the characteristic developed by the traditional education of the senior Universities. (c) There is no reason why a democracy (even a Socialist democracy) should be hostile to the old Universities. A son of a miner or textile worker may win a scholarship in them. Furthermore it is excellent that the wealth of these venerable institutions should enable scholars and wise men to live without financial cares or dependence on Governmental favour. The beauty of setting apart the pride of those who dwell there in long and noble traditions, free them from envy and vexatious desires and provide them with the leisure to pursue an entirely disinterested culture.

What more can a man wish for than to live in one of these lovely Gothic colleges? What fortune could give him a more beautiful house, a pleasant life, a more respected name? And it is good for a nation's spiritual and mental health that there should be in it a certain number of minds that are impartial and disinterested. A French writer, M. Julien Benda complains in *La Trahison des Clercs* of the betrayal of the modern world by intellectuals—in other words of the lack of independence so often induced by education. The reason for *la trahison des clercs* is not far to seek: it simply is that one must succeed in order to survive. Oxford and Cambridge assure to England a certain number of minds *qui ne trahiront pas*.



[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.]

The Aga Khan on the Nehru Report

In your issue of November, 1928, you have timely inserted a note under the said caption but its erroneous and misleading contents do in no way adorn a high-class magazine like the *Modern Review*. Sir, you will pardon me, if I give vent to my feelings and say that you were simply groping in the dungeon of ignorance about the sects of Islam at the time when you had the audacity to pen "why should the Aga Khan, who is neither a Musalman nor a Hindu, stand up for this exploded and effete old world idea?"

Let me enlighten you that H. H. is a direct descendant of Hazrat Ali, the venerable son-in-law of Prophet Mahomed. Please note that Islam is divided into many sects and H. H. belongs to one called 'Ismaili' after the name of Imam Ismail. Despite variance of sectarian opinion, all sects do believe in Prophet Mahomed, and H. H. is not an exception to this rule. True, Ismailism prevalent in India has imbibed certain Hindu theories in keeping with times but the main and salient features of this valorous and historic sect are unquestionably Islamic.

It is not fair to cast aspersions towards H. H. in the way you have unfortunately done. Had you referred to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* or even a modest book like 'Eminent Musalmans,' you would have assuredly refrained yourself from passing such nonsensical and irresponsible remarks.

Though not a follower of H. H., let me also make it clear that H. H. has rendered far more valuable services to the Muslim India than our

so-called Mullas and Maulanas whose business, metaphorically speaking, is nothing but to suck blood of my credulous Indian brothers-in-religion.

The Nehru Report is criticized by friends and foes alike; I do not understand why the *Modern Review* should focus its eye on the religion of H. H., which is a question after all between man and God alone.

Sir, I hope you will now correct your mistake and undo the wrong done to the personality of H. H. the Aga Khan. Lastly, you will agree that caustic hypercriticism of an important individual who spontaneously suggested a substitute for Dominion Status will surely not pave the path of the Nehru Report while it aspires to become the Statutory Book on India.

P. O. Box. 91
Zanzibar,
(East Africa.)

Yours truly,
Sheik Nizamuddin

EDITOR'S NOTE :—The letter printed above is published exactly as received. It has not helped us to change our opinion. As for "valuable services" rendered by the Aga Khan to Muslim India, we are not aware what concrete shape they have taken in other parts of India; but in Bengal, where there are more Musalmans than in any other province, the Aga Khan is not known to have done anything to remove the prevailing illiteracy and poverty among them or to give them relief when in distress caused by famine, flood, earthquake or hurricane. All that we in Bengal know is that he derives his income mostly from India and spends it abroad and in horse-racing.—Editor, *M. R.*



[Books in the following languages will be noticed : Assamese, Bangali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating to the answer. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, address to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bangali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor. M. R.]

ENGLISH

SOVIET RUSSIA : By Jawaharlal Nehru, Allahabad Law Journal Press. Rs. 3.

From the mass of propagandist literature and contradictory reports, it is very difficult for the ordinary reader to find out what the exact state of affairs in Soviet Russia is, not to speak of dogmatizing about the success or failure of Bolshevism. And certainly "Soviet Russia" by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru is not the book one should turn to either for a critical estimate of probably the greatest conscious practical application of a social philosophy that the world has ever seen, or for an accurate account from personal knowledge of what that application has entailed either in happiness or in misery. For it cannot be expected that such a study can be made from a brief visit that Mr. Nehru, accompanied by his wife and sister, paid to Moscow on the occasion of the tenth anniversary celebration in 1927. Indeed, to be fair to Mr. Nehru, he does not purport to do anything of the kind; and he has very aptly described his book as "random sketches and impressions."

The chapters on the theory of Bolshevism are rather summaries or paraphrases of the books obtainable in the market—the list of books given by Mr. Nehru is by the way, comprehensive and up-to-date and ought to be sufficient for the ordinary reader who wants to know something of the subject. Mr. Nehru is very favourably impressed by the practice of Bolshevism as manifested in the reforms introduced by the Soviet government—reforms in prison government, criminal law, education, agriculture, maternity benefits, marriage law and the like. But need one be a Bolshevist in order to be kind to the convicts in jail (even to the extent of providing them with radio sets), to abolish capital punishment (not of those who are opposed to Bolshevism, for in the opinion of the Bolshevists they are anti-social!), to give some sort of education to the people, to

give pregnant women respite for four months the year or to say that marriages must be registered?

The one great doctrine upon which Bolshevism takes its stand and about which Nehru is discreetly silent is the doctrine of abolition of private ownership. We are left in dark about what has happened to that doctrine in Soviet Russia. And one is inclined to question whether the happiness and the prosperity Mr. Nehru saw was the result of Bolshevism, or simple or of the new economic policy inaugurated under the dictatorship of Stalin recently denounced by Trotsky.

C.

THE LIFE OF SPACE : By Maurice Maeterlinck Translated by Berard Maill. George Allen & Unwin. 6s. net.

It was by one of those inexplicable freaks of popular fancy that, about a decade ago, one of the most abstruse problems of higher mathematics became the topic of conversation in fashionable drawing-rooms, and the name of Einstein became household word. Leaving the caprices of the popular mind aside, it may be said that the theory of relativity has brought about a fundamental change in human thought, and it would be strange if such a theory had not its effect upon philosophy. And consequently we find that almost all the modern philosophers have got to say something or other about relativity. The fundamental change lies in the changed conception of Time and Space. And this book, M. Maeterlinck accepting the conception of Time and Space as propounded by Einstein and other modern mathematicians has treated us to a discussion that would amply repay perusal.

M. Maeterlinck begins the enquiry by saying that "the problem of the fourth dimension is not merely a mathematical problem; it is a problem that affects our actual life, or at least the high regions of our everyday life," and that although t

"illusory scientific apparatus" would make the problem seem unapproachable at first, in it there is concealed a "mere question of common sense."

The theory of relativity has destroyed the objectivity of Time and Space, and as M. Maeterlinck puts it "Space, and Time, its unknowable brother, are celebrating a miraculous espousal to which men of goodwill are bidden." This espousal had its beginning about three centuries ago when it was found that many mathematical problems could not be solved by reference to Euclidean space of three dimensions and some other hypothesis was necessary. At last it has come in the shape of the fourth dimension. Almost all the leading mathematicians are agreed that such a dimension exists. What is the fourth dimension? The answer is disappointing enough. We are told "When we have said that we do not know precisely what the fourth dimension is we have said almost all that we can really know of it."

Mathematicians have propounded the theory of Time-space-continuum and they say that time is the fourth dimension of space. But M. Maeterlinck questions whether this is merely a device to evade the difficulty. "To attempt to explain Space by Time, and Time by Space is to seek to explain the night by darkness and darkness by the night; it is to revolve hopelessly in the circle of the unknowable." And he shows how to an animal who is accustomed only to two dimensions, the third dimension is necessarily transposed in time and is a temporal phenomenon and not a spatial phenomenon as it is to us.

Analogically, he argues that the fourth dimension which now we say, is time, may really be something more, which we—beings of three dimension—are utterly incapable of perceiving. In the words of M. Maeterlinck, "caught between space and time we fall into a sort of cosmic *impasse*. When mathematicians take us out of space, when they come to the critical point, when space no longer responds to their investigations they call in a fourth variable t ; it is time that restores the equilibrium in their calculations, and enables them to carry them further, after which they are compelled to recognize that time is nothing more than space which has changed its name." And the melancholy conclusion that M. Maeterlinck arrives at is that it is only a name, a more accessible, more human, more tractable, and above all a more recent name for the inexpressible unknown, and that "it would perhaps be simpler to declare at once what is probably the ultimate truth; that eternity, perpetual and universal simultaneity or the eternal present is the fourth dimension of space and time—that is, the greater unknown of two terms which comprise only the unknown."

But M. Maeterlinck is not without hope. We may yet emerge completely from our terrestrial envelope, escape from the bondage of the senses i.e. three dimensions. And on a planet which has still thousands and even millions of years before it, we are assured, it is not impossible that we shall comprehend the reality of the fourth dimension. And then "when at last we have come to comprehend the fourth dimension or are able to make use of it, we shall be almost superhuman."

Ch.-C.

THE CALL OF THE FLUTE:—by Asit Kumar Halder, pp. 31.

A neatly printed booklet of thirty-one pages with a characteristic drawing from the author-artist on the cover, this one act drama is the first literary attempt of a painter who has achieved some sort of distinction in his own field. It raises from the outset, a fairly strong expectation of a pretty-pretty imitation-Tagore kind of composition which, one must admit, does not turn out to be false when the reader has reached the *denouement*. A young girl called Sunira, whom the call of the woods and flowers and brooks and all the orthodox prettinesses of nature, and, above all, the attraction of an orphan pariah boy compels to leave her home and husband, finds the object of her heart in the flute-calls of an idle, lounging boy, her childhood's friend, and comes at last to the expected and appropriate poetic end.

BHARADWAJ.

THE LIGHT OF EXPERIENCE: By Sir Francis Younghusband. Constable 15s.

The light of experience that we are given in this book is not the light of experience of a great explorer, but is, shall we say, 'the light that never was on sea or land' but in the mind of a "British Officer." We, in India, are quite familiar with this light. The Russian bogie, the frontier question the awe with which the 'British Officer' is received by the Native Princes or by the frontier tribes, the moral force of the presence of a few 'British soldiers' in contradistinction to a regiment of Indian soldiers, are all there. The military policy that is advocated in this book in justification of the high-handed Tibetan expedition—undertaken because the Tibetans were guilty of "even refusing to receive letters from the Viceroy while they were sending agents to the Russians" is not worthy of a great man. Sir Francis Younghusband reveals himself in this book as the typical political agent in the Native States, a typical British officer conscious of his 'Britishness'—a figure well known in India—and comes out smaller than he was as a great explorer and a lover of natural beauty.

GHOSH'S DIARY FOR 1929: We have received a copy of Ghosh's Diary for 1929. The publishers are to be congratulated on the get-up of this handy and useful publication.

K. N. C.

TAMIL

BHAKTI MARGAM: By Swami Paramanand Translated by R. Ramakrishnan, B. A. and published by Sri Ramakrishna Mutt, Mylapore Madras. Pp 63. Price 7 As.

A fine translation of the splendid lectures of the Swamiji on Bhakti, Holiness, Persistence Fearlessness and Sacrifice. The book may be said to be worth its weight in gold if not more; it ought to be read and practised by everyone interested at least in himself if not in the progress and well-being of the society as well.

RAMAGHOPANISHAD: By Swami Rama Sarmu Printed at the Murgananda Press, Tinnevely Pp. 128. Price 15s 3.

The intelligence and moral fervour of the author fairly exhibit themselves in his choice of Nagammal, a Devadasi for his disciple to expound the fundamentals of Sankhya, Karma, Gnana and Nirvana Yogas; it is perhaps that, that has made his use of even vulgar allusions and expressions appear quite natural.

R. G. N. PILLAI

MARATHI

MAHARASHTRA AND HINDU DHARMA: By 'Vasudev.' Publisher: B. B. Joshi, Poona. Price As. 5.

The book takes a resume of past events since the advent of the Aryans into India and ascribes the present deplorable condition of the country to the inaptitude, inertness and want of confidence on the part of the present leaders of the Maharashtra, who, instead of being self-reliant and actively endeavouring to promote Swadeshi, Boycott, &c. are merely hankering after seats in Councils and the Assembly and are thus proving themselves false to the high ideal placed before them by their political Guru, viz. the late Lokamanya Tilak.

THE RISE AND SPREAD OF BUDDHISM: By Dr. P. L. Vaidya, M. A., D. Litt. Publisher: G. C. Bhate, Principal, Willingdon College, Sangli, Price Re. 1-8.

The four lectures on Buddhism delivered by Dr. Vaidya to the students of his college under the patronage of the Chief of Sangli are published in book-form. The extent of the subject is wide and the lecturer has only touched the fringe of the subject in these 19 pages.

GITA-PATH: By B. V. Gulavani, with a preface by the Chief of Ounth. Price Annas six.

A praiseworthy attempt at inculcating the principal moral teachings of the Gita upon the tender minds of high school students.

REFORM IN CHINA: Marathi translation of F. A. Giles's *Civilisation in China* by R. N. Putkar, B. A. Price Re. 1-4.

It is a pity that the Marathi translator should have relied on an English book written by a foreigner not with a disinterested view, and without antiquated, for disseminating the knowledge about China amongst Marathi readers. The Marathi book is printed in 1928, but it gives information about China only so far as 1911, leaving out the later portion of Chinese history, which is an epoch of the highest importance and usefulness to the present-day Marathi readers.

TALES FROM THE STORY OF INDIA: By M. M. Joshi. Price As. 13.

An interesting collection of short tales from Indian history, translated from Principal P. T. S. Iyengar's English book of that name. Useful to young readers.

SANGEET GANGA LAHARI: By R. M. Bhamburkar. Price Re. 1.

Pundit Jagannathrao's celebrated classical poem *Gangalahari* is still recited in Maratha households of orthodox type, and its Marathi translation in popular Sangeet form is likely to interest many readers. The life-sketch of the Sanskrit poet, covering over 135 pages of the book contains much information which is new. But who can believe in these days in the legend that the

waters of the Ganges rose several feet high the recitation of the poem by the devout poet himself in order to purify him?

V. G. Apte

GUJARATI

KANKAVATI: By Jhaver Chand Meghani, printed at the Saurashtra Printing Press, Ranpur, illustrated, paper cover, pp. 36: 134. Price 0-8 (1928).

Kankavati means the little pot in which Kumkum, the red colour, with which men and women (except widows) mark their forehead, as sign of auspiciousness, is kept. The title aptly describes the contents of the book, which are stories relating to vows taken by married and unmarried girls and women for the attainment of various objects in their life, connubial happiness, birth of a son, etc. This colour pot plays an important part in the discharge of her functions in the vow taken, because it is with the colour contained in it that she marks the different objects of her worship, trees, little girls, married women, etc. The very comprehensive introduction contributed to it by Mr. Meghani reviews the literature of vows of different countries of the world including Japan, and besides being an interesting review, is a unique one of its kind in our literature. It is a most valuable and informative work.

SORATHI BAHARVATIA, PART II: By Jhaver Chand Meghani, printed at the Saurashtra Press, Ranpur, pp. 208. Paper cover: Price Re. 1. (1928).

The first part of this work—the Robin Hood of Kathiawad we have noticed already. The second part in every way keeps up the high level of its predecessor. It handles the life-history and adventures of free-booters, Jogidas Khuman (1811-1824 A.D.), Jodho Manek (1858-1867) and Jesh Vejaji (1473-1494). The first is called the "Robin Hood" of Kathiawad. The stories are very stirring and the innermost meaning of such lives of adventure and the romance lying behind the effectively brought out. Mr. Meghani promises a review of the literatures of the world on this subject, and it should prove greatly interesting. We have no doubt about it.

KUMAR DHARM, a brochure by Mavji Damji Shah as to how young boys should behave, would be found useful by teachers and parents.

SIMPLE PIECES OF ADVICE, PART III: By Maglal Shankarbhai Patel, printed at the Prajapada Printing Works, Ahmedabad, cloth bound. P. 239. Price Rs. 3, (1927).

This is a very interesting book, useful for light reading and at the same time useful for inculcation of correct principles of conduct. The short stories illustrating the principles are taken from all over the world and thus the range of selections has been very wide, adding to the utility of the book.

THE MAHABHARAT in seven parts (price Rs. 36), published by the Society for encouragement of cheap literature is an achievement of no mean order so far as the get-up, the correctness of the translation and the price are concerned looking to the fact that it is finely illustrated. We cordially congratulate Swami Akhandanand on this performance. But for his zeal and application this translation would not have been published.

K. M. J.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S MESSAGE TO THE PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS

AFTER a long spell of scepticism, born of science which is naturally concerned with the process of creation, not with its origin or value, there seems to have set in a favourable reaction in the modern mind towards religion. In consequence of this a large section of men have become ready to surrender themselves, with unreasoning impetuosity, to the rigid grip of creeds that had their genesis in the history of a remote past with its limited range of knowledge. It is also having upon other minds the contrary effect of discrediting religion altogether, arousing against it suspicion, if not contempt.

We have seen in our own country a recrudescence of the blind faith that makes no discrimination between the spiritual significance of a religion and its outer crust that not only obscures it, but gives it a materialistic grossness of structure. Men who follow such path of indiscriminate acceptance, go to the length of defending their position by a philosophy according to which all conceptions and representations of the infinite have a uniform value, being all equally inadequate or irrelevant. Such sophistry makes it lazily easy for us to confine our devotion within the boundaries of our own sect, and unthinkingly allow our minds to confuse customs that are inert, with the wisdom that has eternal dynamic force. It is a symptom of our egotism, that proudly confines our religion to the accident of our own birth and history, and thus renders it inhospitable, and a source of endless strife. Such a religious attitude of mind is the greatest calamity, specially in the present age, for the peace and welfare of man.

Sectarianism is materialistic. It ever tries to build its tower of triumph with its numerical strength, temporal power and external observances. It breeds in the minds of its members a jealous sense of separateness that gives rise to conflicts more deadly than conflicts of wordly interests. It is a worse enemy of the truth of religion than atheism, for sectarianism proudly appropriates as its own share the best portion of the homage that we bring to our God.

To-day science has offered us facilities that bring the human races outwardly close to one another, yet curiously enough it is our religions that impiously maintain the inner barriers that separate and often antagonize nations and peoples,—their respective votaries not even hesitating blasphemously to take God's own name to humiliate or mortally injure their fellow-beings who happen to belong to a different community. And it is high time for us to know how much more important it is, in the present age, to be able to understand the fundamental truths of all religions and realize their essential unity, thus clearing the way for a world-wide spiritual comradeship, than to preach some special religion of our own, with all its historical limitations.

The evils that have followed in the wake of the present meetings of the races—the evils of political and economic exploitation—should not find in the religious organizations, allies for the creation of dissensions that are truly irreligious. We must give heed to the call of the present age which urges us to train our mind not merely into a passive tolerance, but into an active understanding of the religions which are not ours, which but differently emphasize some particular phase of truth, some special process of spiritual realization.

There are those who have the imperialistic tendency of mind which leads them to believe that their own religion has the sole right to bring the whole human world under its undisputed dominance. They dream of a unity which is the unity of utter solitude, of absolute bareness, the unity of a desert. But the unity which is at the root of creation, comprehends the countless many, and gives them the rhythm of kinship. Monotony is of death, life is a harmony of varied notes.

The truth which is impersonal is science, the path to approach it is the same for all of us,—the sole path of reason that has no individual variedness. The truth which is universal and at the same time supremely personal is God, and the paths that lead to Him

are not one, but are manifold according to the differences in our personality. The knowledge about this personal truth can never be solely through reason, but must be mostly through sympathy; to know it perfectly is the same as to be intimately related to it.

The personal relationship, in order to be real, has to seek out its own special path and find its idiomatic expression in the medium of its own language. But, generally speaking, in the name of religion our minds are moulded according to the one uniform sectarian standard prevalent in our own community. Therefore, with the exception of those who have rare spiritual gifts, the generality of men, without their knowing it, are godless. They are pious, but not religious; they have not the courage of faith, but the habit of conformity. Let me repeat here what I have said elsewhere, that "religion, like poetry is not a mere idea, but it is expression. The self-expression of God is in the endless variedness in creation, and our attitude towards the Infinite Being must also in its expression have a variedness of individuality, ceaseless and unending. Those sects which jealously build their boundaries with too rigid creeds excluding all spontaneous movement of the living spirit may keep hoarded their theology, but they kill religion.

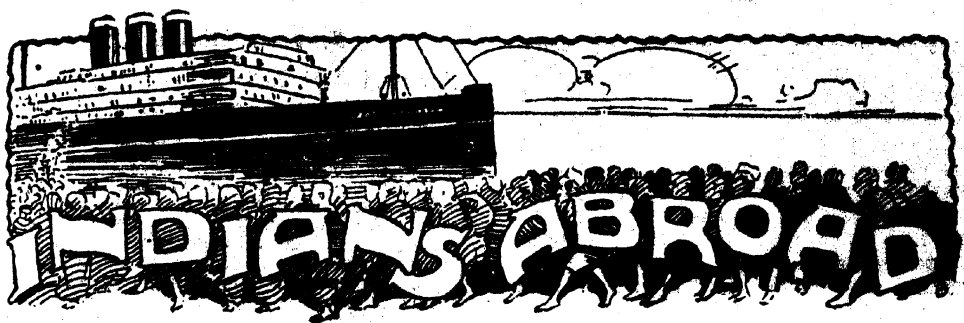
When religion is in the complete possession of the sect and is made smooth to the level of the monotonous average, it becomes correct and comfortable, but loses the living modulations of art. For art is the expression of the universal through the individual, and religion in its outer aspect is the art of the human soul.

Religion is the expression of human aspirations seeking the fundamental unity of truth in the divine person of God. Whereas sectarianism uses religion itself to create disunion among men, sharpening its sword for the killing of brothers as a part of the ritual of the Father's worship. Sectarianism is the dangerous form of worldliness that claims exclusive right to spiritual illumination within its own narrow enclosure, and in the name of God refuses recognition to God himself where He is for all.

The history of man is the history of the building up of a human universe, as has been proved by the fact that everything great in human activity inevitably belongs to all humanity. And we may be sure that all our religious experiences and expression are building up from the depth of the age, one great continent of religions on which man's soul is to win its prosperity through the universal commerce of spiritual life.



The Farm-house—by Ethelbert White



By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

Indian Settlement in Tanganyika

Mr. V. R. Boal writes from Dar-es-Salaam

"That, India has, for the last two decades, been in need of Colonies for the emigration of her sons, is a fact about which there are no two opinions. But unfortunately she has not been able to get even one for reasons best known to the world. Those few who have, by irony of fate, happened to leave homes, are scattered and far-flung in British colonies, dependencies and protectorates such as Kenya, Fiji, British Guiana, Nyassaland etc., where they are subjected to maltreatment and where new plans are being designed to uproot their existence by slow but steady process. These helpless people need protection of that kind which Japs in Kenya or Uganda can expect and get from Japan. But such protection India can guarantee only when she has become free like Japan. Until then, we have got to be content with our present lots, making best use of the means that are accessible to us.

Doors of South Africa are already closed to Indians: Kenya has no room for more Indian immigrants: same is the case with Rhodesia and Nyassaland. The only territory where Indians are legally entitled to claim "equality of status" is Tanganyika, the full descriptions of which were contained in my letter which appeared in the September issue of *Modern Review*. In that letter I pointed out that the resources of the country are enormous and emphasized that Indian capitalists are needed to exploit them side by side with European settlers. In this letter I desire to give some information regarding land, as I know, no capitalist would like to be led into believing this or that unless he has first-hand knowledge acquired through some reliable sources.

The Land Ordinance of 1923 and regulations framed thereunder define and regulate the tenure of land. Under this Ordinance the whole of the lands within the territory are declared to be public lands, but validity of any title to land or interest therein lawfully acquired before the date of the Ordinance is not affected thereby. A title to the use and occupation of land is termed a right of occupancy, which may be for any definite term not exceeding ninety-nine years. When a non-native desires a right of occupancy in respect of public land, the rent to be charged in the first instance is determined by public auction subject to a reverse or upset rent. The initial rent is revisable every thirty-three years. As a rule, the area to be granted for agricultural and pastoral purposes will not exceed 5,000 acres. The upset rent varies for different localities, the minimum being fifty cents of a shilling per acre per annum. The occupier has to undertake obligations as to cultivation, fencing or development according to the use to be made of the land. By a Bill enacted last year the Governor is empowered to acquire land for public purposes, on paying such consideration or compensation as may be agreed or determined under the provisions of the Ordinance. Provision is made for compensation to owners and for disputes as to compensation and title to be settled by the High Court. Compensation will, however, not be payable in respect of unoccupied land.

Every Indian boat that arrives here brings in a number of clerks and the result of this is that even graduates are available locally for the posts of fourth grade clerkship at Shs. 150 per month! The days when artisans had to be sent for from India are also gone. Many clerks and artisans are found to be

without employment. The number of petty shop-keepers is also on the increase, and though it is true that most of the trade of the country is in the hands of the Indians, nevertheless they are poor and unhappy owing to such keen competition among themselves as would leave no margin of profits for themselves, and in some cases they are forced into bankruptcy. This clearly suggests that neither clerks and artisans nor petty merchants are required in Tanganyika. The country wants capitalists who can take themselves to agriculture and farming, which are the real sources of its wealth."

Mr. Andrews' Trip to the West India

Mr. C. F. Andrews writes from Geneva:—

"I cannot tell you how anxiously I am looking forward to my visit to Trinidad and British Guiana. As you know, it is practically the only part of the world where Indians are residing to which I have not already gone and in which I am not already known. I feel also that it is a hopeful part of the world if the right solution can be found for the difficulties that are there. I have placed the whole stress upon the necessity of a convenient and frequent steamer service which should carry intermediate passengers, each family having a small cabin for themselves and not being obliged to sleep and lie on the open deck. Such steamers, if they came by way of Natal and Mauritius to Madras and Calcutta, could do a great deal to link all these groups of Indian people together and there might be quite a frequent coming and going of men and women and families which would keep India in touch with her own Indian colonies overseas and keep Indians overseas in touch with the motherland itself."

Mr. Andrews has hit upon the right point and if his suggestion is carried out, there can be no doubt that it will establish closer relations between India and her children in the West Indies.

Continuing Mr. Andrews says:—

"I am going to stay in America for a short time in order to study, very carefully indeed, the Negro problem before going forward to British Guiana. As you know, I am profoundly interested not only in Indians abroad, but also in Africans, and though America in certain respects, such as lynching, has treated the Negro most cruelly, yet in one respect America does deserve credit for the facilities of education which have been offered to the Negro population. I want to see how high the African Negro can rise in the educational scale."

We shall wait with considerable interest to read the experiences and conclusions of Mr. Andrews regarding his trip to America and the West Indies.

News from Trinidad

Reverend C. D. Lalla writes:

"My deeply lamented brother Parmanand Pandit died some time ago and about half a dozen equally distinguished leaders—Babu Lal Singh, Ajodhya Pandit, Babu Boodoo Singh, Kazi Abdul Aziz, Babu Ram Prasad Singh and others have this year preceded me to their sphere of eternal rest and rewards. I feel most lonely without these veteran colleagues, who were all engaged with me in the national cause of overseas East Indians. Although departed, they have left the younger generations a memory of becoming inspiration and exemplary service, which will ever lead and guide them to a life of equal distinction and usefulness."

I have just heard from Sadhuji Andrews, who has planned to come to us in February 1929, while on his way to British Guiana, where he will study the colonization problems. He hopes to stay at our home for a week, meeting our prominent people and studying local conditions at close range out here. Can you and Mrs. Naidu also join him?"

The Late Pandit Parmanand

Here is a brief life-sketch of Pandit Parmanand whose death is announced by Rev. Lalla in his letter quoted above.

Pandit Parmanand was born at Neajipoor, Arrah, India, in the year 1864. His father was a Brahman, and as such he was highly respected and revered by his followers and friends. The son having been born in such an influential home, the question of his education and subsequent training for the priesthood occupied at an early date the attention of his parents. Consequently, at the age of five years he was placed in the care of his uncle, a person who was thoroughly versed in Hindi and was also regarded as an excellent teacher. Completing his primary course under his uncle, he entered the Ballier (?) Public School, an institution then established for the training of high-caste Hindu children for the Pandits' profession. Here the lad made great progress in all the different branches of study, and especially distinguished himself in Astrology.

His parents were desirous that their boy should receive the best education then obtainable and then send him to Benares, a place long-renowned for sacred literature in the whole of India. He was admitted as a special student, in one of the institutions, being much more advanced intellectually than the ordinary students then under training. In course of time he graduated from this school with conspicuous ability as a full-fledged Pandit, excelling particularly in Astrology and Sanskrit.

His first work in public was to give a lecture on religious knowledge before an audience comprising some of the learned Pandits in India. He performed that task with great credit and dignity, and at the conclusion of the lecture was highly commended by every section of the assembly. In keeping with the custom of the land, he travelled extensively in India, visiting the sacred rivers, cities, and shrines, thus considerably adding to his knowledge from the world around him.

He left his native land and came to

British Guiana, and settled at that place for a few years; and then, later, arrived at Trinidad, and made this Island his home. As a Pandit he was highly respected, and his influence among the Hindus was above that of the ordinary men of his calling. He had several cocoa estates, and had a real stake in the Colony. He was a member of the Agricultural Society of Trinidad. He served also on the Executive Committee of the East Indian National Congress of Trinidad, where his views carried great weight. In politics he belonged to the "Moderate" party. He had a large and broad mind; very hospitable and entertaining, and especially kind to the weak and helpless of his own race, and to that of the Colony in general. He occupied the dignified position of the President of the Congress, and was very popular and highly regarded by all the members of that organization.

The Report of the Agent of the Government of India in Malaya for 1927

An esteemed correspondent writes :

Rao Sahib Subbaya Naidu, the Indian Agent in Malaya has published his annual report for the year 1927. The report seems to be a book full of old chronicles of events in the Indian labour world in Malaya together with some of his personal opinions on the labour questions. He has to say much of the difficulties endured by the labourers but no solutions to such difficulties were ever found except his mere assurance that "every possible help was rendered" by him. A clear narration of such helps rendered by him would have added to the worth of the report. The report, I regret to observe, seems to me something like a third man's petition for favours for the labourers. The following are some of the hardships falling to the lot of the Indian Estate labourers in Malaya according to the Agent's report. Says the Agent: "No lady Health officer at present boards the ships along with the port health staff; and in the interests of female passengers it would be better if the authorities here would consider the desirability of deputing a lady health officer to board the incoming steamers from India." Did the Agent take any steps to get this inconvenience to lady passengers removed?

He continues :

"In some of the Estates visited by me, complaints were made about the difficulty of the tasks set up especially in slit pit digging. Failure to come up to the prescribed task on any day entitled half name or half wage both for men and for women irrespective of the number of hours worked by the labourers. The reduction in wages does not seem to be legal, as it amounts to an infliction of fine for unsatisfactory work and has evoked complaints from labourers. Such cases of hardship were taken to the notice of the Officers of the Labour Department."

I am afraid it will not suffice to receive such complaints from the labourers and pass them on to the Labour Department. I think that the Agent has not only to force the Labour Department to remove the

reasons of such complaints, but also to work hand in hand with the Labour Department to see that such grievances are removed earlier. Continuing the Agent says :

"The estate provision shop-keepers devour a good slice of the labourers' poor earnings, in spite of controlled prices. On most of the well-managed estates, rice is advanced at cost price or at a slight margin of profits. The practice of allowing estate clerks or conductors, tindals or mandors to run estate 'Kadais' seems to be still prevalent in some places and it is hoped it will be discouraged as far as possible."

Isn't it possible for the Agent to bring effective pressure on estates employing Indian Labour so as to compel them to arrange for the distribution of rice and other things at cost price or with the addition of a little profit?

Then the Agent says that the labourers are victims to heavy toddy-drinking and even those who do not touch toddy in India become habituated to use it on arrival in Malaya. "Toddy shops are established close to the labourers' lines in almost all big estates" he says, and I wonder whether it is impossible for the Agent to remove this scandal that leaves the poor labourers penniless even after years of labour in rubber estates. He also specifies a certain district where the labourers drink less toddy and asks the labourers of other districts to follow this example. The Agent says that in spite of his many attempts and actions the health position of the labour classes remains far from being satisfactory. One would like to know the exact nature of such attempts from his report but unfortunately it is silent on this subject.

In this connection the *Malay Mail* which is edited by an eminent journalist in the Peninsula writes : "He (the Agent) must exercise the functions of a Consul in that he must guard and further by every fair means the interest of every Indian subject in the Peninsula." Unfortunately the Agent had to say nothing in the report on the conditions of Bengalis, Punjabis, Mahrattas and other peoples of Hindustan who also fairly come under the name of the Indian Community. The report should have dealt on all aspects of Indian life in the Peninsula instead of narrowly confining itself to the mere labour question.

May we hope that our Agent will bring out a more detailed report for the year 1928?

We have not read the report for the year 1927 personally and therefore we cannot say anything about it.

From the quotations we can only infer that the status of our Agent in Malaya is not as high as it ought to be. The fault lies mostly with the Government of India for reducing the position of the Agent to that of a helpless adviser to the Commissioner of Labour in the Colony.

Need of a Central Indian Association in Fiji Islands

A correspondent of the Pacific Press of Suva has put forward some timely suggestions before the Indian people in those Islands. Here are some extracts from the letter :—

At the present time there are certain non-political Indian movements in Fiji, each doing their humble best in a nebulous manner to voice their needs and minister to the weal of their compatriots. But what appears to be wanted is co-operation, organization, and united action based on a thorough understanding of the pros and cons of any matter at issue.

In spite of published statistics, it appears that Indians in Fiji already outnumber the native race, and it is only to be expected that this large proportion of our population should have adequate representation, in order that they may reap all possible benefits which should come to them as law-abiding subjects of a British Colony.

By establishing an Indian Council, say in Suva, members could meet and discuss their problems, lectures could be given by those versed in Indian affairs, vernacular literature could be available, and even study classes could be held with a view to enlighten and instruct the younger portion of the community in sociological subjects.

I.—SANITATION

An inspection of some of the Indian villages in Fiji would show the need of a good clean up of their dwellings—painting, repairs, etc.—and the immediate surroundings could be improved by a little gardening, at which most Indians are adepts. Also, many of their lands could be cleared of rubbish and the gulleys and drains cleansed with water.

II.—EDUCATION

Much more might be done for the education of the boys and girls of the Indian community in Fiji. Beyond the schools now in existence in rural centres, facilities could be afforded whereby Indian children living in scattered districts could have educational literature, etc., placed in their homes. In every bazaar in India, for a few pice picture-books and vernacular leaflets can be purchased by which the children can learn to read and understand. If the majority of the parents here are illiterate themselves, how can it be expected that the children will be instructed until they are old enough to travel to a centre where there are schools? With this also could be coupled increased attention in the way of medical attendance for these remote districts.

A committee could also be formed to look into these matters as they are of vital moment to Indian community now and will be increasing so in the future.

III.—PROPAGANDA

It would be helpful if meetings of an instructive and educational character were conducted at different rural centres, from time to time, to lighten Indians as to their bodily, mental and spiritual welfare. As production at their hands increases they might be instructed in commercial matters and the principles of co-operation and enterprise inculcated by those of their number who are expert in the respective pursuits.

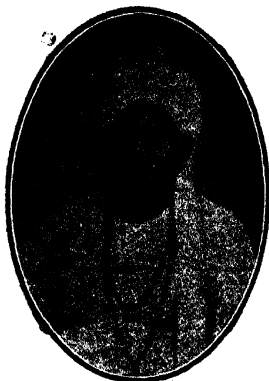
Why is it that, at present, Indians in Fiji content themselves either to farming, motor driving, tailoring or dhobi-ing? In India they show themselves to be past-masters at weaving, brass-work, embossing, mat-making, etc., which, if developed in Fiji, might possibly add to the exports of the Island by finding a ready market abroad. Why should Indian brassware on sale in Suva be imported from Calcutta? Novelties made by Indians here would sell to our visitors quite as readily as do those made by Samoans or Fijians.

We entirely agree with the views of our correspondent and we feel that the time has now arrived when our people in Fiji should organize a Fiji Indian National Congress along the lines of East African Indian National Congress. At present their activities are limited to social and educational work only. Now they must widen them and include economic and political work also. The Congress should, of course, be a non-communal body including among its members Hindu, Mohammedans and Christians. Nothing but the removal of communal prejudices more effectively than working in such an organization of people of different castes, creeds and religions.

Overseas Special Numbers of the Vishal-Bharat and the Modern Review

The August number of the *Vishal-Bharat* will be entirely devoted to the problem of Indians—Overseas—and will contain articles from several distinguished compatriots living abroad. We are asking the writers to write for this number and send their articles by the end of June at the latest. If our appeal finds a good response, we shall request the Editor of the *Modern Review* to devote one number—preferably the September number—for our cause. We are thinking of getting special overseas numbers of a Gujarati and a Tamil magazine also published simultaneously. The Editor of the *Nanchetan* (a Gujarati journal from Calcutta) has promised to give our proposal a sympathetic consideration and we are

be obliged if a Tamil journal does the same. Of course, copies of the articles received from the colonies will be supplied to these journals free of cost. Tamil, Hindi, Gujarati and English are the four principal languages spoken by our countrymen abroad and the publication of special overseas numbers in these languages will no doubt give our colonial friends a fine opportunity to put their case before the Indian public. It is to be hoped that they will not fail to utilize this opportunity to the utmost. Articles on social, educational, religious and political condition of Indians abroad will be quite welcome. Photographs of Indian life in the different colonies may also be sent to us to 91 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

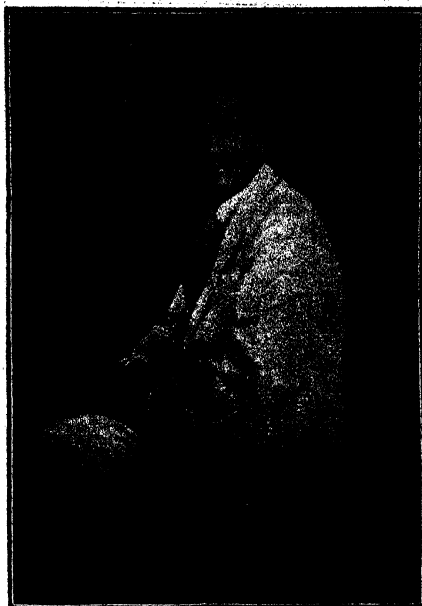


The Late Pandit Parmanand

The Second All-Malayan Indian National Conference

The second All-Malayan Indian National Conference held its sessions in Ipoh (F. M. S.) under the presidency of the Hon. Mr. S. Veerasamy, Member of the Federal Council, during the Christmas week in December last. This Conference is something like what the South African Indian National Congress is for South African Indians. Although this year the sessions were not as successful as last year the Conference was attended by a large number of delegates from all parts of the Malaya Peninsula.

The Hon. Mr. S. Veerasamy, in a brief but eloquent speech, dwelt on the various sides of Indian life in Malaya and laid special emphasis on the labourers' question. The middle-class and 'upper class, he said,



Mr. S. Veerasamy

were capable of looking after themselves, but the labourer needed the support of Indian leaders. Mr. Veerasamy then touchingly appealed to his countrymen in the Peninsula to pay all attention to protect the honour of Indian womanhood which, the speaker said was at stake, in many ways.

The Conference sat but for a day, during which period all the business was over. A number of resolutions were passed in the interests of the Indian community including one to the effect of starting an English daily newspaper to protect Indian interests. Another resolution was that the various Indian institutions throughout the Province should start social reform work.

Non-Communal Clubs of Indians in the Colonies

We have seen the great harm done to India by communal organizations meddling themselves in the political affairs of the country, but we have not yet realized that this communalism may do considerable mischief if it is exported to the Colonies. In fact, it has already crossed the Indian Ocean and from time to time we have heard



Bhartiya-Mitra Mandli, Lautoka (Fiji) Standing :—Syt. Yamunadas, Syt. Madhoji, Syt. Gangaiam, Syt. Ram Samujh, Syt. Mushi Prasad (secretary) Sitting :—Syt. Raman, Doctor Gopal, Barrister Shivabhai Patel, Syt. Hiralal Seth, Syt. Kottlingam Pillai, Saiyad Dildar Ali Shah

how it has disturbed the peace of our friends in the distant islands of the Pacific. It is fortunate that our colonial friends understand the gravity of the situation and they have begun to guard themselves against this wave of communalism. We congratulate our friends in Lautoka (Fiji) for establishing a non-communal Indian Club known as Bhartiya-Mitra-Mandli. It has among its members, Arya-samajists, Sanatanists, Mahamadanans and Christians. Syt Hiralal Seth is the organizer of this club and it is conducting a girls' school in the town. A photograph of the members of the club is reproduced here.

Indian Workers' Congress in South Africa

The first Conference of the Indian workers in South Africa was held under the presidency of Advocate Albert Christopher at the Town Hall in Durban on 1st December,

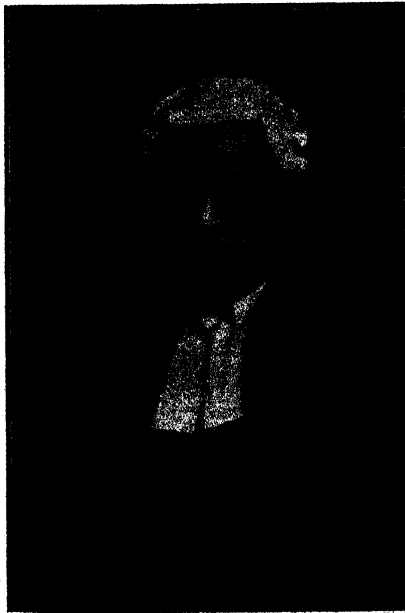
1928. The Conference was opened by Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri who delivered a impassioned speech for the betterment of the condition of the Indian workers in the Union. Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee was the President of the Reception Committee. For want of space we have to leave out the proceedings of this Conference, but we shall refer to them in our notes next month.

A Mission to Greater India

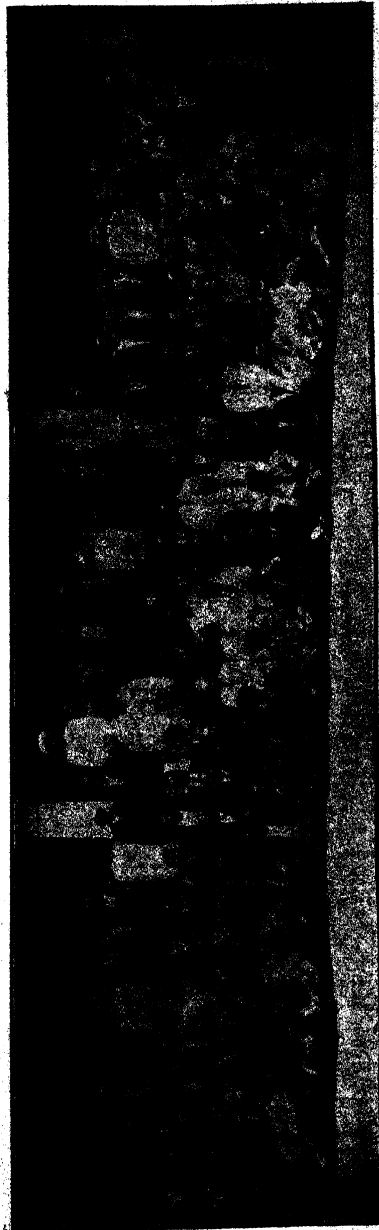
Swami Mangalanand Puri who has already been to East and South Africa and Mauritius as a missionary of the Vedic religion has now proceeded to Singapore with two Brahmacharies, Syt. Dhareswar and Vijayappa Singh. He will visit Siam, Sumatra, Java and Bali Islands.



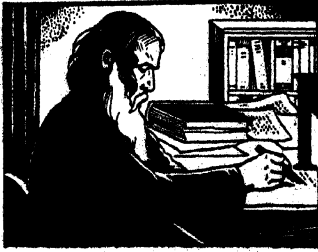
Dharieswar, Swamiji, Vijayapal Singh



Advocate Albert Christopher



Indian Workers' Congress in South Africa



NOTES

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu in America

In her card of New Year greetings to *The Modern Review*, sent from Quebec, Srimati Sarojini Naidu writes: "I am receiving very splendid receptions and response everywhere in U. S. A. and Canada." The kind of impression produced by her presence and speeches in America may be gathered from the eulogistic remarks of *Unity* of Chicago, which observes that "the presence in America of Mme. Naidu, of India, the friend and colleague of Mahatma Gandhi, is an occasion of profound congratulation. Her noble person should be seen and her eloquent speech heard in every corner of the land." "In herself," it continues, she is one of the great women of the world. She radiates a power of intellect and spirit which marks her immediately as one of the supreme leaders of our time. But it is as an Indian, a representative of her stricken, yet unconquerable country, that she is chiefly important, and would, we are sure, be recognized and heeded. Among her own country-



one of their greatest poets, a singer of the songs of a people for liberty and peace. She is also trusted and followed as a statesman who in 1925-26 was raised to the highest national office in the land as President of the All-India Congress that year. Nobly born, highly cultured, utterly consecrated, dowered with supreme gifts of intellect and will, she stands the forefront of Indian life as defender of the people's rights and champion of their large destiny. To America she has now come to bear witness to the truth about India, so sadly maligned and, therefore, misunderstood, and plead her cause before the tribunal of an instructed and awakened public opinion. *Unity* salutes Mme. Naidu with humble admiration, welcomes her to a country which needs only to be taught in order to be won. Have known in the United States the struggle for liberty. We possess the high tradition of blood and treasure heroically spent for release from tyranny. In pride we may have grown callous, and our prosperity self But the heart of the nation still beats to its ideals. We lack of no one better equipped to reach that heart power of thought speech than Mme. Naidu. America will leap to when she finds audience. A photograph of Mrs. Naidu, taken in America, is reproduced in this issue.

Recognition in America of Two Sons of India

It is creditable not only to the small Indian community in America, but also to India, that two of her sons, Dr. Sankar Abaji Bisey from Maharashtra, and Dr. Taraknath Das of Bengal, are mentioned in the *Who's Who in America*, just out of press, a standard annual compilation of "Americans or those who are so prominently identified with American affairs as to be subjects of wide inquiry or discussion in the United States" for "some conspicuous achievement, something out of the ordinary, something which distinguishes them from the vast majority of their contemporaries."

"Not a single sketch in *Who's Who in America*," emphasize the editors of the publication, "has been paid for, and none can be paid for."

We reproduce from *Who's Who* the following account of Dr. Bisey and Dr. Das :

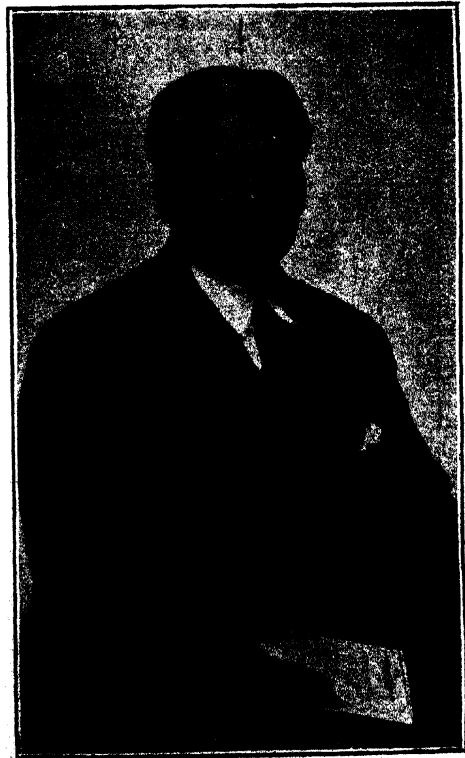
BISEY, SANKAR ABAJI, Inventor. Born Bombay, India, April 29, 1867; son of Abaji Balvant and Nanibai (Durvey); educated, High School Bombay; passed matriculation exam. 1888; married Sushila



Dr. Sankar Abaji Bisey

Karnik of Alibag, Bombay, February 22, 1893; children—Sonubai (Mrs. Narayan Laxuman Pradhan), Madhu, Reginald, Pramila. Came to U. S. 1916. First Naturalization papers obtained. In Government service in India 1889-98. As the "Pioneer Hindu Inventor" worked upon inventions in England 1899-1915; later General Manager Tata-Bisey Inventions Syndicate London; organized

American Beslin Co., New York, 1918, established 1920, Bisey Ideal Type-caster Corporation of which he is Director and Technical expert; Director American Beslin Corporation. Known as "The Edison of India" for inventions of single and multiple type-casting machines, and in chemistry for water soluble non-irritating and non-poisonous iodine, known as Atomidine and Beslin. Hon. Fellow Society of Science Letters and Arts, London, and Institute of Inventors, N. Y. Member of Society of Engineers, London; Hindustan Association of America, India Society, N. Y. Awarded gold medal Court Exhibition, London, 1901; presented with congratulatory address on 60th birthday by various scientific societies of India and United States, also conferring Hon. Degrees of D.Sc.; and Ph.D.; Home, 11 South 8th Ave., Mt. Vernon; office room 903, 119 W. 57th St., New York.



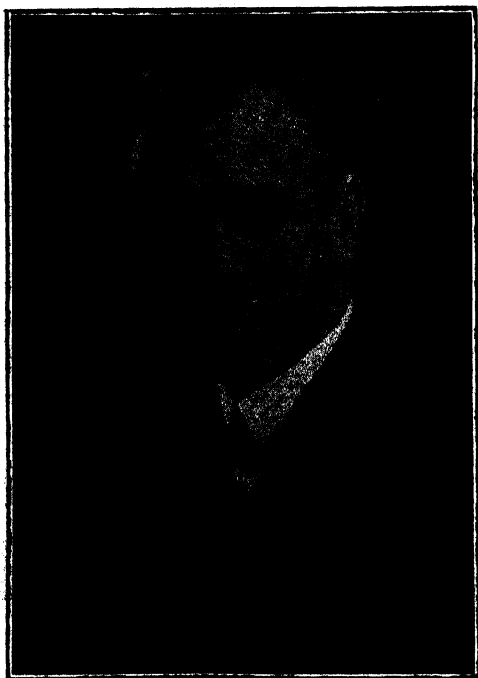
Dr. Taraknath Das

DAS, TARAKNATH; Author Publicist; born near Calcutta, India, June 15, 1884; son of Kalimohan and Biraj Mohini (Bose). Prep. Edn. in India, Norwich University, Vt., A.B. University of Wash., 1910; A.M., 1911; student University of California and University of Berlin; Ph.D., Georgetown University, 1924; married Mrs. Mary

Keating Morse of N. Y. City, 1924; came to U. S., 1906, naturalized citizen 1914; mem. Am. Soc. International Law. Hindu Religion; author, Is Japan a Menace to Asia? 1917; India in World Politics, 1923; Sovereign Rights of Indian Princes, 1924; British Expansion in Tibet, 1927; Home, 102 West 75th St., N.Y.

Curtis Williford Reese

Dr. Curtis W. Reese of America, President of Lombard College, whose "Humanist Sermons" was reviewed in the last issue of *The Modern Review* by Babu Mahes Chandra Ghosh, has come to India as one of the delegates of the American Unitarian Association to the centenary celebration of the Brahmo Samaj. He studied at Mars Hill College and in 1910 received the degree of Th. G. at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville, Ky. Further study was at Ewing College, Ewing, Ill., which gave him his Ph. B. in 1911. His first church



Dr. Curtis Williford Reese

was the First Baptist church in Tiffin, O. Later he became a Unitarian and went to the

Unitarian church in Alton, Ill., in 1913. 1915 he went to the church in Des Moines, Iowa, where he remained until Sept. 1919, when he became secretary of Western Unitarian Conference, with headquarters in Chicago, a position which he now holds. He is dean of Abraham Lincoln Center, Chicago, and has always been active in social work. At Des Moines he arbitrated two railroad strikes and was father of Iowa State Housing law. In Alton he was active in ridding the community of gamblers and brothels. Dr. Reese was given honorary degree of D. D. by Meadville Theological School, Chicago in 1927. He is director of the American Unitarian Association, Meadville Theological School and Universal Publishing Company, the last two of Chicago. He is also executive chairman and leading spirit in the National Federation of Religious Liberals. Dr. Reese is chairman of Unitarian General Conference for 1929, which will probably meet in Chicago this year. This is an important commission from the denomination.

King Solomon's Descendant

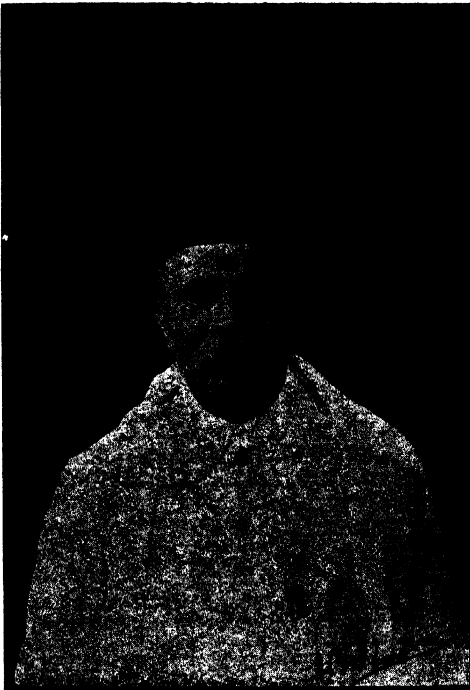


Ras Tafari, King of Abyssinia

Ras Tafari, crowned King of Abyssinia, where he rules jointly with his aunt, the Empress Zauditu, is said to be a descendant of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. His full title is "King of Kings of Ethiopia, the conquering Lion of Judah and the Elect of God."

Principal Dhruva Of Benares

Principal Dhruva of the Hindu University, Benares, presided over the last session of the Philosophical Congress held at Madras and delivered a learned and thoughtful address. He also presided over some other conferences and delivered addresses there, which shows both his intellectual and physical vigour.



Principal Dhruva

Germany's Cultural Ascendancy

In the field of cultural activities the German people are by far the foremost in the world. This fact is being again recognized by their former enemies during the World

War. About three years ago, at Columbia University (N. Y.), German publishers held an exhibition of more than forty thousand volumes of important books in various fields of learning, which were published during the period of the World War, when the German people were busy fighting almost the whole world to protect their country from foreign invasion. On that occasion Dr. Butler, the President of Columbia University, praised German scholarship and efficiency and urged American scholars not to ignore Germany as a factor in international cultural forces.

During the World War and the period of inflation, following it, due to poverty of the people, educational life in Germany was in a run-down condition; but during the last five years Germany's reassertion in the Cultural World has been most remarkable. Foreign students—specially from Great Britain



Professor Heinrich Wieland

and America—have begun to come to German Universities in a larger number. The latest indication of Germany's cultural ascendancy is that Prof. Heinrich Wieland, of the University of Munich, has been awarded the Nobel Prize in Chemistry for the year 1928. Steps should be taken to establish closer cultural relations between India and Germany.

T. D.

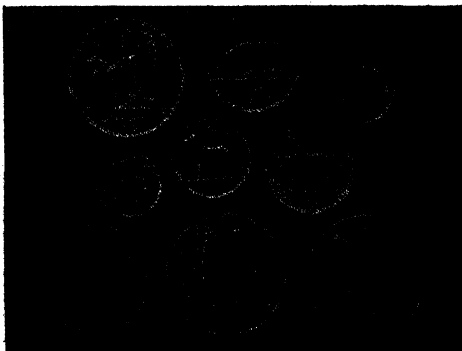
Tenth Birthday of Czechoslovakia

Indian statesmen will be profited by a careful perusal of the history of the Rise of the Republic of Czechoslovakia, which has been discussed by Prof. Dr. Masaryk, the President of the Republic, and Dr. Benes, the Foreign Minister, in their respective works on the subject. In this connection it may be pointed out that Dr. Masaryk and Dr. Benes were University Professors and they spread the gospel of freedom among the younger generation. They knew the value and importance of establishing international relations. As Czech patriots they refused to fight for the Austrian Empire but presented elaborate plans of co-operation between the Czech patriots (rebels) and the Entente-Allied Powers, to the foremost of French, British, American and Italian statesmen. Through the persistent efforts of these Czech patriots and their co-workers, they succeeded in enlisting the support of such persons as Woodrow Wilson, who proclaimed the doctrine of "Self-Determination of all peoples, great or small."

The rise of the Czech Republic demonstrates that a subject nation should cultivate friendly relations with all great Powers, especially with those whose interests are opposed to the oppressing alien power. The remarkable progress of the Czech people during the last ten years demonstrates that freedom,—political freedom—is the first requisite for the progress of a nation.

T. D.

The Irish Free State Eliminates British Crown from Its New Coinage



New Coinage of the Irish Free State

The Irish Free State in its new coinage maintains the monetary system of pound shilling and pence, but it has eliminated all signs of British authority. Ireland wants absolute autonomy and she is asserting it slowly but surely within the so-called British Commonwealth of Nations.

T. D.

Romain Rolland's Message to Congress

It is a matter for satisfaction that Romain Rolland's message to the Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress reached its destination. That eminent thinker and lover of humanity had sent the message to us in a closed cover to be transmitted to the proper party. It reached us some days before the sittings of the Congress. We wrote to the President of the Congress at Deshbandh Nagar, Calcutta, that we should be happy to place it in his hands if he would be so kind as to appoint a time, or to hand it over to any properly accredited person whom he might send to our office; but we received no reply. So after waiting for a few days we sent the message by post in a registered envelope with a covering letter to the President-elect. Evidently it reached him, though we received no acknowledgement; for in the proceedings of the first day's sitting, it was mentioned as having been read in translation. From the translation given in the papers it seems to us, however, that perhaps it was abridged or mutilated in the English rendering. So we reproduce it below in the original French from the French monthly review *Europe* dated December 15, 1928:

A M. le Président du Congrès National toute l'Inde

J'adresse mon salut de respect et d'affection à l'Inde, assemblée aujourd'hui en son Congrès National Indien. Le monde le voit se réunir aux grandes espérances qu'ont suscitées les Etats Généraux de 1789, qui ouvrirent à l'homme une nouvelle ère. Que d'aujourd'hui puisse dater l'ère qui portera dans l'histoire le nom de l'Indépendance de l'Inde. *India Liberata* !

Cette terre sacrée, d'où sont sortis les plus grands fleuves d'idées et de civilisation qui ont fécondé l'Ancien Continent, a montré depuis un siècle un miraculeux pouvoir de renouvellement. Une suite ininterrompue de génies, dont je permets d'évoquer, en ces journées de résurrection, la grandiose figure du Précurseur, *Ram Mohan Roy*—en l'associant à celle de l'apôtre héroïque la vérité et de l'amour, que le monde vénère *M. K. Gandhi*—ont reforgé l'unité de l'esprit de l'Inde. Une pléiade de travailleurs intrépides

de grands citoyens, parmi lesquels je nomme celui que l'Inde pleure aujourd'hui : *Lajpat Rai*, ont permis à la nation de rattraper à pas de géant, dans sa course au progrès, l'Occident.

L'heure est venue où le Prométhée enchaîné se dresse, libre, sur les Himalayas.

Que Prométhée délivré reste, quoiqu'il arrive, fidèle à lui-même, à son passé, aux idéaux pour lesquels il a souffert, à la justice, à l'Âme Universelle qu'il porte en lui—*Atman Brahman*—à la haute mission d'humanité qui est sa véritable raison de vivre !

Nous connaissons trop en Occident les abus, les erreurs et les crimes d'un Nationalisme monstrueux, pour ne pas souhaiter à l'Inde qu'elle échappe à la Roue meurtrière, qui broie les peuples d'Europe et d'Amérique. Qu'elle s'élève au-dessus, à ce stade supérieur de l'Avenir humain, où l'on réalisera en sa propre nation l'harmonie de toutes les fois, la coopération de toutes les forces, l'union de toutes les nations, pour le bien de l'entière Humanité !

ROMAIN ROLLAND.

Villeneuve, décembre 1928.

It may be translated as follows:—

"To

The President of the All-India National Congress.

"I send my respectful and sympathetic greetings to India, assembled to-day in her National Congress. The world watches the assemblage with the same great hopes as were raised by the States General of 1789, which opened a new era for humanity. May from this day date the era which in history will bear the name of the Era of Indian Independence. *India Liberata*.

"This holy land, from which have flowed great streams of thought and of civilization fertilizing the Old World, has shown in the space of the last hundred years a marvellous power of rejuvenation. An uninterrupted succession of geniuses, among whom, in these days of resurrection, I venture to recall the colossal figure of the precursor, Ram Mohun Roy, and to associate with it, that of the heroic apostle of truth and love, whom all the world venerates, M. K. Gandhi, have reshaped the unity of the Indian Spirit. A constellation of intrepid toilers and great citizens, among whom I shall name the man whom India weeps for to-day, Lajpat Rai, have enabled the Indian nation to overtake the West with gigantic strides, in the march of Progress.

"The hour is come when this Prometheus in chains rises up, and stands free, on the Himalayas.

"Let Prometheus, now free, remain, whatever happens, true to himself, true to his past, true to the ideals for which he has suffered,

true to justice, true to the universal soul which he has within him—*Atman Brahman*—true to the high mission of humanity which is his real purpose in life.

"We in the West know too much of the abuses, of the errors, and of the crimes of a monstrous Nationalism not to wish for India that she should escape this murderous wheel, which is crushing the peoples of Europe and America. May she rise higher, to that superior plane of the human Future, in which men will realize in their own national being the harmony of all faiths, the co-operation of all forces, and the union of all nations for the well-being of entire Humanity.

Romain Rolland."

Villeneuve, December, 1928.

Mahatma Gandhi on the Calcutta Congress

Mahatma Gandhi has criticized the Calcutta Congress very severely. As we do not possess any knowledge of its affairs from the inside, we are not in a position either to support or to correct him. Even in the days when we used to attend the Congress in a representative capacity, we did not possess much knowledge of its inner workings. No doubt, as the last session was held in Calcutta, where we live, we ought to have acquired at least some superficial information about it. But as its organizers did not send any complimentary card of admission to the editor of *Prabasi* or the editor of *The Modern Review* or the director of *Vishal Bharat* or the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the All-India Press Conference, we inferred that they thought that it was not necessary for us to acquire any direct knowledge of its proceedings, and so they wished us not to enter the Congress pandal. Hence in obedience to their implied wish, we did not attend any sitting of the last Congress. In justice to the authorities of the Congress *Exhibition*, however, we must say that, though during the first thirty days out of the thirty-two during which it was open they did not send us any complimentary card of admission, they did send us two such cards at 11 A.M. on the 31st day—when probably they had almost lost all hope of getting eight annas from us as admission fee. We were so overwhelmed with the consciousness of our utter unworthiness to receive such courtesy from such exalted

quarters that we immediately returned the cards with a thousand thanks.

Thus does it come about that our knowledge of Calcutta Congress affairs is derived from hearsay and from what little we have been able to read about it. If we are not mistaken, one of Gandhiji's charges against it is that many of the delegates were self-appointed. But our impression is that the identical remark was made about some other recent sessions of the Congress. Another charge is that delegates' tickets were bought and sold. We remember to have read in the papers that there were hired delegates at the Nagpur Congress and that at the session of the Congress held in a city in North India not very far from Benares many students of the Hindu University were persuaded to be present as delegates, their delegation fees, passage money, etc., being paid by some one else. So far as their representative capacity is concerned, there is nothing to choose between those non-elected men who buy their own tickets and similar persons whose tickets are purchased for them by others who control their votes. But in other respects, certainly hired delegates are worse than those who sit as delegates by paying for their seats themselves.

As for honesty, sense of honour, etc., which Gandhiji is said to have missed in the conduct of some prominent people connected with the recent Congress, there does not appear to have been a great revolution in these respects since the days of the canonized Mr. C. R. Das, if rumour and newspaper criticisms are to be believed. There may or may not have been some change for the worse. The reason why Mr. Gandhi was not critical when Mr. C. R. Das was alive but is critical now, seems to be that the Mahatma was then blind or kept his eyes closed but has since regained or resumed their use.

But perhaps it cannot be denied that considerable numbers of the delegates—perhaps the majority, *were* elected by others and paid their own expenses. And it cannot also be denied that the majority of the self-appointed and other-elected delegates voted in a certain way. This way may not have been pleasing to Gandhiji, but even self-appointed delegates are certainly not worse citizens than the hired delegates of previous sessions.

Standing Committee of Press Conference.

At the first session of the All-India Press Conference, held in Calcutta last month, a standing committee of ten members was appointed to formulate in consultation with existing associations of journalists, and editors, proprietors and conductors of newspapers throughout the country, a scheme for the improvement of the status and conditions of service of journalists and for the establishment of an all-India organization to safeguard their interests. It is to be hoped that all parties concerned will cordially co-operate with the standing committee to enable it to draw up a practicable scheme.

The Meaning of Sedition

The British-made Indian law of sedition cannot be accepted by Indians as just and proper, particularly at times when it stands in the way of their expressing their views freely in order to promote the cause of liberty. The law as it stands is meant to perpetuate the present political condition of India, with which Indians are not satisfied.

But assuming that the law as it is what it ought to be, there arises the question of its interpretation. In dismissing the appeal in the *Forward* sedition case, Mr. Justice Gregory made certain observations in the course of his judgement which cannot be considered acceptable. We mean those which refer to the police and the civil service. The other parts of the judgement we are unable to discuss, as we have not read the article in *Forward* for which its editor and printer were prosecuted.

Regarding the police, his lordship observed :—

The fact moreover is that it is not always easy to dissociate the Government from the police which represents one of the chief agencies of Government and as representing law and order, the most important agency. The term Government is in itself an abstraction, but Governments can only work through human agencies. To the man in the street and more particularly to the villager, (and it may be supposed that a paper like *Forward* has a circulation in the mofussil), the term Government is vague. But the policeman or the paharawalla, as he is sometimes called, is no abstraction, but rather the outward and visible emblem of Government and is in the public mind often associated with the Government. Indeed, he may be said to represent Government in a concrete form.

Again :—

Even however assuming for the sake of argument that the article does refer only to the police, I think it would still come within the purview of the section, since the police is one of the human agencies, and as I have said, a very important agency through which the Government acts.

That Governments work through human agencies is undoubtedly true. And it is also true that the police is one of these human agencies. But these facts do not at all prove that any Government can be said to be identical with any of the agencies through which it works. Government does not mean only the police, or the magistracy, or the judiciary, or any other service. In the concrete it *may* stand for the aggregate of all the services, though it is not usual to put such an interpretation on the word. When, for instance, it is said, "Government intend to do this or that", it is not meant that all the members, high and low, of all the services have after consultation decided unanimously or by a majority of votes to act in a certain way. What is meant is that the Governor in Council or the Governor-General in Council intend to do a certain thing. So it is the men who are vested with the power of supreme direction and control who are collectively known as the Government, not any or all of the agencies through which they collectively work.

As regards the Civil Service, Mr. Justice Gregory observed :—

As was observed by Batchelor J. in the case of *Raj Gangadhar Tiak, 19 Bombay, L. R. P. 264*, "the Government established by law acts through human agencies and admittedly the Civil Service is its principal agency for the administration of the country in times of peace. Therefore where you criticize the Civil Service *en bloc*, the question whether you excite dissatisfaction against the Government or not seems to me a pure question of fact. You do so if the natural effect of your work, infusing hatred of the Civil Service is also to infuse hatred or contempt of the established Government whose accredited agent the Civil Service is. You avoid doing so if preferring appropriate language of moderation, you use the words which do not naturally excite such hatred of Government. It is a mere question of fact.

Substituting the police for the Civil Service, it appears to me that these observations apply to the present case with equal force.

What has been said above with reference to his lordship's observations on the police applies to his observations with reference to the Civil Service also.

All or most members of a particular service in a province, division or district may be inefficient, corrupt or tyrannical. That

would not make the entire Government of the province inefficient, corrupt or tyrannical.

Mr. Justice Gregory's interpretation makes it hazardous for journalists and other public workers to do their work conscientiously and fearlessly. But it is not merely these servants of the public who stand to lose by his interpretation. If the *paharawalla* is to be taken as the emblem of Government, then may we editors safely assert that Government is as unenlightened, superstitious, corrupt, and often foul-mouthed and tyrannical as the *paharawalla*? Mr. W. Swain, Inspector-General of Police, Bihar and Orissa, has stated in his evidence before the Simon Commission that 95 per cent. of the constables and head constables in that province are corrupt. Is that statement equivalent to saying that the Bihar and Orissa Government is 95 per cent. corrupt? If so, does it or does it not bring that Government into hatred and contempt? If it does, why have not Mr. Swain and all the editors who have reproduced his figures been prosecuted and thrown into jail?

—

Sir M. Visvesvaraya on Indian States

The holding of the South Indian States Conference at Trivandrum, the capital of Travancore, is significant. Travancore is one of the most progressive and enlightened States in India, and the holding of the Conference within its boundaries is a proof of its progressive character. Sir M. Visvesvaraya, who presided over the conference, very properly observed :

"To invite us here bespeaks the confidence the local leaders have in their own Government. So far from being a reflection, the conference is itself a compliment to the State and to the gracious Lady who presides over its destinies as Maharani-Regent."

The address of Sir M. Visvesvaraya is statesmanlike. In his opinion, Indian India and British India must advance together and there must be immediate responsible Government in the whole of India.

At a time when His Majesty the King-Emperor and the British people are parting with their power it is too much to expect the Princes of India that they should do their bit for their own peoples and place them in a position to acquire efficiency and prosperity, neither of which is, as experience has shown, possible under a non-responsible government.

I think that I have said enough to show that the present forms of Government, both in British

India and the Indian States, are ill-calculated to meet the wants or advance the interests of the people as a whole and, if they are to be beneficial in future, they must undergo a rapid and a radical change.

He criticized the British Government for having done nothing yet to prepare India for the grant of dominion status.

The peoples' standpoint at present is one of undisguised distrust and impatience: distrust because the British Government is seeking to make all manner of excuses for initiating a real start, and impatience because every year's delay in introducing self-government is so much loss to the people, so much of a distinct set-back in the country's attempt to fall in line with progressive nations. As that outspoken but thoroughly disinterested journal, the *Pioneer*, wrote a few days ago: 'Few honest observers of modern India can deny that the present policy of the India Office and Delhi is to deny real opportunity for self-realization, self-development and self-fulfilment.'

'Reforms in instalments at the present stage have no meaning. It is like expecting a human body, to develop limb by limb—one limb at a time! Being an organic whole, their growth should be nursed in an altogether different way; the prescription of stages will mean prolonging the agony of reforms for years.'

'A divided India, as a permanent arrangement, is wholly unthinkable and is fraught with consequences too serious to contemplate.'

Incidentally the remark may be allowed that the *Pioneer* is not a thoroughly disinterested journal.

He concluded his address by saying:—

Gentlemen, some ten or eleven years ago, at the time of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, I was associated with a Committee of Princes and Ministers of Indian States in the discussion of problems affecting the status of Indian States and it was then that I suggested, I believe for the first time, a Federal Constitution for all India. Much water has flowed under bridges since then and opinion now is, I am glad to see, moving in that direction. I have spoken out somewhat plainly because, first, I make no distinction between the States as such and the subjects forming it; secondly, it is in the interests of the Princes themselves, as Ruling Chiefs, to take a larger and a more far-seeing view of their own future; and thirdly, in any constitution that may be evolved for India, the States cannot but come in as an integral part of it. These reforms are suggested after careful deliberation, over years of anxious thought, and if, in what I have stated in this address, I have at times spoken with some emphasis, it is because it is conceived entirely in the permanent interests of both Princes and People. In the last resort, believe me, the strength of a Prince is the strength of his People.

I have at one time or another done some service, small or large, to seven or eight Indian States and have had the advantage of meeting most of the principal Rulers of the States in my time.

I had the privilege of knowing, and on one or two occasions of personally corresponding with,

the late distinguished Maharaja of Travancore. There are a number of good, able and accomplished men among the Rulers to-day who can hold their own in any assembly in the world.

If I speak frankly of the Princes as a body and about their future to-day, I do so with a definite purpose. The world after the War has a new vision of governmental functions. You may conceal modern ideas from the more ignorant subjects for a time but you cannot prevent their infiltration from all of them for all the time. The autocratic form of government is fast getting out of date; safety lies in open dealing and publicity. The Princes should modernize their States, train the talents of their peoples, pour knowledge and skill into them, and raise them, and themselves rise with them.

At the same time, there is a corresponding duty imposed on the subjects of Indian States. They, on their part, should remember that they are not to be content with offering mere criticism and that nothing will be gained by antagonizing their Rulers; rather, they should make their Rulers feel their identity with them and with their future fortunes. Also, the more enlightened among the States people should offer their services and co-operation to the Princes to help in moulding the thoughts and shaping the destinies of their States in conformity with accepted canons of national efficiency.

The Simon Commission in Calcutta

On the 21st December, 1928, the members of the Simon Commission arrived in Calcutta two hours after the arrival of Pandit Motilal Nehru, President of the 43rd Indian National Congress. The Simon Commission was passing through Calcutta on its way to Assam. There was no proposal on that occasion to boycott the Commissioners. There was no propaganda in that direction and no *hartal* was proclaimed. The immense crowd that had assembled to welcome the President of the Congress had not dispersed when the Royal Commissioners arrived at Howrah, and the Anglo-Indian press, with characteristic veracity, announced with bold head-lines that the members of the Commission were greeted by large crowds in respectful silence. We should not be surprised if this intelligence was cabled out to England. Three weeks later, on the 12th of last month, the Commission returned officially to Calcutta to record evidence. On this occasion the Congress Committee decided to boycott the Commission, and vigorous propaganda was carried out to ensure the success of the boycott. On the way down to Calcutta the special train conveying the Commissioners was met at the railway stations by crowds bearing black flags and repeating the now familiar cries directing the Commission to

return whence it had come. Ordinarily, the train should have arrived at the Sealdah terminus, but there was a quick strategic alteration of the route and from Naihati the train was switched on to the East Indian Railway and arrived at Howrah at a very early hour in the morning, and the Commissioners were hurriedly driven to Government House along a route strongly guarded by the police and troops. Meanwhile, the boycott procession paraded the streets and passed close to Government House. Most Indian places of business and shops were closed. Vehicular traffic was not suspended, because the Congress Committee had expressly declared that it was not necessary. Schools and Colleges were mostly closed and those that were kept open were deserted. A very strong military and police force was in evidence in front of the University, but the feats of the last occasion were not repeated, and there were no cases of assault. The Anglo-Indian papers declared that the boycott had failed, while the Indian papers more truthfully stated that the boycott was completely successful. The authorities have so far profited by the experience of Lahore and Lucknow that they did not allow the Commissioners to run the gauntlet of the boycott, but the barricading of the Howrah Railway Station, the change in the route of the journey, the very early hour of arrival, the avoidance of the crowds of demonstrators, are all conclusive evidence of the effectiveness of the boycott.

N. G.

The Boycott Procession in Calcutta

The later boycott procession in Calcutta, from Halliday Park to the Ochterlony Monument, was also a tremendous success. About the length and numbers of the procession it will suffice to say that our car was held up near Wellington Square corner by a part of it, and a sergeant on duty told us that it would be three quarters of an hour before we could proceed.

Dr. Sapru on the Shastras

It is reported in the papers that in his evidence before the Age of Consent Committee Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru declared that it was impossible to reconcile commonsense with

the shastras and orthodox views, and asserted that there should be no compromise with respect to the age of marriage of girls. It is not clear what exactly Dr. Sapru said; but in any case his zeal for social reform is commendable. It is to be hoped that he did not, or did not mean to, say that all shastras have laid down irrational injunctions in all matters or at least as regards the age of marriage. For there are shastras whose teachings relating to the age of marriage and maternity are quite reasonable and scientific. There are shastras and shastras. All are not of equal value and authority.

Mr. Gandhi on the Use of Hindustani

Mr. M. K. Gandhi is reported to have said that "there is no independence for the masses if their representatives cannot conduct their proceedings in the national language." Similarly it may be said that "there is no independence for the masses if their leader Mahatma Gandhi does not conduct his organ *Young India* and carry on all his correspondence and always speak in private and in public in Hindustani."

Hindustani is not yet "the national language." It may possibly become the *lingua franca* in India in course of time, but we may be permitted to doubt if it will ever replace all the other languages of India which have old and modern literatures of their own not inferior to that of Hindustani.

It is said that in the opinion of Mahatmaji the proceedings of the Indian National Congress are carried on in English "for the benefit principally of the delegates from the South and Bengal." It is not clear where Gandhiji's "South" begins. The bracketting together of Bengal and the South is misleading. All over Bengal, Bengalis are able to carry on conversation in a sort of Hindi with Hindustani traders, labourers and domestic assistants. Perhaps that cannot be said of the "South." Not only this. Among those whose mother-tongue is not Hindustani, no other people or persons have done so much for Hindi as the Bengalis. For proof, doubters may read the speech written for and read out by Babu Subhas Chandra Bose at the Rashtra Bhasha Conference as chairman of its reception committee.

It is doubtful if more Gujaratis, more Marathas, more Oriyas, more Assamese, more people of the Karnataka, and more persons

of many other regions can make and understand speeches on political subjects than Bengalis.

Monopoly of Patriotism

In a letter to the last issue of *Welfare* Mr. Ashananda Nag describes some types of snobbery not noted by Thackeray. One of these he names patriotic snobbery. In proof of its existence he instances the case of those Swarajists who believe that they alone are patriotic. A further proof is to be found in a speech delivered by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose and reported in *Forward*, dated January 29 last. We notice it merely because of the position he occupies. The occasion was a meeting of the people of Barisal residing in Calcutta, held to congratulate S. Satya Ranjan Baksī, editor of *Forward* and *Banglar Katha*, on his conviction for sedition. At this meeting Mr. Subhas Bose bestowed high praise on Mr. Baksī. To this there can be no objection. Nobody should grudge Mr. Baksī the high praise he deserves. But Mr. Subhas Bose laid himself open to criticism when he proceeded to observe:—

As an editor another trait of Satya Babu's character is his true Congress mentality. In fact judged from this standpoint he occupies a unique position. The so-called nationalist newspapers of Bengal in fact move against the Congress and even against the country. To speak the truth, they appear to be anti-nationalists.

What is objectionable in this passage is Mr. Bose's description of "the so-called nationalist newspapers of Bengal." It is not true that all Bengal newspapers other than *Forward* and *Banglar Katha* (and perhaps other Swarajist papers) "move against the country" and are anti-nationalistic. One or more than one may be distinctly "anti-Congress," others criticize the Congress only when necessary. Mahatma Gandhi has ranged himself among such critics. Is he, too, "anti-country" and "anti-nationalist"?

Congress is not sacrosanct.

Perhaps the papers against which Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose has hurled his unwise, shop-keeping, pontifical and self-righteous anathema will survive the verbal blow.

"Prof. Radhakrishnan's Reply"

In this note I do not intend to say anything on the subject-matter of the contro-

versy between Prof. Radhakrishnan and Prof. Jadunath Sinha. I am not competent to do so, and they are both able to take care of themselves. I desire mainly to make a few remarks on Prof. Radhakrishnan's references to *The Modern Review* and its editor, in order to enable him to formulate clearly and courageously his charge against my journal and myself with full knowledge of facts instead of indulging in insinuations.

He has referred to the fact that occasional adverse criticism of his writings has found place in *The Modern Review* since his coming to Calcutta. That a writer of distinction should be subject to criticism is only natural. That he has been subjected to criticism since his coming to Calcutta may be due to the fact that he and his writings were not much known in these parts before his advent here and that some of his best known works were published after he became connected with the Calcutta University.

It is to be noted that the adverse criticisms referred to by the Professor were not the work of the editor of this *Review*; he only published them.

The impression, moreover, that the Professor has been only adversely criticized in this *Review* is not accurate. He has also been praised. To mention only one instance, his lectures in England were highly praised in this *Review* by Sir John Woodroffe.

I have to add for the information of Prof. Radhakrishnan and my readers that I have sometimes refrained from publishing things which would have gone entirely or to a great extent against him. I will mention a few instances. Some years ago I received the Professor's *Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore* for review from his publishers. I sent it through a mutual friend to a gentleman who has read both the Bengali and English works of Tagore. After some time had passed I sent him a reminder for a review of the book through the same friend. I was told in reply that he had read and marked many passages in the book and would require thirty pages of my monthly in small print for the review of the book. On my pleading for more mercy, he agreed to be satisfied with ten pages of small print. After this I did not send him any more reminders. It may be added that I gathered that the review would not have been wholly mellifluous.

In more recent times I received a long review of Prof. Radhakrishnan's *Indian Philosophy*, vol. ii, from Pandit Umesa Misra

of Allahabad University. I returned it for reasons unconnected with its merits. It has subsequently appeared in the *Bihar and Orissa Research Society's Journal*. Those who have read it know that it is, to say the least, not eulogistic from start to finish. I will mention only one other instance. A professor of philosophy in a Madras College—I am sorry I do not remember his name—sent me a pamphlet on the "Romance of Philosophy" and I think also an adverse review of one or more works of Prof. Radhakrishnan. For reasons unconnected with their merits, I refrained from using them.

Perhaps the Professor knows—if not, he ought to know, that an editor has every legal, moral and journalistic right to get any published thing reviewed in his journal, even though it may not have been sent to him for the purpose. I have not hitherto exercised this right in the case of Prof. Radhakrishnan's works.

The Professor says: "I have been accused of faulty English, ignorance of Bengali, lack of Sanskrit learning, imperfect acquaintance with Western philosophy and careless and inadequate references." He ought to have added that I was not the accuser. He ought also to have given reasons to convince me or the public that I did wrong in publishing such criticism. The best way to do so would have been to show that his critics were wrong.

Addressing me the Professor writes:—

You, Sir, as a responsible editor thoroughly familiar with the high standards of journalistic ethics and etiquette, I dare say, must have satisfied yourself that the translations set forth in the *Modern Review* were made by Mr. Sinha himself and expressed in exactly the same form in that part of the thesis examined by me, and that no alterations, slight or serious, verbal or material, were made in them in the last five years, not, at any rate, after the publication of my second volume nearly two years ago.

Mr. Sinha has shown me a typewritten copy of his thesis, in which are included the portions published in the *Meerut College Magazine*, which also he has shown me. It would be as easy for me to prove that what he showed me was exactly identical with the thesis submitted by him for the P. R. S. as it would be for Prof. Radhakrishnan to prove that it was not. The kind of guarantee of identity or genuineness of what Mr. Sinha has shown me which Mr. Radhakrishnan wants, I could have given if it had been permissible and possible for Mr. Sinha to submit his thesis to

the University through me after getting all its pages and alterations therein, if any, initialled by me. But this could not be and was not done. The suggestion that Mr. Sinha may have made alterations in his thesis since its submission to and receipt back from the University does not commend itself to me, if for no other reason than this that, if he were so dishonourably-minded, he could have so altered all the passages quoted from the unpublished portions of his thesis as to make all of them strikingly similar to the parallel passages quoted from Prof. Radhakrishnan's book. This he has not done. He admits instead that many passages in the latter are summaries etc.

What has mainly led me to publish what I have done is the similarity between very many passages in Prof. Sinha's articles published in the *Meerut College Magazine* before the publication of vol. ii of *Indian Philosophy* by the Calcutta professor and passages in the latter work. If the unpublished thesis alone had been shown to me, I would not have printed Mr. Sinha's letters. The *Meerut College Magazine* articles led me to think that it was not improbable that the unpublished portions of the thesis also were what Mr. Sinha claimed them to be.

Without in the least pre-judging the case I may be permitted to add that the extreme difficulty of proving what exactly the manuscript of a thesis contained may tempt and embolden both dishonourable examinees and dishonourable examiners to claim as their own what is not theirs. The Calcutta University should, therefore, insist on the adoption of some means of preventing such dishonourable conduct.

Prof. Radhakrishnan may not agree, but I think I have rendered him some service by giving him an opportunity to rebut printed charges which might otherwise have remained unassailable as mere rumour. I am aware, of course, that such things should not be printed and published lightly.

Dr. Radhakrishnan suggests indirectly (pp. 212-3) that Mr. Sinha may have used his (the Doctor's) lecture notes and passed them off as his own original work. This insinuation Mr. Sinha will know how to deal with. So far as I am concerned it will suffice to note that I am informed that Mr. Sinha passed his M. A. in 1917, four years before the Doctor came to Calcutta, and that he never attended any lectures or talks on philosophy of the latter. In any case, printed and

published pages and passages are something substantial to go upon; whereas suppositions and insinuations, even though made by a learned don, are unsubstantial, and worthless as proof.

Ramananda Chatterjee

Parliament of Religions in Calcutta

The Parliament of Religions, convened in Calcutta by the organizers of the Brahma Samaj Centenary Celebrations, which held its sessions last month in the Senate House, was very largely attended and was a great success. The Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, opened the proceedings with a brief address which is printed elsewhere. Learned theologians, distinguished ministers of religion, and other men of note, belonging to various countries and religious communities delivered addresses and read papers. The two main topics were, how to combat the prevailing indifference towards religion and how to promote world-peace and human brotherhood. All the utterances brought together and published in the form of a book will make a readable and instructive volume.

After all, religion has not lost its hold on all intelligent men !

Dominion Status and Independence

The leading article in the *Indian Daily Mail* of December 9, 1928 is entitled "The 'Modern Review' and Dominion Status." It purports to be a criticism of our note on the apotheosis of dominion status, pp. 752-4 of this *Review* for December, 1928. In its article the *Mail* has not dealt with all our arguments, which we do not want to re-iterate. We will refer only to one point.

We had written :—

According to the *Indian Daily Mail*, "the 'Independence' school of thought is entirely alien to the Indian temperament, which, through immemorial centuries, has established a tradition for continuity." To us this appears to be a strange reading of Indian history and the Indian temperament. Continuity may be kept up either with dependence or with independence—either with indigenous rule or with alien rule. Every distinct people of the world has treated dependence as a breach of continuity in their national tradition. There is no historical evidence that the people of India has been an exception and has tried to maintain the continuity of dependence instead of treating dependence as an abnormality and trying to establish continuity

with independence by becoming free. During a certain period anterior to the Christian era, parts of the north-western region of India were included in the Persian Empire. The people of that region did not try to maintain the unbroken continuity of Persian rule; that rule ended. Greeks and Bactrian Greeks invaded and for a time ruled some of these parts. This alien rule, too, was shaken off. There were successive waves of invasion and conquest by various foreign peoples, named Sakas, Huns, Scythians, etc. They were either driven away or absorbed, and the government of the country ceased to be foreign. Coming to times nearer our own, one finds that the Mughals did not try to keep up Pathan rule, nor did the Marathas and Sikhs try to maintain the continuity of the tradition of Mughal despotism. Mr. Natarajan's reading of Indian history and temperament would have been incomprehensible to Shivaji. India has been always for independence. It has been longer a self-ruling than an enslaved country. It is the baneful hypnotism of foreigner-written Imperialistic histories of India which makes us think otherwise. India has not been more subject to foreign invasion and rule than any other part of the earth equally extensive and rich in resources.

On this passage the *Mail's* comment is as follows :—

The *Modern Review* next takes exception to our view that the Independence school of thought is entirely alien to the Indian temperament. What we meant is not that independence is alien to the Indian temperament—from our point of view Dominion Status is substantially the same as independence—but that violent, revolutionary breaches in political continuity are not congenial to the Indian mind or character. The Sikhs and the Marathas, whom our contemporary cites, rose against the Moghul power only when the latter had made it impossible for them, by its religious persecution, to live peacefully under its sway. If and when the British Commonwealth embarks on a policy of religious persecution against its non-Christian components, it will, we are sure, be the duty of India to break away from it. Of that, however, there is not the least chance, so far as we can see.

We had referred to many instances of parts of India breaking away from alien rule and regaining independence during its long history from before the Christian era. Our contemporary has not shown that these did not involve violent, revolutionary breaches in continuity; nor has it been shown that on all or most of these occasions Indians asserted their independence owing to religious persecution. Only the rising of the Sikhs and of the Marathas (under Shivaji) has been referred to and ascribed to religious persecution. If their risings had been the only instances of wars of independence in India, which is not the case, or if all the wars of independence in India had been due to religious persecution by the rulers, which also is not the case, our contemporary's argument would have had some weight. But the facts being

otherwise, the *Mail's* argument is not a refutation of what we wrote.

It is not our purpose to indulge in a long discussion as to the causes of the Maratha and Sikh risings. Let Professor Jadunath Sarkar's opinion on Shivaji's resolve to be independent suffice. He writes to us :

"Shivaji decided on a career of independent sovereignty quite apart from and long before the promulgation of Aurangzib's anti-Hindu edicts. We cannot forget that, apart from the natural pride of an ambitious and high-spirited born leader, he had the traditions of the independent Hindu sovereignty of the Yadavas (of Devagiri) and the Rayals of Vijaynagar to inspire him."

Mr. Chintamani on the Work of Liberals

In the course of his clear-cut and vigorous speech as chairman of the reception committee delivered at the eleventh annual session of the National Liberal Federation of India, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani observed :

Fellow-Liberals, we exist as a party on the basis of the attainment of Dominion Status by India at the earliest possible date. Deny this, and their is no justification for our party. For those Indians who think that political salvation lies in severance of the British connection—they are the children of unsympathetic, irresponsible and arrogant alien rule, as Bolshevik Russia is the child of Czarist Russia—the National Liberal Federation is not the place. We mean by Dominion Status neither more nor less than and nothing else but Dominion Status. To us it is not a first step but the one and only step. On the other hand, the sophistry of bureaucrats who seek to make a distinction between responsible government and dominion status and allege that the latter has not been promised, is meaningless to us and we have no use for it. We must have a constitution founded upon Dominion Status. It should be a rigid constitution, and among its leading features should be (1) the vesting of residuary powers in the central government; (2) a bicameral central legislature, representation in the lower house being on the basis of population and in the second chamber, of provinces; (3) provincial autonomy, and (4) the abolition of separate electorates.

If I may say one more word, it is to beg you all to do active service to the Liberal party in the coming year and to justify its existence still more. There is room for it, there is need for it. The far-sighted patriots who laid the foundation of the Indian national movement for Swaraj thought not only for their time but for ours when they gave us the ideal of dominion self-government to strive for. It is equal to independence and is more beneficial than isolated independence. Mr. Gokhale held up this ideal in his memorable address to the Benares Congress; this was what Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji defined as Swaraj in the following year at

Calcutta in an address that was described by Sir Surendranath Banerjee as India's Political Scripture. This Swaraj is what India must achieve, and it is for us to prove that the members of the Indian Liberal Party will do their duty faithfully and assiduously in the national effort to win it. Freedom is the natural law, subjection is evil. It is our Dharma to get out of a state of dependence. This is the teaching by which we are bound, and I pray that we may not be found backward in rendering the national service which is our greatest Duty.

Mere verbal disputes are of little use. If dominion status be really equal to independence—we hold it is not, in spite of the gradual approach to it that it is making—let those who are for dominion status try to reach their goal. Let those who are of a different opinion also try to attain their object.

It is only partly true that the ideal of independence is born of unsympathetic, irresponsible and arrogant alien rule. For there are men who would long for independence even under the most sympathetic, responsible and meek British rule.

As for Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's definition of Swaraj, we showed in *The Modern Review* for February, 1907, that it may be interpreted to mean either independence or dominion status.

It serves no useful purpose to damn independence by calling it isolated independence, as many dominion-status-wallas are fond of doing. Independent states can and generally do enter into alliances with other states according to their needs and desires and thus put an end to their isolation.

India is a large country, with a population exceeding that of the rest of the British Empire taken together. Unlike the dominions, it has an ancient and independent civilization, and has ancient traditions of heroism and strength. There are many independent countries in the world equal in population to our districts. If they are not haunted by the thought of isolation, it is possible to think of some time when Indians, too, will be sufficiently self-conscious, organized and united to be able to shake off the debilitating obsession of isolation.

India is great enough to be a luminary in her own right, instead of revolving round the British sun.

If the attainment of dominion status is more practicable than that of independence, there is no harm in working for the former. But it is too much to claim finality for it. For in the path of human progress in any

direction—religious, moral, social, educational, political, economic, literary, artistic, scientific, or mechanical—there is no terminus visible to the mind's eye or imagination.

organization of entertainments, baby week celebrations, etc.

A Women's Welfare Association

The fourth anniversary of the Saroj Nalini Dutt Memorial Association for Women's Work brought out the welcome fact that, from a very small beginning with 7 or 8 Mahila Samitis (women's associations) four years ago, the Association has now no less than 222 Mahila Samitis with a membership of about 4,640.

"Every district in Bengal can now boast of one or more Mahila Samitis. The Samitis have been formed in districts and sub-divisional towns as well as in the remote villages. A specially remarkable feature of the movement in the year under report has been the inauguration for the first time in the history of Bengal of meetings in which ladies of the Bhadrakalok (gentle) class have discarded the purdah and taken part in them along with men."

Men and women of all classes, irrespective of caste, religion or political opinions, have helped to extend its activities. These include meetings, lectures, classes, study circles, and domestic and cottage industries. The Central Association sends out trained instructresses, of whom there are 13. It has a monthly organ called the *Banga-Lakshmi*. Its Industrial School was opened in 1925 and has up till now had nearly 400 adult women under training, and 25 instructresses for the mofussil have been turned out ready for work.

The present number of students is 170 consisting of 40 widows, 51 married and 79 unmarried women. Girls under 16 are not admitted into the school. The subjects taught are sewing, cutting, embroidery, chikon work, lace making, carpet weaving, silk spinning, jute spinning, raffia work, plain and fancy cotton weaving, tape making, cane work, drawing, general education and music. The period of training in industrial subjects is generally one year but some pupils have to stay on longer in order that they might gain thorough knowledge of the various subjects taught. No fees are charged in the industrial classes but a bus fee is charged for conveyance. Those who sign an agreement to serve the Association as paid instructress on the completion of their training are exempted from bus fees also.

The work of the affiliated Samitis is of various kinds, such as social work in the villages, public health work, maternity and child welfare work, adult education, organization of girls' schools, rural reconstruction,

Women's Educational Conference

The following encouraging account of the Women's Educational Conference held at Patna is reproduced from the *Behar Herald* :—

The great event of the week in Patna is the meeting of the All-India Women's Conference on Educational Reform. Delegates attended from all parts of the country and great enthusiasm prevailed. The arrival of the delegates had created a stir in Patna from several days previous to the meeting of the Conference. The ladies of Patna, in and out of Purdah, took a keen interest in the conference and even those who had not a clear appreciation of the objects of the meeting felt that this was a matter which was their exclusive concern and that was no doubt a recommendation and a novelty in itself. The conference was opened by Lady Stephenson in the Senate House on Thursday. Gentlemen visitors were allowed to see what women were capable of, and facilities were provided for such ladies as cared for them. Wisely enough the organizers of the Conference had dispensed with all decorations, for, if any such had been provided, they would have paled into insignificance before the brilliant *surcees* which adorn our womanhood on ceremonial occasions. Her Highness the Dowager Rani Lalit Kumari Sahiba of Mandi State, who occupied the presidential chair, naturally attracted a great deal of attention. Her bashful speech was heard with rapt attention by all those who were close to the dais. But her fine presence and graceful pose ensured pin drop silence throughout the big hall. The figure most characteristic of the woman's cause, however, was Srimati Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya. The incoming visitor saw at a glance that she was the organizing secretary of the conference. The part assigned to her, viz., that of reading the annual report and thanking all who had contributed to the success of the conference, did not give much scope for oratory. But she had only to open her lips to show that she was a speaker of a high order. She is fluent and humorous, speaks with a fine accent and has a remarkable command of appropriate expressions. She is the brother's wife of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and, considering that she is very young, it is not unlikely that some day she will attain as eminent a position in public life as Mrs. Naidu.

The success of the conference was in no small measure due to the wonderful organizing capacity of Mrs. S. N. Mazumdar and Mrs. P. K. Sen, whose educative propaganda among the ladies of Patna is too well known to need mention here.

It is to be hoped that in the near future the patronage of the wives of high British officials will be dispensed with by all Indian women's societies. Not that we have any antipathy towards them. But it is necessary for our women to succeed

in doing good to themselves without any extraneous aid.

King Amanullah

There is a general desire among Indians for the re-establishment of King Amanullah on the throne of Afghanistan and the prosperity and full freedom of that country. The more independent countries there are in Asia, the better for our continent and the world as a whole. Though we ourselves may not be free and independent, we would rejoice in the good luck of others.

The causes of the rebellion against King Amanullah are not yet fully known and may not be fully known for some time to come. It may be that the reforms which he attempted to introduce were the main causes, and it also may be that intrigue on the part of interested foreign powers had something to do with it.

Except the sartorial innovations he wanted to introduce, all the reforms which the Afghan King had at heart were both necessary and salutary. The only fault which may be found with him was that he appeared to be in a hurry and to force changes on his people for which they were not ready. The comparative ease and absence of troubles with which drastic changes were made in Turkey probably misled him. But Turkey was better prepared for change because of its proximity to and closer contact and intercourse with Europe.

As regards his desire that his people should adopt European dress, it was neither wicked nor harmful. In our opinion, the adoption of Western garments was not necessary for the enlightenment and prosperity of Afghanistan. Amanullah may, however, have thought that by wearing European dress his people would be able to shake off the Asiatic-inferiority complex.

His ardent love of his country made King Amanullah an impatient idealist. But he is a great man and a benefactor of his country and continent all the same. Indians, irrespective of race and religion, are among his admirers and well-wishers. At the over-crowded Calcutta meeting, held in the Albert Hall to express sympathy with him, it was pointed out by Sir P. C. Ray, who moved the main resolution, that the vast majority of the audience consisted of Hindus. That must have been the case with many other meetings held all over the country.



Sardar Ali Ahmed Jan
The Newest Claimant to the Afghan Throne

The situation in Afghanistan has been changing from day to day, if not from hour to hour. On the 30th of January the latest news was that Sardar Ali Ahmed Jan, brother-in-law of Amanullah and until recently Governor of Kabul, had become King.

Moslems and Spoon-feeding

We read in the *Mussalman* :—

Mr. Syed ~~Tofail~~ Ahmad in his work 'Responsible Government and the Solution of Hindu-Moslem Problem' says, "Had the Mussalmans not been fed upon special protection, their children would have gone to the common schools like the children of other minorities, and would have benefited from the revenues of the country equally." Then he mentions an incident in this connexion. In 1913 an agent of the All-India Muslim Educational Conference was making a tour in the district of Agra. Near the Agra City Station he found a Hindu teacher teaching some Hindu and Muslim boys. The Muslim students were reading the *Quran*. The agent was astonished to see this and asked

the teacher as to who was teaching the Quran. The Hindu teacher replied, "These children were reading with me. Realizing the anxiety of the parents that their children should not remain ignorant of the Quran I myself learnt the Quran, which I am now teaching." Mr. Tofail Ahmad observes that the teaching of the Holy Quran to the Muslim boys by a Hindu teacher may be considered as objectionable, but it shows at least a spirit of toleration so recently as the year 1913. We hope all concerned will understand how the Mussalmans have been losing by following a policy of more or less exclusiveness.

The *Mussalman* quotes several other passages from a book, entitled "Responsible Government and the Solution of the Hindu-Muslim Problem", by Maulvi Syed Tofail Ahmad (Alig.), M. L. C., one of which is quoted below :

Having shown that to depend on the bureaucracy is a great mistake the writer observes :—

"As a matter of fact, however, communalism and the consequent hatred and distrust are seriously injuring the Muslims. But the remedy does not lie in invoking the help of the bureaucracy, *who on the one hand make promises of special patronage to them and on the other hand prove silent spectators of their ruin.* To demand our rights from them is simply foolish...*The only way open to Mohamelandans is that they should join their countrymen in the demands for self-government,* so that they may have control over the purse of the country and thus be able to spend the largest possible amount on the education of children. This is the only way in which the complicated problem of Muslim education can be solved." (Italics ours)

These words from an old man of experience will, we hope, carry weight with those for whom they are meant.

Sarda's Child Marriage Bill Postponed

In the Legislative Assembly Mr. Harbilas Sarda moved the consideration of his Bill for fixing the minimum marriageable age for boys at full eighteen and for girls at full fourteen. In summing up his appeal for the adoption of the Bill, Mr. Sarda spoke in moving terms. He said :—

I deny that child marriage is a religious obligation. Even if it were, no man has the right in order to save himself from going to hell to condemn another being to a life of suffering. Great responsibility rests on this House. The people in England and America are watching how you will deal with this Bill. Writers like Miss Mayo and politicians like Mr. Winston Churchill have declared in plain terms that India cannot be granted Self-Government so long she tolerates such acts of oppression (a voice from the European and Central Muslim Bench "hear, hear"). People in America want to know if after 150 years of rule the Government still tolerate these tortures. If women were members of this House the Bill would get through. I have received telegrams from women members of the C. P.

Council intimating that that Council too passed a resolution supporting this Bill. And finally let me repeat the language of a great man that no nation can be half slave and half free. Those who will support the Bill will render true service to the country (applause from all sections of the House).

Mr. M. K. Acharya, adopting obstructive tactics, moved the postponement of the consideration of the Bill until the Age of Consent Committee Report was published. After he had made a speech in support of his motion,

his motion was put to vote. The Government Members practically *en bloc* and so also the Central Muslim and European group (latter with the exception of two) decided to vote for postponement. Here was also a split in the ranks of the Independents, Nationalists and Congressmen, and some, like Pandit Malaviya remained neutral. Pandit Motilal and Mr. Jayakar were however foremost to record the vote against postponement, but Mr. Sarda found the battle lost and his only chance now lay to narrow the majority of the other side. Pandit Motilal came to his rescue at the last minute and persuaded some neutrals on his side to vote against the amendment. Two European members too went with Mr. Sarda. As Mr. Crerar came up to Mr. Sarda to explain the latest decision taken by the Government, Mr. Sarda was seen angrily protesting against Government backing out of what he thought was its promise to support the Bill.

RESENTMENT AT GOVERNMENT'S CONDUCT

Indeed a small crowd gathered round them and Sir Purshottandas too used the opportunity to ejaculate, "The Government wants child marriages." The scene ended with the President announcing that Mr. Acharya's Amendment has been carried by 53 against 34 and there followed shouts of shame from the Reformist Benches. Mr. Chetty rushed out to the lobby and characterized the Government conduct as disgraceful.

When Mr. Harbilas Sarda first introduced his Bill, the late Sir Alexander Muddiman, the then Home Member, declared that at each stage after its introduction he (that is to say, Government) would oppose it. The dead man's promise has been kept. And yet it is the Britishers in power in India who want social reform and it is the unregenerate Indians who oppose it !

The Viceroy's Speech

There was nothing very remarkable in the speech with which the Viceroy opened the new session of the Legislative Assembly. There were some announcements made. There would be a new Royal Commission to review all aspects of the conditions under which Indian labour works,

Mr. Whitley, ex-Speaker of the House of Commons is to be its chairman. The members have still to be appointed. At least half of them should be elected by, or in any case selected from the ranks of the leading members of, the Trade Unions in the country to represent labour. The remaining members should be drawn mainly from the class of Indian employers of labour. What the real object of the Commission is cannot be exactly guessed. It would be lucky if its report did not place British manufacturers and exporters at greater advantage than now over Indian manufacturers.

The Trade Disputes Bill and the Public Safety Bill are to be proceeded with during the present session. There are assumptions or views underlying both the Bills which are concerned with strikes and other incidents and conditions of labour. Therefore, as conditions of labour are going to be investigated by a Royal Commission, the Bills should not be taken up now. The question of what should be done with them should be left over for consideration until the new Royal Commission has reported. Their consideration and passing into law now would be to make the investigations of the Commission superfluous in some respects.

The decision to appoint an additional permanent member on the Railway Board in charge of railway labour questions may be commended if the office goes to a qualified Indian possessed of a spirit of independence and power of calm judgement.

The Viceroy's brief reference to Afghanistan gives no information and is too *namuli* and colourless to evoke enthusiasm or even interest.

As was anticipated by many, including ourselves, the Congress resolution relating to dominion status has been understood by the Viceroy as an ultimatum to the British people and Parliament. He stated that Parliament would never consent to act as mere registrar of decisions of other persons. These "other persons" are, however, the Indians, whose future can be quite properly settled by foreigners! The Indians must accept the decisions of the latter, in spite of the cant of self-determination!

The Viceroy also stated in the Assembly that the views of the Government of India would be considered before any decision was made on the Hilton Young Report relating to East Africa. An I. C. S. officer would be

appointed to the Kenya Council to discuss the Report. We do not think this is exactly what is required. The Hilton Young Report should be discussed in the Legislative Assembly and the Government of India should be guided by the decision of the elected members of that body. The Viceroy also asked Indians not to lose faith in Britain. But faith has been lost already.

Buddhist Institute in Soviet Russia

The first institute in Soviet Russia for the study of Buddhist culture was opened yesterday at the Academy of Sciences in the presence of a number of prominent students of the East.

M. Scherbatsky has been appointed director of the Institute—*Reuter*.

M. Scherbatsky is a well-known Sanskritist. Readers of *The Modern Review* will remember that some months ago a work of his on Buddhist philosophy was reviewed at some length in its pages. The new institute is expected to make good progress under his guidance.

What Bengal Government Loses by the Permanent Settlement

An Associated Press message published in Bombay dailies runs as follows:—

CALCUTTA, Jan. 25.

Sir P. C. Mitter, Revenue Member and Mr. A. Marr, Finance Member, were jointly examined at length before the Simon Conference this morning with regard to the financial position of Bengal with particular reference to the effect of Permanent Settlement on the finances of the Province. A bewildering mass of figures was presented to the Conference by Sir John Simon which evidently had been compiled for him by Mr. Layton, Financial Assessor who was sitting behind him and assisting him in asking questions. After a great deal of juggling with figures and methods of calculation and cleverly steering clear of "what might have been" Sir John Simon succeeded in establishing the fact that the Bengal Government did not lose more than one crore of rupees annually by reason of a large part of the Province being under Permanent Settlement.

So "the Bengal Government did not lose more than one crore of rupees annually by reason of a large part of the province being under permanent settlement." This means that, if the permanent settlement has been a sin and if the sin of the Government of India in the eighteenth century should be visited upon the people of Bengal, the Bengal Government should be allowed to keep for

its expenses as large a proportion of the revenues raised in Bengal as any other provincial Government is allowed to keep of the revenues raised in its province,—*minus* this one crore. In no province are more revenues collected than in Bengal. Hence its provincial share should be equal to that of the largest provincial allotment that is assigned to any province, and from this allotment for Bengal one crore should be deducted.

Let us take some exact figures from the Statesmanas Year Book for 1928.

Province	Population in millions	Provincial allotment in 1926-27
Bombay	19.5	1,532 lakhs
Burma	13.2	1,051 "
Madras	42.3	1,654 "
Bengal	46.6	1,049 "
Punjab	20.6	1,176 "
U. P.	45.5	1,321 "

As Bengal has the largest population and as it is not less revenue-yielding than any other province, it ought to have at least what Madras is allowed to keep, *minus* one crore as fine for the sin of the Government of India in the eighteenth century. This means that Bengal ought to have at least 1,654 lakhs *minus* 100 lakhs, or 1,554 lakhs, instead of the paltry 1,049 lakhs which fall to its share.

Efficiency of Indian Labour

According to *New India*, the Production Manager of General Motors in Bombay, who is not an Indian, has borne testimony to the efficiency and adaptability of Indian labour.

In average intelligence and ability, he thinks that Indian labour compares favourably with that in European countries. The percentage of those who waste their time inside their factory is not greater, in his view, than that in the United States or in England. He spoke with particular appreciation about the keenness of the men to learn new work.

Indian labour is efficient not only in India, but also abroad under new conditions. This is shown, for example, elaborately in "Hindustani Workers on the Pacific Coast" of America, by Dr. Rajanikanta Das, M. A., M. Sc., Ph. D., Special Economist, League of Nations, Geneva.

Political Discontent and Hell-Scrapers

The *Japan Chronicle* writes:

At Tokyo contemporary quotes the *Daily Herald* as authority for a statement that a hell-scraper is

being constructed in Tokyo with two stories above ground and eight below. Our contemporary ~~does~~ not appear to believe that the *Herald* is correct in its statement. But there must be many such structures. For years past the authorities have been driving political discontent and dangerous thought underground, and where else can they find accommodation except in the hell-scrapers?

As the British bureaucrats in India are experts in driving political discontent underground and as there are no "hell-scrapers" in India, should the discontented here be exiled to Tokyo? But the Japanese Government, faced with the problem of over-population, would scarcely agree to receive so large a contingent.

Protection for Indian Cinema Industry

In his letter to the Government of India, inviting their attention to the urgent need of introducing effective legislation to protect the Indian Cinema Industry against foreign competition, Mr. M. P. Gandhi, Secretary, Indian Chamber of Commerce, makes out a good case for such protection. The Industry is really threatened with extinction.

Protection is required on economic grounds. There is also an additional reason why certain kinds of foreign films should be discouraged in India. On account of difference in the standards of decorum and decency prevalent in India and the West, many films which may be considered harmless by Western censors are unfit for exhibition in India.

Judges and Executive Offices

Sir George Rankin, Chief Justice of Bengal, has done the right thing by stating before the Simon Commission that he would discourage the promotion of Judges except in the judicial line and would even debar High Court Judges from any other Government service after their retirement. Such an expression of opinion was necessary, because both the Government of India and some Provincial Governments have followed a policy which cannot but indirectly affect the judicial independence of judges.

"India in Bondage: Her Right to Freedom"

Dr. J. T. Sunderland's book, "India in Bondage: Her Right to Freedom," was

published on the 21st December, 1928. Only two thousand copies have been printed. Of these about twelve hundred copies in round numbers have been sold up to date.

Presidential Address at the All-India Theistic Conference

It is a pity that the masterly and instructive presidential address of Dr. Franklin C. Southworth, D. D., LL. D., President of Meadville Theological School, Chicago, delivered last December at the All-India Theistic Conference in Calcutta, has been published only in *The Indian Messenger*, the organ of the Sadharam Brahmo Samaj. It deserved wider publicity. Among other things, it points out similarities between the careers of Ram Mohun Roy and William Ellery Channing and between the histories of Unitarianism in America and of Brahmoism in India. Says he:—

From the point of view of race, language and training, it is a far cry from Rammohun Roy to William Ellery Channing. But they came, after all, from the same Aryan stock, were both gifted with the rarest qualities of mind and heart, were devout worshippers of the same God, and passionately resolved each in his own way, to devote themselves to the welfare of their fellowmen. Channing's cradle was rocked by the throes of the war for American Independence. The passion for freedom which animated his soul was the legitimate product of the stirring events of his childhood.

Ram Mohun's passion for freedom is well known. In the words of his convert and disciple Mr. Adam, "He would be free or not be at all." The genesis of Ram Mohun's passion for freedom cannot be so easily traced as that of Channing.

In another passage of his address Dr. Southworth tells us :—

I might spend far more than the amount of time usually allotted to this address, in describing the way in which the spirit of Rammohun Roy seems to have animated Debendranath Tagore, Keshub Chunder Sen and their successors. Like him, they have also been men of God. Like him, their faith in God has expressed itself in an unquenchable desire to enable their fellowmen to enter into their heritage as children of God. I have in my suit-case a considerable bundle of annual reports, that I have gathered during the last six weeks, of institutions that I have visited, founded, officered or carried on either wholly or in part by members of the Brahmo Samaj: Colleges, Schools, Hospitals, Orphanages, Leper Asylums, Homes for Widows, Institutions for the

blind, the depressed classes and for many other kinds of need. I have stumbled upon these institutions without even trying to find them and have been amazed at the magnitude and the high quality of the work that they are doing.

These institutions are one and all the product of belief in the possibilities of human nature engendered by faith in God. If I were to suggest a single word to describe the service which the Brahmo Samaj has rendered, during the last century, to India and the world, that word would be "Emancipation." It has taken various forms, chiefly that of the emancipation of the Indian mind from the ignorance that has prevailed concerning the origin of irrational religious beliefs and degrading religious customs.

With every desire to speak well of the work of the British Government in India, Dr. Southworth has not been able to compliment that Government on its educational achievement. Says he :—

Not yet, however, has the Government of England followed the example of America in decreeing universal compulsory education at the expense of the State. And although many beneficent acts stand to the credit of England in her government of India, she will ultimately be called to account at the bar of history for the shocking percentage of illiteracy which she has not taken effective measures to prevent and which has shown little tendency to diminish during the last hundred years. Late in the Eighteenth Century a director of the Court of Proprietors in London is said to have declared that, "They had just lost America by their folly in having allowed the establishment of schools and colleges, and that it would not do for them to repeat the same folly in regard to India." I am unable to believe that that was the position of the English Parliament or the English people, then or now. But political expediency seems to have dictated at first that education should be confined to the higher classes and that only later should it be permitted to trickle down to the masses; and that policy seems to have persisted to the present time.

The speaker thus contrasts America's educational policy with that of the British Indian Government :

America, as the "melting pot" of the nations, has also had a problem of education on her hands. But she has never wavered in the belief that the way of universal education was not only the way of justice but also the way of political expediency. Knowing no distinctions of colour or sex or previous condition of servitude, America looks upon the children of both sexes as future citizens who may be left in ignorance only at the peril of the country itself.

One reason for the difference in the two policies is that America is the Americans' home and own country, whereas India is not the Britishers' home but their milch-cow.

"Prarthana Samaj and Communism"

In a note with the above caption, *The Subodha Patrika* of Bombay writes :—

Communism is primarily an economic interpretation of life and as such has no room for the elements which constitute theism. We are primarily a body of theists believing in a supreme divine power and whatever economic creed we hold must be consistent with the fundamentals of theism. Secondly communism is based upon the conception of class war and class consciousness and thus looks upon the evolution of society as the result of a conflict between one class of people and another. We who belong to the Prarthana Samaj have a more organic and synthetic view of society and believe that the good of the society will be achieved by introducing as much co-operation as possible into our industrial and economic life. Communism believes in the dictatorship of the proletariat : we believe in the rule of a spiritually enlightened democracy. Communism believes in violence, bloodshed as the necessary instruments of revolution. We believe in non-violence as the *sine qua non* of the highest evolution of society. These are roughly the broad differences between a Communist and a Prarthana Samajist.

Many believers in Evolution still continue to think that it takes place only by the process known as "Struggle for Existence" in the literal sense. They take the description of Nature as "red in tooth and claw" to be entirely true and complete. Prince Kropotkin, known as an anarchist, has, however, shown how great a part Mutual Aid among Animals plays in their survival and evolution. Love is a great factor in the preservation of species and evolution. Without meaning to judge between conflict and co-operation, we may say that co-operation plays a very great part in the preservation and progress of society. Short-sighted and excited "enthusiasts" may think highly of class-war and try to foment it. But they are mistaken. Their ways are not sanctioned either by religion or by science.

The great and good emperor Asoka had as his ideal "*Kalyana*" or welfare, to be attained by the great and the small exerting themselves together. His way should be the way of all Indians who really love their country and kind.

Congress Resolutions

The office of the All India Congress Committee has done a useful thing by issuing the resolutions of the last session of the Congress in the form of a bulletin. There are a few resolutions in it which may escape notice. We, therefore, reproduce them below.

XXI—BENGAL'S MARTYRS

This Congress conveys its sympathies to the families of the undermentioned brave sons of Bengal who underwent suffering and imprisonment without trial for the cause of the country and died during and as a result of their incarceration :—

Anurup Chandra Sen Nares Chandra Chau-
Ranjit Banerjee dhuri
Shib Sankar Brahmachari Jashoda Ranjan Pal

XXIV—REGULATION III DETENTS

This Congress emphatically condemns the action of the British Government in continuing the detention of Bhai Santa Singh, Bhai Gajjan Singh and Bhai Daswandha Singh under Regulation III and congratulates them on their heroic suffering.

XXV—MARTIAL LAW AND OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS

This Congress also condemns the continued incarceration of the Punjab Martial Law prisoners including Messrs. Bugra and Ratto, and of the Martial Law prisoner Shri M. P. Narayana Menon of Kerala who has spurned all offers of conditional release, and of the Moplah prisoners, and the Congress congratulates them on their suffering and sacrifice.

This Congress strongly condemns the unwarranted raids and searches in Lahore and the arrests of L. Kedarnath Saigal and other prominent nationalist workers of the Congress, the Naujawan Bharat Sabha and the Students' Union in the Punjab. It records its strong indignation at the behaviour of the police in torturing the arrested persons.

ERRATA

- Page 683, col. 1, line 24 read 'is a 'for' and its'
- .. 683, col 2. .. 4 read 'think' for 'speak'
- .. 683, col 2. .. 19 read 'is it' for 'it is'

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Prabasi, Posen, Calcutta

Bala Hissar and Kabul from the Ba-Maru Mountain





THE MODERN REVIEW



VOL. XLV
NO. 3

MARCH, 1929

WHOLE NO.
267

Govindadas Jha, the Poet of Mithila

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

AMONG the Vaishnava poets whose exquisite lyrics are the chiefest literary heritage of the age of Chaitanya in Bengal there are several whose identity has been lost. All that is known is that some of them lived before Chaitanya, others were his contemporaries, but the majority of them appeared after the prophet or avatar of Nadia. Roughly computed, all these lyrical songs, or *padas* as they are called, occupy a period of about two to two hundred and fifty years. There were no printing-presses in those days and even the manufacture of hand-made paper is of recent origin. The older manuscripts were all written on palm-leaves in indelible ink, of which the secret is now forgotten.

All these songs were regarded as sacred by the Vaishnavas of Bengal and were sung at religious gatherings. The name of the composer was mentioned in the final verse but that did not convey the identity of the poet, specially when more than one poet bore the same name. The original manuscripts of the numerous poets cannot be traced. Those that were in existence when the poems were first printed by the cheap printing-presses of Bat-tala in Calcutta were anthologies, or collections of verses composed by various authors. Of these the largest and most important is *Padakalpataru*, compiled

by Vaishnavadas, himself a poet, and containing more than three thousand poems. The poems of Vidyapati and Chandidas were included in this collection but were published separately afterwards, though no attempt has been made to bring out separate editions of the other poets. Their writings are scattered throughout the different collections of Vaishnava poems.

Next to Vidyapati and Chandidas the most famous poet of this period was Govindadas. There were several poets of that name, but the greatest among them is distinguished by the epithet of Kaviraj Govindadas. Now, the word Kaviraj means a king among poets as well as a physician. In Bengal the Ayurvedic physicians belong to a particular caste called Vaidya, which also means a physician, and the word Kaviraj has been assumed to indicate the poet's caste, just as the word *batu* or *Baru* indicates a Brahman in the case of Chandidas. Kaviraj Govindadas himself uses no word in any of his poems to indicate his caste, though another Govindadas designates himself Ghosh, implying that he was a Kayastha by caste. The supposition that the foremost poet of all who bore the name of Govindadas was a Vaidya by caste and that he was a native of Srikhanda in the Burdwan district is entirely erroneous. Kaviraj or Kavindra Govindadas was a native

of Mithila like Vidyapati and the language in which he composed his poems was the pure Maithili language of those times, that is, somewhat later than Vidyapati.

It was by an accident that I stumbled upon this knowledge. I had undertaken the collection and editing of Vidyapati's poems. In this work I had, thanks to Maharaja Rameswar Singh of Darbhanga, the valued assistance of a profound scholar from Mithila, and I visited Darbhanga and the village of Taraoni for local research work. I used to carry with me a collection of Vaishnava poems and in the course of conversation with the Maithil Pandit found out that Govindadas, the chief poet of that name, was a native of Mithila and his full name was Govindadas Jha. The Pandit with whom I had been working gave me a manuscript copy of the poems of Govindadas, and pointed out some errors in the text printed in Bengal. Later on, I proceeded with the inquiry and found satisfactory evidence in the Bengali collection itself in support of this fact.

Before quoting a few poems of Govindadas it is necessary to point out the relative positions of Mithila and Bengal with reference to this poet and also Vidyapati. There was a time when Mithila was a great centre of Sanskrit learning and young scholars from Bengal used to proceed to Mithila to study Sanskrit. They brought the poems of Vidyapati and Govindadas from Mithila. These poems were sung and greatly admired by the Vaishnava community of Bengal, and in fact the fame of these poets is mainly due to their wide appreciation in Bengal. In Mithila they have been neglected. The Bengali and Maithil scripts are practically identical, but no books are printed in Maithil characters. Several Sanskrit works by Vidyapati have been printed from Mithila, but his fame rests entirely on the poems composed in his own language. But for these his name would have remained unknown, for up to the present time no native of Mithila has published an edition of Vidyapati's Maithili songs. If it had not been for Bengal the beautiful poems of Vidyapati and Govindadas would have been never published, and probably would have been forgotten by this time. The people of Mithila have undeniably failed in their duty to the memory of their poets, and they have made no attempt to give to the world the fine literature of which they

should be the proud possessors, for Vidyapati and Govindadas there were other poets in Mithila, and two of them, Umapati and Haripati, wrote poems of considerable merit.

To Bengal, therefore, belongs the entire credit of having rescued the lyrical songs of Vidyapati and Govindadas from oblivion, and assigning to them an important place in the early poetical literature of Bengal. There is no room for doubt that four or five hundred years ago some people at any rate in Bengal knew that these two poets were natives of Mithila and the language in which they wrote their poems was the Maithil language. So great was the fascination of this language that it found a host of imitators in Bengal, and many Bengali Vaishnava poets wrote songs after the manner and style of the two Maithil poets. Of course, they could not acquire the facility and ease of Vidyapati and Govindadas, and the forms of a number of words and the mode of expression were frequently corrupted. In course of time all about the language and the personalities of the two Maithil poets was forgotten. The language was designated Brajaboli, or a dialect of Braja, the tract of country near Muttra and Brindaban, where the scenes of the love of Radha and Krishna are laid. Fifty years ago people in Bengal believed that Vidyapati was a Bengali and it was so written in certain editions of the poems of that writer. No one had the slightest suspicion that any of the several poets named Govindadas was not a Bengali. No help or light ever came from Mithila, and no Maithil writer or scholar even publicly claimed that Vidyapati and Govindadas were not Bengalis but Maithils. The people of Bengal have honoured themselves and also their neighbours of Mithila by claiming Vidyapati and Govindadas as their own poets, and the fact that they have done so in ignorance detracts nothing from the measure of their appreciation.

There remains, however, the important question of linguistic and historical accuracy. One can only wonder at the unparalleled incident of poems written in one language being incorporated and assimilated with another, and one people undertaking the obvious duty of another. There is no longer any doubt as regards the identity of Vidyapati and having ascertained beyond the shadow of a doubt that Kaviraj Govindadas was also a Maithil poet that fact must be placed on record. There is

no other obligation to do this than the compulsion of truth, but that is a mandate to which we all owe implicit and unhesitating obedience. There is the further important consideration of the textual accuracy of the poems. The language is now forgotten and unknown in Bengal; the scribes who copied the verses of Vidyapati and Govindadas did not know or understand the language with the inevitable result that the original text has been sometimes frightfully mutilated, leaving the verses a mere jumble of confused sounds and meaningless words. Some Bengali commentators, presuming on the fact that the poems of Vidyapati and Govindadas are read in Bengal and must consequently be understood by Bengalis, have placed fantastic and grotesque interpretations upon Maithil words and passages and verses, and I have even found instances of perversity in which some annotators, in the plenitude of ignorant confidence, have had the hardihood of challenging the accuracy of texts brought from Mithila and even of palm-leaf manuscripts discovered in Mithila. The result has been that the texts of the Maithil poets and the notes and explanations have been bristling with errors. The language of Vidyapati is more archaic and intricate than that of Govindadas and the mutilations in the text are more numerous, but the writings of the other poet have also suffered in transcription. The indifference of Maithil scholars does not proceed to the length of refusal to elucidate the meaning of the verses, or of correcting the text if they happen to have manuscript copies of the poems. It is merely a case of Muhammed and the mountain. The mountain being at Mithila we have no alternative but to negotiate its heights.

There is a certain order followed in the collection and arrangement of Vaishnava poems. Every group of poems under different heads begins with one or more poems about Chaitanya, who is usually designated Gaur or Gauranga, and these are followed by others about Krishna and Radha. As a result of this arrangement the word *Gaurchandrika* has become current in the Bengali language, and means an introduction. The Vaishnava poets never wrote about any other god or goddess, or avatar. In the *Padakalpataru* alone, as I have noted, there are over three thousand poems, out of which only a single poem refers to Rama, and it is the composition of the Maithil poet, Govindadas:—

जय जय श्रील राम रघुनन्दन
जनकसुता रतिकन्त ।
छर नर बानर खबर निशाचर
जड गुन गाव अनन्त ॥
दुर्वादल नव सामर सुन्दर
कञ्जनयन रनवीर ।
वाम धनुकवर दाहिन निशित शर
जलधि कोटि गम्भीर ॥
श्रीपदादुक धर भरतातुज
चामर छत्र निक्षेपि ।
शिव कुरानन सनक सनातन
शतमुख रुँ कर जोरि ॥
भक्त आनन्दन मास्तनन्दन
करन कमल कर सेवा ।
गोविन्ददास हृदये अवधारल
हरिनारायन देवा ॥

"Victory, victory, to Rama, the descendant of Raghu and the beloved husband of Sita, the daughter of Janaka! The gods, men, monkeys, birds and spirits of the air, and those that prowl at night sing his endless virtues. His complexion is beautiful and dark like new grass. He is lotus-eyed and mighty in battle. His bow is in his left hand and the keen-edged arrow in his right, and his nature is profound like a million oceans."

(In the original text of Valmiki's *Ramayana* it is stated that Rama was profound like the ocean and patient like the Himalayas—समुद्र इव गाम्भीर्यं वैभवं हिमवानिव)

"Bharat, his younger brother abandoned the royal umbrella and the fan made from the tail of the *chamar* stag, and placed the shoes of the blessed feet of Rama on the throne. Siva, Brahma, Sanak, Sanatan, and Indra sat in the presence of Rama with folded hands. Hanuman, who inspires the worshippers of Rama with joy, tended Rama's feet. Govindadas is convinced that King Harinarayana is like a god."

Harinarayana is not a name but a title. Sivasimha, whose name coupled with that of his wife Lachhima is frequently mentioned in the poems of Vidyapati, bore the title of Rupnarayana, and he is frequently designated by his title instead of his name. Sivasimha as well as Harinarayana, were kings of Mithila. In another poem of Govindadas occurs the name of Narasimha Rupnarayana, another king of Mithila. We also find in some poems of Vidyapati and Govindadas the king of Mithila styled as

Champatipati or Champati. This refers to either Champanagar in Bhagalpur or Champaran, to the north of Mithila, forming part of that kingdom at that time. It would be quite natural for a poet of Mithila to render homage to the divinity of Rama and the kings of Mithila in his poems, but both would be unlikely in the case of a Vaishnava poet of Bengal.

Since it was never suspected that this poet was a native of Mithila no attempt was ever made to distinguish between his writings and those of other Bengali poets bearing the same name. There are certain difficulties that have to be noted. There is no Maithil grammar written by any Maithil scholar, and no grammar compiled by any foreign linguist can be wholly reliable. Readers and scholars in Bengal derive their knowledge of the Maithil language solely from the corrupted versions of the poems of Vidyapati and Govindadas, and it is difficult for them to discriminate between the pure Maithili of Vidyapati and Govindadas, and their Bengali imitators. Otherwise, it could be easily demonstrated that no Bengali poet bearing the name of Govindadas was ever able to equal or even approach the Maithil poet in the mellifluous smoothness of rhyme, or the dazzling witchery of words. The Maithil poet did not write a single poem about Chaitanya; more than one Govindadas of Bengal has written about him, but these poems or songs cannot be compared with the glowing and melodious descriptions of Krishna and Radha by the Maithil poet.

To make this clear let us take a poem on Chaitanya by a Bengali poet named Govindadas :—

तपत काम्बन कान्ति कलेवर
उकत भाङ्ग भङ्गी ।
करिवर-कर जिनि बाहु र सुवलनी,
विहि से गढ़ल बाहुभङ्गी ॥
× × ×
आपाद मस्तक पूष पुलकित
प्रेमे छल छल आलि ।
आपन पुष छनि आपहि रोयत
हेरि काँदये फुपाखी ॥
कन्ध चन्द्रिका कुमुद मङ्गिका
जिनिबा मधुर मधु हास ।

मधुर वचने अमिता सिम्बने
निछनि गोविन्ददास ॥

“(Gaur's) complexion is like bright, gold and his stature is lofty. His rounded arm is more graceful than the trunk of an elephant, and was made by skilful Brahma. Joy fills him (with his hair standing on end) from head to foot and divine love fills his eyes with tears. He cries when he hears his own praise, and the beasts and the birds weep with him. His smile is more beautiful than the moonlight and scented white flowers, and his sweet words sprinkle nectar. May all evil pass from him to Govindadas !”

The language of this poem is an imitation of Maithil but it is not accurate. Some of the words, such as भाङ्ग and बाहु retain the Bengali form; in Maithil they would be भाङ्क and बाहुक. No Bengali imitator of Vidyapati and Govindadas succeeded in writing Maithil verses wholly free from errors. To the careful student who has learned the Maithil language it is easy to distinguish between real and imitated Maithil verses. It has to be remembered that Maithil was not taught as a language and there was no Maithil grammar. The Bengali poets who composed their verses in that language learned it from the poems of Vidyapati and Govindadas and slight errors were inevitable. There was no Maithil prose and notes and comments on Maithil verses were written in Sanskrit. In the *Padakalpata* the few remarks are in Sanskrit. In another collection called *Padusamudra* compiled by Radha Mohan Thakur, a Bengali Vaishnava poet of distinction, who wrote in Maithil, Bengali, and Sanskrit, there are copious comments and explanations in Sanskrit. No Bengali poet ever succeeded in mastering completely the Maithil language.

Let us next turn to some poems of the Maithil poet Govindadas on Krishna and Radha :—

आशु विपिने आवल कान,
मूर्ति मूर्त कुसुमवान,
जल जलधर हरि अङ्ग,
भङ्गी नटवर सोहिनी ।
ईषत हसित बचन कन्द,
तस्वी नयन आनन्द कन्द,
बिम्ब अचरे मुरलि सुरलि
त्रिभुवन मनमोहिनी ॥

कुचम मिलित चिकुर पुञ्ज,
बौदित भ्रमर भ्रमरी गुञ्ज,
पिञ्ज निचय रचित मुकुट,
मकर कुण्डल डोलनी ।

चञ्चल नयन खञ्जन जोर
सचन धावत भवन और
गीम मोहन रतन राज
मोतिम हार लोलनी ॥

कटि पीत पट किङ्किनी बाज
मद गति अति कुञ्जर राज
जानु लम्बित कदम्ब माल
मत्त मधुकर भोरनी ।

अख्य वरष चरण कञ्ज
तरुष तरयी किरष गुञ्ज
गोविन्ददास हृदय रञ्ज ।

मञ्जु मञ्जीर बोलनी ॥

"Krishna came to the wood to-day (like) Cupid in person, his body beautiful as a cloud and his movements full of grace. His face is slightly smiling, inspiring young women with delight, and the play of his lute on his red lips fascinates the three worlds. There are flowers in his hair with the bees humming around them, on his head is a crown of peacock feathers and in his ears are pendants shaped like *makara* (mythical fish). His restless eyes are like a pair of wagtails, and move towards his ears, and on his neck shines a string of pearls. The girdle round his waist on the saffron cloth tinkles musically, he moves like a king of elephants, and the garland of *kadamba* flowers reaching down to his knees (this is known as the *वेजयन्ती माला*) intoxicates the black bees hovering around it. His red lotus feet shame the rays of the morning sun. The sweet music of the anklets round his feet delights the heart of Govindadas."

Of the many exquisite descriptions of Radha there is one which is widely known and sung in Bengal:—

छन्दिर राधे आओ ए बनी ।
मजरमखिगावा मुकुट मयी ॥
कुञ्चित केशिनि निरुपम केशिनि
रस आवेशिनि भङ्गिनि रे ।
अङ्ग तरङ्गिनि अजर छरङ्गिनि
सङ्गिनि नव नव रङ्गिनि रे ॥

कुञ्जर गामिनि मोतिम दामिनि
दामिनि कमल निहारनि रे ।
अभरन धारिनि नव अभिसारिनि
सामर हृदय विहारनि रे ॥
नव अनुरागिनि निखिल सोहागिनि
पञ्चम रागिनि रूपिनि रे ।
रास विलासिनि हास विकशिनि
गोविन्ददास चित मोहिनि रे ॥

"Beautiful Radha comes adorned as the jewel in the crown of the women of Braja. Her hair is curled and her dress is incomparable, and her gestures are fascinating. Her limbs are willowy and her lips are red and her new companions are attractive. She moves like an elephant and wears a necklace of pearls, and her glance is like a flash of lightning. She wears ornaments and is proceeding for the first time to the assignation. She fills the heart of Krishna. Love has newly moved her and she is pleasing to all, and she is like the fifth note of music personified. She delights in the *rasa* dance, she is smiling and she has won the heart of Govindadas."

As an artist Govindadas Jha is peerless and the melody and music of his verse, the selection of words and the measured rhythm of his flowing lines invest him with a distinction which belongs to no other Vaishnava poet. Several of his poems are written in imitation of Vidyapati, to whom he has paid a glowing tribute in some beautiful verses, but the originality and strength of his genius are everywhere apparent in his work. The delicacy of his touch is no less remarkable than the depth of feeling and can be traced in several of his poems. A companion of Radha tells her that it is impossible to conceal the signs of love:—

निशसि निहारसि फुलल कदम्ब ।
करतल वदन सचन अवलम्ब ॥
खने तनु मोड़सि करि कत भङ्ग ।
अविरल पुलक मुकुल भर अङ्ग ॥
ए धनि मोहि न कर आन छन्द ।
जानल भेटसि सामर चन्द ॥
भाव कि गोपसि गोपत न रहइ ।
मरमक वेदन वदन सब कहइ ॥
जतने निवारसि नयनक लोर ।
गद गद शब्द कहसि अच बोल ॥
आन छले अङ्गन आन छले पन्थ ।
सचन गतागति करसि एकन्त ॥

दूरे रहु गुरुजन गौरव लाज ।

गोविन्ददास कह पड़ल अकाज ॥

"Thou beholdest the flowering *kadamba* with a sigh and thy face frequently rests on thy palm. Sometimes thou stretchest thy limbs and thy hair stands on end on thy person as a sign of delight. O fair one, do not tell me otherwise for I know thou hast met Krishna. In vain thou hidest thy feelings for they cannot be concealed; the face expresses all the pain of the heart. Thou keepest carefully back the tears from thy eyes and speakest half words with a broken voice. Thou art repeatedly going into the courtyard and out on the road on some pretext or other. The respect for the older members of the family and the sense of shame have disappeared. Govindadas says there is trouble."

While Radha is gathering flowers Krishna addresses her in the following beautiful lines which combine a tone of raillery with subtle flattery :—

कानने कुसुम तोड़िसि काहे गोर ।

कुसुमहि निरमित सब तनु तोरि ॥

आनन हेम सरोरुह भास ।

सौरभे साम भमर मिलु पास ॥

नयन जुगल नील उतपल जोर ।

सहज सुहावन भवनक ओर ॥

अपरूप तिल फुल छललित नास ।

परिमल जितल अमरतरु वास ॥

बांधुलि मिलित अघर जौँ हास ।

दसनहि कुन्द कुसुम परकास ॥

सब तनु फूटल सम्पक गोर ।

पानिक तल थल कमल उजोर ॥

गोविन्ददास अत ए अनुमान ।

पूजह पशुपति निज तनु दान ॥

"O fair one, why art thou plucking flowers from the garden? Thy white person is made up of flowers. Thy face has the beauty of a golden lotus and its fragrance has attracted the black bee (Krishna). Thy eyes are a pair of blue lotus and appear in their native beauty near thy ears. Thy well-shaped nose is like a wonderful *til* (sesamum) flower and its fragrance (of the breath) has conquered that of the heavenly flower (*parijat*). Thy smiling lips are like the red *bandhuli* flower and thy teeth appear like *kunda* flowers. All thy limbs are fair like the full-blown *champak* flower. Thy palms are bright red like the land-lotus. Therefore Govindadas thinks thou shouldst offer thy own person for the worship of Pasupati (Siva, also meaning Krishna who was a shepherd, or lord of animals)."

On a certain dark night it was raining

heavily, there were flashes of lightning and ominous peals of thunder. Radha's companion attempted to dissuade her from keeping the love tryst with Krishna in such weather, pointing out the many dangers and the risk to her life. Radha's reply is pitched on a note of extraordinary devotion and exaltation :—

सजनि मझु परिलखन कह दूर ।

कैसे हृदय करि पन्थ हेरत हरि

छमरि छमरि मन भूर ॥

कुल मरिजाद कपाट उदघाटल

ताहिकि काटक वाधा ।

निज मरिजाद सिन्धु सम पेरल

ताहिकि तटिनि अगाधा ॥

कोटि कुसुम शर बरिखए जसु पर

ताहिकि जलद जल लागि ।

प्रेम दहन दह जाक हृदय सह

ताहिकि वजरक आगि ॥

जसु पदतल निज जीवन सोपल

ताहिकि तनु अनुरोध ।

गोविन्ददास कह धनि धनि अभिसर

सहचरि पावल बोध ॥

"My friend, put an end to my test. When I remember with what a heavy heart Hari is watching the path for my coming I am filled with grief. I have opened wide the (strong) door of family honour; compared with it what is a wooden door (of the house)? I have swum across my own honour which is deep as the sea; compared with it is the river (Jamuana) unfathomable? How can the rain affect one on whom fall millions of the flowery arrows (of Cupid)? To one whose heart can bear the burning of Love's fire what is the fire of the thunderbolt? From him at whose feet I have offered my life shall I withhold my person? Govindadas says, praise be to thee, fair one, proceed to thy assignation, the companion has been satisfied."

In order to overcome her natural timidity Radha rehearsed at home the dangers of the forest path that led to the trysting place :—

कटाक गाड़ि कमल सन पदतल

मन्जीर कीरहि कापि ।

गागरि वारि डारि कै रिखल

कलसहि अङ्गुलि चापि ॥

माधव दुख अभिसारक लागि ।

दुतर पन्थ गमन धनी साधव
मन्दिर जामिनि जागि ॥
कर जुगे नयन मुदि चलु भाविनी
तिमिर पयानक आशे ।
करकनन परसनि फनिमुख बन्धन
शिखई भुजग गरुष पाशे ॥
गुरुजन वचन वधिर सम मानइ
-आन छनइ कह आन ।
परिजन वचन मुगुधि सम हासइ
गोविन्ददास परमान ॥

"She (Radha) makes the ground slippery by pouring out water on the floor from a pitcher, she pierces the soles of her lotus-like feet with thorns and covers her anklets with her garment (to silence their tinkling) and walks about pressing her toes. Madhava, in order to keep her assignation with thee the fair one keeps awake at night in her house and practises the journey over a difficult path. She covers her eyes with both hands and walks in the dark. By the touch of her bracelets she learns the heavy coil of serpents (round her feet). She has become deaf to the words of the elder members of her family, she hears one thing and says another. When her near relations speak to her she laughs as if she were devoid of intelligence. Govindadas vouches for the truth of all this."

The subsequent fearlessness of Radha is thus described by the *duti* or messenger to Krishna :—

भितक चित भुजग हेरि जे धनि
चमकि चमकि धन काँप ।
अब अँधियारे अपन तनु छापय
पर दए फनि मनि काँप ॥
माधव कि कहब तुअ अनुराग ।
तुअ अभिसार रमसे वर नागरि
जीवइ बहु पुनु भाग ॥
जे पदतल फल कमल छकोमल
धरनि परशे उपचङ्क ।
अब कण्टकमय सङ्कट बाटहि
आवत जात निशङ्क ॥
मन्दिर माक साँक नहि तेजस
देहलि मानइ दूर ।
अब कुङ्कु जामिनि चलइ एकाकिनि
गोविन्ददास कह दूर ॥

"The beautiful one who trembled and shuddered when she saw the serpents painted on the house-walls now clothes her person with darkness and covers the light of the jewel on the heads of serpents with her hands. Madhava, what shall I say of her love for thee? Filled with the longing for meeting thee at the trysting place the beautiful maiden retains her life by virtue of the merit earned in her previous lives. The feet that, tender like the land-lotus, were hurt by the touch of the earth, now pass fearlessly to and fro along paths full of thorns and danger. She who was afraid to leave her room after sun-set and to whom the entrance of the house appeared to be at a great distance now walks abroad alone on the night of the new moon. Govindadas says so openly."

In another poem the messenger tells Krishna :—

जब धनि घर सने भेल बहार ।
भर भर बरिल जलद अनिवार ॥
कर ठेलन नइ धन अँधियार ।
दिश दरशावल मदन दिशार ॥
कि कहब माधव पुन फल तोरि ।
एतहुँ दुतर तरि मिलु गोरि ॥
भलकत बिजुरि नयन भर चङ्क ।
चलइते खलत सचन महि पङ्क ॥
उठइते उजर फनि मनि हेरि ।
कनक दन्त बोलि धरु कत वेरि ॥
ऐसने सोपल तोहि निज देह ।
के जान कैसेन तोहर सिनेह ॥
एत दिने प्रेमक परिचय भेल ।
गोविन्ददासक भरम दूर गेल ॥

"When the beautiful maiden came out of her house the rain was pouring incessantly. The darkness was so solid that it could not be pushed away by the hand; Cupid as the guide showed the path. Madhava, what shall I say of the merit earned by thy good deeds? The fair one has met thee after overcoming so many difficulties. The flashes of lightning startle the eyes, and she repeatedly slips and falls on the muddy path. When rising she often sees the bright jewel on the head of serpents and catches hold of the snake mistaking it for a golden staff. Thus she has offered her person to thee. Who knows how wonderful is thy love? At length (the strength) of love has become known; the doubts of Govindadas have been dispelled."

The marvellous purity and strength of Radha's love for Krishna find expression in a poem of extraordinary beauty :—

जँह जँह अरुण वरवा बलि जात ।
तँह तँह धरनि होइए मधु गात ॥

जे सरोवर पडु निति निति माह ।
 हम भरि सलिल होइ तथि माह ॥
 जे दरपने पडु निज मुख बाह ।
 मकु अङ्ग जोति होइ तथि माह ॥
 जे बीजने पडु बीज्य गात ।
 मकु अङ्ग ताहि होइ खुदु बात ॥
 जह पडु भरमह जलवर साम ।
 मकु अङ्ग गगन होइ तह ठाम ॥
 गोविन्ददास कह कामवन गोरि ।
 से मरकत तनु तोहि किअ छोरि ॥

"Wherever his sun-red feet pass may my body become the ground under his feet! May I be the full water of the pond in which my lord bathes every day! May my body become the light in the mirror in which my lord sees his face! May my body be the gentle breeze in the fan with which my lord fans himself! Where my lord moves like a dark cloud may my body be the sky over him! Govindadas says, O thou golden beauty, why should he with the emerald limbs leave thee? (Just as an emerald has invariably a gold setting so is Krishna inseparable from Radha)."

These gleanings from the writings of the poet Govindadas Jha of Mithila may be concluded with a prayer in his musical verse :—

भजहु रे मन नन्दनन्दन
 अभय करनारबिन्द रे ।
 दुलभ मातुष जनस सत्सङ्गे तरह
 इ भव लिखु रे ॥
 शीत आतप वात बरिखन दिन
 जामिनि जागि रे ।
 विफल सेवल कृपन दुरजन
 चपल छल लव लागि रे ॥
 इ धन जन पुत्र परिजन
 हथे कि अङ्ग परतीत रे ।
 कमल दल जल जीवन टलमल
 भजहु हरि पद नित रे ॥
 भजन कीर्तन स्मरण बन्दन
 पाद सेवन दास्य रे ।
 पूजन ज्ञियान आत्म निवेदन
 गोविन्ददास अभिलास रे ॥

"O my mind, worship the son of Nanda (Krishna) whose lotus-feet confer immunity from fear. It is

a rare privilege to be born as a man, cross the sea of this life in the company of holy men. In winter and summer, rain and storm I have kept awake at nights and vainly served misers and wicked men for the sake of a drop of fleeting happiness. This wealth and youth, sons and relations, what reliance can be placed upon them? Life is uncertain as the water on a lotus-leaf, worship always the feet of Hari. Hearing and repeating, remembering and saluting, tending Hari's feet and serving him Govindadas desires to worship and hold communion with and offer himself to the Lord."

The poems of the Maithil poets Vidyapati Thakur and Govindadas Jha occupy a unique place in literature. Belonging to Mithila they have become part of the poetical literature of Bengal. Other poets in Mithila wrote like them, but their writings have never been published. Even Vidyapati and Govindadas would have been forgotten but for their admirers in Bengal. On account of the intellectual bond that existed at that time between Bengal and Mithila the writings of these two poets were copied and taken to Bengal and were greatly admired by the numerous followers of Chaitanya, who was regarded as an avatar of Vishnu and Krishna. It has been stated that these writings were extensively imitated in Bengal, though these imitations never attained the perfection of the Maithil masters. In spite of such poets of undeniable genius the Maithil language never became a literary language. Maithil characters have never been cast in type, and there are no printed prose or poetical works in Maithil. In Bengal the poems of Vidyapati and Govindadas are printed in Bengali type. Out of Bengal Vidyapati's poems have recently been printed in the Devnagari character, but these also have been chiefly obtained from Bengali texts. Govindadas Jha is unknown out of Bengal and manuscript copies of his poems are obtained with difficulty in Mithila. Both Govindadas and Vidyapati have been adopted by Bengal as her own poets and both are held in high admiration. It is true that we in Bengal have now forgotten the Maithil language, and errors have crept in both in the text and the different recensions. Still Kaviraj Govindadas is a great name in Vaishnava poetry and his matchless rhyme enchants the reader. Still the marvellous music of his poems remains and their melody still haunts the memory. The early Vaishnava poets, saints and collectors of Bengal, who brought these immortal poems from Mithila, are entitled to the lasting gratitude of all students and lovers of literature.

New Specimens of Buddhist Art in Central Asia

By PROF. M. WINTERNITZ

NO Indian coming to Berlin should miss to pay a visit to the *Museum für Völkerkunde*, and to look over the rooms in which the art treasures brought from Eastern Turkestan by Dr. A. von Le Coq, have now found a safe and worthy home. A large number of these treasures has already been described by Dr. A. von Le Coq in the previous volumes of his monumental work "Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien" (see *M. R.*, April 1925, p. 416 ff., and October 1926, p. 403 ff.). A sixth volume has lately been published.* Some of the finest wall-paintings found in the ancient temple ruins of Eastern Turkestan are here reproduced on 33 plates, 12 of which are in coloured heliotype. Besides there are 233 pictures in the text. Four of the plates and 207 pictures in the text belong to a very interesting and instructive essay, included in this volume (pages 9-62), by Dr. E. Waldschmidt on the representations and the style of the wall-paintings from Qyzil near Kucha. Dr. Waldschmidt who is not only familiar with both Sanskrit and Pali Buddhist legend literature, but also with the Chinese translations of Buddhist Sanskrit texts, identifies here and describes more than 80 Jataka and Avadana representations occurring in about 200 paintings, many of which are here represented for the first time. Dr. Waldschmidt also devotes a chapter to a minute examination of the style of the Avadana pictures, in which he finds a mixture of antique, Indian and Iranian elements.

Plates B and C give representations from the friezes in the corridors of a cave at Qyzil. The favourite themes in the decoration of these friezes are the various legends of extraordinary self-sacrifice of Bodhisattvas in certain Jatakas and Avadanas. Thus we find in fig. 13 of plate C (reproduced in this

article) a scene from the Visvantara legend (Pali Vessantara-Jataka), so well known in all Buddhist countries. It is the story of the Prince Visvantara who, on account of his extravagant liberality, is banished with his family, but even then gives away everything that is left to him, finally his two little children and his wife. The picture shows how Visvantara gives his two children, a boy and a girl, who are clinging to him,



Detail from one of the Friezes—Pradipapadyota legend

away to the cruel Brahmin Jujaka. Fig. 14 is said to represent a scene from the Maitribala legend. It is told in Jatakamal, Nr. 8: King Maitribala ("Whose Strength is Love") has his veins opened, and cuts off pieces of flesh from his body, in order to feed five hungry Yakshas. In doing this, the King did not for a moment lose his forbearance and his peace of mind, nor did his body fade, nor his mind faint. By this miracle the Yakshas were so much agitated that they bowed down at the King's feet, proclaiming their faith and praising his deed. For the sake of symmetry the painter seems to have given only four Yakshas, two at each side of the King. Fig. 15 is a good illustration of the Pradipapadyota legend which is told in the Karuna—Pundarika: King Pradipapadyota has retired into the forest, living the

* A. von Le Coq, Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien. Sechster Teil: Neue Bildwerke II von A. von Le Coq und E. Waldschmidt. Publishers: Dietrich Reimer, Ernst Vohsen, in Berlin S. W. 49, 1928. I have to thank the publishers for permission to reproduce plate xiv, and plate C of Dr. Waldschmidt's contribution in the *M. R.*



The First Buddhist Council, from a wall-painting in a temple at Qyzil

life of a hermit. Five hundred merchants have lost their way owing to a heavy storm raised by a wicked Raksas. They cry for help to all the gods. The Bodhisattva hears them by means of his heavenly ear, and at once offers himself to be their leader. He wraps pieces of cloth round his hands, steepes them in oil, sets them on fire, and serves the caravan as a living torch-light. The picture shows the Bodhisattva with his raised, burning hands. It is not possible to identify the legend to which the scene of fig. 16 belongs. We can only see the Bodhisattva holding a cup in his left, and a spoon in his right hand, with which he feeds some person, crouching before him. Fig. 17 is identified by Dr. Waldschmidt with a scene

from the Sarvandaraja-Jataka (Bodhisattva-Avadana-Kalpalata, Nr. 55): King Sarvandaraja ("All-Giver") has resigned his kingdom to the enemy and retired into the forest as an hermit. Here some Brahmin comes to him abegging; and in order to secure to this Brahmin the reward promised by the enemy for his head, the Bodhisattva (King Sarvandaraja) allows the Brahmin to surrender him to his enemy. The representation, however, is so fragmentary that I am not sure that this is really the scene pictured in it. But there can be no doubt that in fig. 18 the Vyaghri-jataka (Jatakamala Nr. 1) is represented: We see the Bodhisattva throwing himself down the precipice, in order to feed the hungry tigress who is about to devour her whelps, and



Visvantara legend

Maitribala legend



Sarvadaraja legend

Vyaghri legend

Friezes decorated with representations of Buddhist legends from a cave temple at Qyzil.

below we see him again lying in the rock-cave, and the tigress (which indeed, as Dr. Waldschmidt remarks, looks more like a jackal) tearing his breast.

These paintings show how popular such legends of self-sacrifice were in Central Asia, as they were in all the other Buddhist countries from Ceylon to China, Japan, and

Mongolia. The Chinese traveller Song Yun tells us that he has seen a picture representing the Visvantara legend in Shabbhaz-Garhi, and that the barbarians, when they saw this picture, shed tears of compassion over the pious man who had given away his children to the wicked Brahmin. Yet these legends of extravagant self-sacrifice, so famous in all Buddhist lands, show in reality a strange perversion of a grand and noble idea. For what a strange sort of "morality" is it, when a noble prince who could do ever so many useful things for mankind, gives away everything he has, and even delivers his wife and children to a scoundrel, simply because he cannot refuse a gift; or when a noble king who is the great benefactor of his subjects, instead of preserving his body for the welfare of his country, sacrifices this flesh and blood to some cruel ogres simply because they will not be satisfied with anything less. The noble Bodhisattva ideal is, in these legends, turned into absurdity. It has become a kind of magic, and lost its true meaning.

Turning now to the 29 plates, described by Dr. A. von Le Coq, we see on plate 1 a curious statue of some unknown deity, found in Tumshuq. All the other plates are reproductions of wall-paintings, most of them from the ruins of the cave temples at Qyzil, Sim-sim near Kirish, and Qum-tura in the oasis of Kucha, and probably belonging to the second half of the seventh and the first half of the eighth century A. D. They show the Indo-Iranian variety of the Greek style, except those from Qum-tura, which are painted in the Chinese style of the Tang epoch, an important epoch of Chinese painting of which, however, only few specimens are known. Some of the paintings are unfortunately much damaged, but those which are preserved in a better condition are of remarkable beauty. Some of them represent scenes of Buddhist cult, others scenes from the life of the Buddha. Plate 3 shows remnants of three beautiful paintings: a worshipper before a preaching Buddha, a Vajrapani, and a worshipping cowherd. Scenes from the cremation of Buddha's corpse are represented on plates

11 and 15. One of the most beautiful paintings is that of the future Buddha Maitreya, with accompanying figures of Devaputras, on plate 17. Of great interest is plate 14, which we are able to reproduce in this article. Professor Grünwedel has already recognized in it a representation of the First Buddhist Council and Dr. Waldschmidt shows that it follows the narrative as it is found in the canon of the Mulasarvastivadins, known from the Chinese translation.

After the departure of the Lord Buddha Maha-Kasyapa convened a council in which the doctrines of the Buddha were to be fixed. Flying through the air, he arrives at Rajagriha, where the meeting is to take place. Five hundred monks are assembled, all Arhats, gifted with miraculous powers, except Ananda who has not yet conquered all passions. Maha-Kasyapa expels him from the meeting, in spite of his remonstrances, and bids him to retire into solitude in order to become ripe for Arhatship. After he has reached this state, Ananda returns, and Maha-Kasyapa now orders him to recite the Sutras, for which Ananda who had been the attendant of the Lord for so many years, was the best authority. Ananda then begins to recite the first Sutra. Our picture is divided into two distinct halves. In the centre of the left half we see Maha-Kasyapa seated on a high throne, with blue hair and beard, and patched cloak (as he is also represented on pictures of the Parinirvana). Ananda, kneeling below the throne with raised hands, remonstrating, is expelled from the meeting by Maha-Kasyapa. Above and by the side of Maha-Kasyapa's head, we see Arhats flying through the air. (Flying through the air is one of the iddhis or miraculous powers of an Arhat). In the centre of the right half of the picture we see Ananda seated in Bhadrasana posture on the president's chair, surrounded by younger monks, and preaching.

This new volume of Dr. A. von Le Coq's monumental work will be of the greatest interest to students of Buddhism and of Central Asian archaeology, but it will also be highly welcomed by all lovers of Eastern art.

Satyagraha as Conceived by Mahatma Gandhi

By KRISHNADAS

FIRST of all, the point has to be brought out that in addition to the practice of non-violence which was Mahatmaji's common ground with the early Christian victims of State persecution as well as Thoreau's when he advocated non-payment of State-tax, Mahatmaji's scheme of Satyagraha contemplates and insists on a constructive as well as a destructive programme. According to Mahatmaji, the prosecution of the constructive side of Satyagraha is absolutely necessary as part of the civil resister's necessary equipment or preparation for the undertaking of civil resistance, which is the destructive side of Satyagraha. As conceived by Mahatma Gandhiji, the withdrawal of voluntary support or services to the British Government in India as contemplated by the renunciation of titles and attendance at official functions, together with the boycott of the councils, the law-courts and colleges and schools, form a series of acts which are not difficult to undertake, and which require no special preparation except the necessary will and the necessary conviction of the arbitrariness and selfishness of the Government. This part of the non-co-operation programme was intended by Mahatma Gandhi specially for the educated classes through whom the Government carries out the vast administration of the country, and consolidates its power and influence over the masses. If India's intelligentsia had strictly fulfilled the part thus assigned to them, the question of mass civil disobedience would not perhaps have arisen at all. But mass civil disobedience having become a necessity, Mahatmaji had to discover the course of special training which would fit individuals and communities for undertaking it. And this course is represented by the constructive side of Satyagraha. This is a preliminary equipment for those who would practice civil resistance. Otherwise disobedience or resistance instead of being "civil," *i. e.* non-violent, or peaceful, was liable to degenerate into criminal, or violent resistance. The constructive items consist of hand-spinning and the wearing of hand-spun Khaddar, the

recognition and avoidance by the Hindu 'civil-resister' of "untouchability" as a blot on his religion, and the recognition of the absolute need of unity of all races and classes of India for purposes of winning Swaraj. Thus, we find Mahatmaji declaring:

In my opinion the ability to go to gaol is of far less consequence than the ability and the readiness to observe in their fulness the conditions about Hindu-Moslem-Sikh-Parsi-Christian unity, about untouchability and hand-spun Khadi. Without a due fulfilment of these conditions, we shall find that all our going to gaol is bravado, and so much wasted effort. Embarrassment of the Government is a secondary consideration. I do wish therefore that everywhere non-co-operators will insist upon due fulfilment of all the conditions of civil disobedience. One may be a lawyer, title-holder, even a councillor, and yet properly eligible for civil disobedience, if he is sincerely non-violent in thought, word and deed, wears hand-spun Khadi as a sacred duty, shuns untouchability as an intolerable evil, and believes in the unity of all races and classes of India as for all times essential for the well-being and the attainment, as also retention of Swaraj (Y. I., 9th Feb., 1922).

The constructive programme is a programme of non-violent activities; and for training in non-violence, and peaceful and orderly evolution of Swaraj, training in construction, according to Mahatmaji, is absolutely necessary. Says he,—

If we are to usher in peaceful Swaraj—and Swaraj attained by peaceful means must be peaceful Swaraj—we must be ready for construction as we seem to be for destruction. (Y. I., 9th March, 1922).

In other words, training in non-violent or peaceful activities must precede training in destructive activities supplied by or involved in civil disobedience on a mass scale. To root out the spirit of violence in the resister anxious to undertake civil disobedience, Mahatmaji lays down the further rule that he must have previously accustomed himself to rendering obedience to the State laws which are not unjust or immoral. Therefore, so long as "the atmosphere of voluntary obedience to State laws and non-violence has not been formerly established, there could be no mass civil disobedience." (Y. I., Nov. 3, 1921).

He emphasizes the same point by saying that "as civil resisters we are bound to guard

against universal indiscipline" (Y. I., Dec. 15, 1921). Therefore, summing up all the different aspects of the preparatory training necessary to the undertaking of civil disobedience Mahatmaji says—

Boycott of foreign cloth and manufacture of hand-spun and hand-woven Khaddar, evacuation and occupation, disobedience to unjust laws and obedience (to just State laws), must go hand in hand, if we are to avoid an interval of confusion, anarchy, and civil strife. The Khaddar movement is the largest part of construction. We dare not neglect it if the struggle is to remain non-violent to the end. (Y.I., March 9, 1922).

This last point is further brought out in the clearest possible manner in the following sentences :

Swaraj by non-violent means can never mean an interval of chaos and anarchy. Swaraj by non-violence must be a progressively peaceful revolution such that the transference of power from a close corporation to the people's representatives will be as natural as the dropping of a fully ripe fruit from a well nurtured tree. (Y.I., March 9, 1922).

And again,

Successful non-co-operation means orderly and peaceful destruction of the present system of Government and its replacement not by disorder and chaos, but by political order of the first magnitude, and protection of every legitimate interest in the country not excluding that of the European merchant who desires to earn an honest living in India. (Y.I., 17 Nov., 1920.)

Mahatmaji's contribution, therefore, to the development of the Satyagraha idea beyond the stages marked by the primitive Christians and by Thoreau is the provision of a scheme of preparatory non-violent activities by the 'civil-resister,' which would ensure the preservation of peace and order when the destructive side of the Satyagraha programme has been undertaken, and is in progress.

Then, there is a further general point in Mahatmaji's scheme of civil disobedience which is implicit in the ideal of "civil", i. e. peaceful, or non-violent disobedience to Government, but which is necessary to bring out, as it is generally ignored, and oftener misunderstood. This, as will be seen, is a very important contribution by Mahatmaji to the theory, and most important from the point of view of the practice, of civil disobedience. It is that Mahatmaji does not conceive of non-violence merely in its negative aspect, namely that of the absence of violence. He has repeatedly brought out in his writings that the foundation on which the whole edifice of Satyagraha rests is the positive force of goodwill, or Love. He explains this point by saying that the force of hatred manifests

itself in this world through violence, whereas the desire to win over the oppressor by submitting without flinching, and without retaliation to his blows, while refusing to submit to his will—is at the bottom of a truly "civil" resistance, or Satyagraha. Such submission by the resister to suffering imposed by the tyrant, if it was to be continued for long, can be prompted only by a feeling of goodwill to the latter, and never by ill-will or hatred, which would automatically lead to retaliation on the part of the resister. Says Mahatmaji—"Disobedience to be civil must be absolutely non-violent, the underlying principle being the winning over of the opponent by (voluntary submission to) suffering, i.e. love" (Y. I., Nov. 3, 1921). The object of hatred and violence, he points out, is to bring about the submission of the adversary through coercion; whereas Satyagraha has nothing to do with coercion. It is a form of love, for it aims at the conversion of the opponent; it aims at a change of the opponent's heart through the operation of a moral law set in motion by the resister submitting to all the blows inflicted on him by the opponent, and yet not flinching or retaliating while maintaining an attitude of absolute refusal to bow to the opponent's will or authority. In that way the Satyagrahi would ultimately turn away the opponent's wrath, and bring him from the path of wrong and injustice to the path of Right and Justice. This explains why Mahatma Gandhi has no idea of driving out Englishmen, but would seek to bring them under control, and make them amenable to the will of the people. At present they pose as rulers and masters imposing their will upon the people. But the whole of this has got to be changed. The situation under Swaraj achieved by non-violent means, in its bearing on the question of Englishmen in India is lucidly explained by Mahatmaji in the following lines :—

A forced imposition of the British yoke is intolerable and humiliating. A nation awakened to a sense of its self-respect will and must go through the fire of suffering and bear all the hardship that may be entailed in throwing off the yoke. The English can remain in India only as friends and equals, and if they serve they must become real servants, scrupulously carrying out the wishes of their employers. There can be no exploitation of Indian labour and no concessions to British capitalists. They must compete with the meanest of us on equal terms. Their organizing talent, their industry, their resourcefulness must command a

market which none can dispute. But the menace of their rifle and their whip must cease for ever. (Y. L. June 15, 1921.)

Judged from the above point of view, India under Swaraj, according to Mahatma Gandhi, has a place and a definite place, for Englishmen. Mahatmaji would try to incorporate Englishmen in his scheme of Swaraj, but under conditions which would make them amenable to the General Will, which at present they are not.

The exclusion of violence and retaliation, accompanied by a refusal to submit to the tyrant's will or authority, notwithstanding all the latter's infliction of violence on the 'civil-resister,' marks out the weapon of civil disobedience as the weapon not of the coward but of the strongest. The idea has to be combated that because Indians are weak or physically disarmed, therefore there is no other alternative open to them but Satyagraha. For the weapon of Satyagraha can never be successfully wielded by the coward, who would haul down his colours at the first onslaught by the Government official, and would nurse ill-will and enmity in his heart against the official all the time. Nor could the weapon be wielded to any effect by the victim of oppression, if he allows himself in his rage and fury to seek to return blow for the armed official's blow. The victim, if he is to successfully play the role of a Satyagrahi, must present a more disciplined front and bottle up his impotent rage and transmute it into a potent power which would refuse to be defeated by the enemy's superior violence, even if it should cost his life, or his all in life. In Mahatmaji's view neither the coward nor the weak nor the undisciplined, unrestrained victim of Governmental oppression is capable of wielding the mighty weapon of Satyagraha.

India is now passing through a stage of collective life which is ill-suited to the launching of this potent weapon. But Mahatmaji is convinced that Indians, but especially the Indian masses are capable of "this bravery of the highest order", provided they are made under competent leadership to undergo the preparatory training as chalked out by the constructive programme of Satyagraha. It may be that when the masses have undergone this course of training, the ability to carry through a campaign of "disobedience" in a peaceful manner, and on a mass scale, would be enough to create a situation which would bend the will of the Imperialist authorities

and make them subservient to the will of the people. In Mahatmaji's view, it is because the authorities are of opinion that armed violence has sufficient terrors for the undisciplined and terror-stricken masses, and would break any opposition if the worst comes to the worst, that public opinion of the intelligentsia has been repeatedly flouted. It is because of this that the regime of Imperialistic autocracy has reigned triumphant, and Swaraj which means substantially the enforcement of the General Will upon the political authorities, has remained as distant as ever.

The idea has got hold of some of the more ardent spirits in India that India must aspire to be a first class military power in order that she may exercise a potent sway over the councils of the great nations of the world. But militarism although rampant in the West has already shown its cloven foot, and there is a mortal fear among the better minds of the West that while another great war is inevitable in the not distant future, it will mean the destruction of their civilization. But although this is the case, they find no way of escape. They are caught in a vicious circle, and armaments and more armaments, military, naval and aerial, are the order of the day. Under the circumstances, the ambition of India becoming a great military power seems to be somewhat of an anachronism. The power of fight, of resistance to evil, to autocratic authority has undoubtedly to be invoked by Indians, and especially the Indian masses. But the method to be adopted by them should not be the old-world outworn method of brute power, but the method of standing up against evil at all costs, neither faltering, nor cowering, nor inflicting violence on the oppressor. Thus Satyagraha as the strongest weapon in the armoury of the strong has to be invoked and applied by India not only for her own benefit but also for the benefit of a distracted war-ridden world. And India must begin preparing herself for her great destiny, and not allow herself to be caught in a whirlpool from which there could be no escape except by destruction on a world-wide scale.

Once more, the fact must be emphasized that when the capacity for waging a non-violent war against autocratic rule has been developed by the Indian masses under competent leadership through a course of preparatory training in non-violent activities, which form the constructive side of Satyagraha, the battle of Indian freedom is already

won. For the position of Englishmen in India is such that the capacity of the Indian people for waging a non-violent war by itself would in all probability create a situation

which would make it unnecessary to launch out on the war. This is the verdict not only of Mahatma Gandhi, but also of common sense.

Cabinet Government

By NARESH CHANDRA ROY, M. A.

THE Cabinet system of Government is the foremost contribution of English politics to the World progress. It was not deliberately created out of nothing by a conference of constitutional architects. It was not 'made' at all, but has grown, like the other factors of the English Constitution, slowly and gradually out of the political circumstances of the country. Like all natural products, its evolution has not been straight, it has been chequered. Its course really has been meandering. Originating in the abnormal circumstances of the Hanoverian Succession, it was nursed and developed by Walpole and his Whig followers. Its growth was further stimulated by the indifference and incapacity of the first two Georges. During the regime of the Great Commoner it struck its roots all the more deeply in the soil of the country. Then came the days of the reaction. George III, with his ideal of the "patriot king," now came to the throne not only to reign but also to govern. And for twenty years, he was successful in setting back the hands of the clock. By corruption and bribery he 'managed' the House of Commons and played the despot to his heart's content. He gloated in this role till the American Revolution cut short this ambitious career and put younger Pitt, the son of that 'trumpet of sedition,' at the helm of affairs. George III, now found his master in this young man of twenty-four and had to entrust his political conscience to this callow youth. Of course, his mind was not at rest. He was feeling ill at ease. For some time at least he was successful in imposing upon Pitt his agent, Lord Thurlow. This Lord Chancellor was to remain a discordant element in the cabinet. His real function was to act as a spy of the king. The authority of the Prime Minister was not

fully established in the cabinet till his exclusion from its deliberations.

The system of administration thus evolved came to be based upon certain definite principles which are to-day universally associated with the Parliamentary form of Government. The legislature under this arrangement was to be vested with powers of control and supervision over the executive. The ministers were to be responsible to the popular House of the Parliament for their action. Their existence was to depend upon the goodwill and confidence of this chamber. In case this confidence was withdrawn and the majority went against the executive, the ministers must resign. This responsibility of the ministers was not only individual and several, it was joint and collective as well. If a vote of censure was passed by the House upon the activity of a certain department, not only the political head of that particular branch of Government was to resign but the whole ministry was now to be "out".

The Cabinet thus was to be a corporate body. It was to have one policy and one mind. There might be, as there must be, differences of opinion between minister and minister. But these differences were to be threshed out and set at rest in course of deliberations in the Cabinet itself. From the Parliament and the outside public, these differences and the squabbles must be kept secret. When the ministers were to approach the legislature or the general public with a proposed line of action, they must present a united front. They must be a solid phalanx and a united team. After attempts at give and take, compromise and conciliation, if any of the ministers still remained unconvinced and irreconcilable, he must go out of the Cabinet and make room for some one else.

The members of the Cabinet to-day are all colleagues, they occupy a co-ordinate position. But a team cannot work without a leader and chief. It is the Prime Minister who fills up this gap and leads the cabinet. Originally there was no first minister, all were equally the servants of the crown. Since the days of Walpole however, the office of the Prime Minister has slowly evolved. In the eyes of law and constitution, this office is not recognized yet, but a Royal proclamation of 1906 accepted the title. The Prime Minister as such is yet entitled to draw no salary. Almost invariably, he accepts the sinecure position of the first Lord of the Treasury and draws his salary in that capacity. He is really the pivot of the whole cabinet system of Government. He is the sun round whom the other luminaries of the Cabinet Solar system move. He is the accredited leader of the party that holds the majority in the House of Commons. The King, at his own initiative, invites him to form the Government. If he consents to the King's desire, he kisses his hand and becomes the Prime Minister. The rest of the business of ministry-making is vested in him. He may take the advice of his political friends, but mostly he consults his own judgment as to the choice of his colleagues and the distribution of portfolios among them. Once the ministry is set up and the work begun, the duty of the Prime Minister becomes more varied and onerous still. He has to remain in touch with the activity of all the major departments. Before a line of action is decided upon by a minister, he must consult the Prime Minister, and if the question involved is an important one, it shall go next to the Cabinet for deliberation and final decision. If two ministers quarrel about a policy, the matter must be carried to the Prime Minister for adjudication and pacification. If he fails, then only the consideration will lie with the Cabinet. If any of the ministers proves too recalcitrant and self-willed, it is for the Prime Minister again to check his ardour and in case of failure to demand his resignation.

Now to ensure the homogeneity of the cabinet and the authority of the Prime Minister—factors essential for discharging the joint responsibility of the cabinet—it is necessary that there should be only two main parties in the legislature. The members of the cabinet should all come from the same party and act strictly under the same

leader. They should represent the same political outlook and be supported uniformly by the same majority in the House. Working under the same command, representing the same political and economic tenets and having the same party interests to grind, they will endow the cabinet with solidarity and an organic character. In case, however, the legislature is divided into small political groups, none of them with a majority, the formation of the cabinet becomes tedious and difficult. Negotiations and bargainings are launched upon between group leaders, and when at last some kind of compromise is arrived at, a cabinet is formed. Consisting of different elements, and owing loyalty to different groups, this cabinet can never be a solid phalanx. Nor can it expect to be supported always by these groups in the Parliament. Under these circumstances, the Government can only be weak and rickety. The cabinet becomes shortlived, and changes frequent. A continuity of policy is out of the question and efficient administration almost impossible.

In England, which is the home of the Cabinet Government, the two party system is almost normal. The soil here is too uncongenial for the growth of the group system. Every cabinet, excepting occasional coalition ministries, is accordingly a party committee commanding certain and definite majority in the House of Commons. It is as such a strong homogeneous body wielding its sway almost throughout the life of the Parliament.

A constitution, according to Edmund Burke, is no artificial scheme of Government but an exquisite balance of social forces which is in itself a natural outcome of its history and development. The Cabinet system of Government developed by British genius may quite fit in with the conditions of British public life. It may have given Great Britain excellent and equitable laws and efficient and stable administration. But that is no reason why it should strike root and thrive as vigorously in other climes and in different environments. In fact, transplanted to other countries and set up in strange uncongenial surroundings, it has withered and faded and become a source of weakness rather than of strength to the body politic. In the nineteenth century, France and Italy got rid of their autocratic shackles and were on the look-out for a constitution that would meet their new democratic ideals. They had

so long under the iron heels of autocracy and their society was saturated with autocratic and absolutist ideas. For generations, the people had been nurtured in despotic traditions and, however enthusiastic they might have been for reform, they were not in a position to take naturally and easily to democratic institutions. Their statesmen, however, took a fancy to the working constitution of England which provided for Parliamentary control over the executive authority. They were so very enamoured of this responsible form of Government that they took no notice of the different historical backgrounds of these countries, but introduced with only slight modifications this British-made system of government into their own countries. The British plant was uprooted from its natural and congenial surroundings and placed in environments not only uncongenial but actually smothering.

Outwardly the Cabinet Government of France has been endowed with all the essential features of the English responsible government. The constitution provides that the ministers shall be collectively responsible to the Parliament for the general policy of the government and individually for their personal acts. The Prime Minister is appointed as such by decree of the President of the Republic. As in England it is the Prime Minister who appoints his colleagues and may remove them if he likes. Now although all the external features of the English Cabinet Government have been imported into France, the spirit of the English system is wholly lacking in the atmosphere of Paris. Political opinions do not flow in France only along two clear-cut channels as in England. Public life has been organized not on the English model but has been sub-divided into a number of petty groups. No single group could ever expect to obtain a majority in the Chamber. All Governments have, therefore, to be based upon a coalition of some of these groups. But this coalition cannot but be a loose and temporary union which breaks down at the slightest conflict of interests and clash of ideals. The Cabinet which comes to consist of members with varied ideals and diverse interests, can never aspire to the cohesion and solidarity of the British Ministry. The authority of the Prime Minister over his colleagues can never be fully established. In fact, he has to remain engaged more in soothing the ruffled feelings

in the cabinet than in devising measures of discipline. Instead of being an organic whole, the cabinet becomes in France a loose bundle. The cabinet thus is a divided house. Nor does it exercise much initiative. In truth depending upon the fiftful support of their followers, the ministers occupy the position less of a leader, more of a protégé. The individual deputies become all powerful and influential. They put pressure upon the ministers and get things done in their own way. This backstairs influence of the deputies counts so much in French administration to-day, that the existing form of government has been ingeniously described by a writer as "deputanism". Initiative, authority and driving force which are the first and foremost attributes of the executive are altogether lacking in the French cabinet system.

Similarly miserable was the administrative situation of Italy during the pre-Fascist days. Here also, the principle of ministerial responsibility was introduced in environments altogether uncongenial and unsuitable. Public life was chaotic, and unorganized, the deputies selfish and corrupt, public opinion weak and uninfluential. In these circumstances, the ministers could not be the accredited leaders of a parliamentary majority. They were never sure of consistent and unselfish support from any of the members. Cliques were formed and dissolved in the chamber. Every ministry was expected to purchase their support at the highest price. Naturally the executive could not make itself as vigorous as it should have been. Its strength was sapped, its authority undermined. The administration itself was collapsing till it was turned down altogether by a *coup d'état*. Fascist autocracy was the only reply to a mockery of responsible government.

A strong executive is the first characteristic of good government. It is, in fact, the bed-rock upon which the welfare of the people is based. Once the general policy is laid down by the legislature, it is for the executive to apply and carry it out, unhampered and unhindered. The swift decision, the rapid movement and the bold coup-qualities always associated with an efficient executive—can never be brought out into clear relief if outsiders would poke their nose into administrative affairs and impede the steps of the executive ministers. They must have a free hand in the matter.

Even in the direction of the state policy, the executive should have the initiative. The legislature is only a deliberative body, to discuss, debate and criticize a policy initiated by the executive. It is not to govern and administer the country itself. It is only to see that the executive is governing it well.

The executive to be so strong and efficient a body must have a clear majority in the legislature—a majority that will consistently support and co-operate with it. In England, this co-operation is ensured by the party system of the country. The executive here is, only in name, responsible to the House of Commons. Really speaking, the Cabinet or rather the Prime Minister is responsible only to the electorate. A prominent public man approaches the people in a general election with a particular programme in hand. He is opposed and challenged at the bar of the electorate by some other eminent publicist with a different political badge. Either of the two finds favour with the people and is returned to the Parliament with a majority to carry out his proposed line of action. He now forms the government in which he includes all the strongest of his lieutenants, and then takes up the reins of administration. The cabinet that he forms is a body with one mind and one policy. It works under his control and supervision. His authority here is unquestioned. In the House of Commons also, his voice commands obedience, so far as the majority is concerned. Sure of its support, he initiates his policy. It is assailed by the opponents no doubt. But it is accepted any way in all its essentials through the help and co-operation of his following in the House. If the following proves recalcitrant, and his measure gets rejected in the House, he does not bow to this decision. He does not accept the verdict of the House as final. He appeals to the electorate and very often has the satisfaction of having this verdict reversed and himself reinstalled in power and authority.

The Prime Minister in England is thus the keystone of the cabinet arch. He "occupies a position which, so long as it lasts, is one of exceptional and peculiar authority." This is the opinion of a statesman who himself was a cabinet minister and was writing from personal experience.

The President of the United States has been characterized as the most powerful chief executive officer. The position of the British Prime Minister is, however, no less imposing and influential. Really speaking, "the head of the cabinet to-day," continues Lord Morley, "corresponds in many particulars, alike in the source of his power and in the scope of his official jurisdiction, with the President of the United States,—though with the two immensely important and far-reaching distinctions, that the minister holds office for no fixed terms and that he always sits in the legislature." A recent writer, who was the hostess at 10, Downing Street, for long eight years, goes even further and attributes more powers still to the Prime Minister. He is more powerful, observes Lady Oxford, than "any king of any country and any president of any republic."

It is this authority of the Prime Minister which has made the English Cabinet the stable and efficient body that it is. No serious rift in the lute is allowed; all the ministers have to work in harmony and co-operation with one another and under the leadership and guidance of the Prime Minister. The unity of command, that is so much necessary in matters executive, is thus provided and the divided counsels which would make the administration weak and lax, are not the least suffered and tolerated.

In India, the Reforms of 1919 have introduced in some fields of governmental activity the principle of ministerial responsibility. The transferred subjects are to be administered by the ministers appointed from amongst the elected members of the Legislative Council. For the running of these departments, they are to be responsible to the Legislative Council and in case their policy is disapproved and their methods censured by the Council they must resign and go out of office. The Joint Parliamentary Committee recommended that this responsibility was not simply to be individual and several but also, as in the British Constitution, joint and collective. This recommendation really implied that the ministers should constitute by themselves an organic body led and guided by its own chief. They were, in truth, to form a cabinet and this cabinet was to be responsible for the administration of the transferred departments. Unfortunately, however, this recommendation has been obeyed more in the breach than in the observance. It is in Madras only that the principle of joint

responsibility has been to some extent followed. Lord Willingdon, the first Governor of the Presidency, under the new regime, initiated this tradition and it has been in vogue ever since. After a general election, a leading member of the Legislative Council is appointed by the Governor the Chief Minister and the rest of the ministry-making is left to him. It is for him now to select the colleagues and form the ministry. Of course, the authority of the first minister is yet very limited and circumscribed. The Governor still overshadows and very often overpowers him. The Joint Parliamentary Committee recommended that in the transferred departments, the Governor should act only as an adviser to the ministers. He should guide their policy, criticize their actions and warn them against pitfalls and dangers. But if after hearing his viewpoint and listening to his warning, they persist in their line of action, they should be allowed to go on and take the responsibility on that score. This recommendation of the Joint Committee, however, has been given the go-by and to-day the Governor is no mere friend, philosopher and guide to the ministers. He thinks himself responsible as much for the working of the reserved half of the Government as for the running of the transferred departments. Naturally the Governor and the ministers, under these circumstances, pull the string from opposite directions. The result is inaction and very often a deadlock. Instead of adding to the efficiency of administration and the vigour of government, the present system is only making way for inefficiency and inanity.

In Madras, as we have seen, the Governor has, to some extent, abjured his statutory rights and tried to accommodate himself to the opinions of the Joint Committee. He has conceded the claim of the first minister to select his own colleagues. He has also conceded the claims of the ministers to be jointly and collectively responsible for the working of their different departments and thus form a corporate body and not simply a bundle of isolated figures. In other provinces, however, the Governors have not budged an inch from their statutory moorings. All the ministers are appointed at the initiative of the Governor himself. They are individually responsible for their policy and action both to the Governor and the Legislative Council. No pretension to collective responsibility has been allowed to grow. After the first general

elections during the reformed regime, the two ministers of U. P. were individually and separately selected by the Governor himself. The two ministers, of course, came to an understanding with each other, in spite of the Governor, and were resolved to stand or fall together. And fall they did at the same time. But the principle of joint responsibility which the Governor never accepted, died also with their resignation. Their successors were appointed individually by the Governor and looked upon themselves as only severally responsible for their respective portfolios. Similar is the experience of Bengal as well. The late Sir Surendra Nath Banerji has laid down in his reminiscences that after the general elections of 1920, he was called by Lord Ronaldshay, the Governor, and was consulted some way about the selection of his Hindu colleague. As regards the Mahomedan minister to be appointed nothing serious passed between them. And it was only from a morning paper, that Sir Surendra Nath came to know that Nawab Nawab Ali Chowdhury had been appointed a minister. Thus the ministers were appointed severally and individually by the Governor himself, the portfolios were distributed by him as well and the ministers remained only individually accountable for the working of their departments. No pretension to cabinet solidarity came to be made and no collective partnership under one popular leader was attempted.

Thus one of the main principles of the modern system of responsible government that the chief minister should choose his own colleagues has been rejected altogether in the great majority of the Indian Provinces. The ministers are expected, hence, to work their respective departments in their own way. The cohesive bonds that would tie them together and turn them into a single group with one policy and one mind are simply out of the question. Unity, steadfastness, initiative are the qualities associated with the British Cabinet. It is because of these characteristics that the English executive is efficient. But these are the attributes in which the Indian executive will be altogether lacking if the present practice develops into a tradition. Unless, in fact, all the ministers are brought together under the leadership and control of one and unless they constitute a united corporate body, they would not be able to check the irresponsible pretensions of the Governor on

the one side and the influences and machinations of the private members and cliques on the other.

Now not only the recommendations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee have been set at naught by the Governors of provinces, but some of them have taken steps that are simply unconstitutional and quite at variance with the tenets of responsible government. In the United Provinces, for instance, the recent dismissal of the ministers on the issue of the Simon Commission cuts straight through the fundamental principle of ministerial responsibility. The ministers were against co-operating with the Simon Commission. And when the subject came up for discussion in the Legislative Council, their point of view was supported by an excellent majority. In spite of it, however, the late Governor of the Province kicked them out.

Disagreeing with the ministers and their majority in the legislature, the Governor might have dissolved the council and held a fresh election. But what Sir Alexander Muddiman was out to do was not to consult the feelings and opinions of the electorate and act up to them, but to impose the bureaucratic standpoint upon the popular ministers at any cost. This was certainly responsible government with a vengeance.

But if the Governor could be accused of deliberately trampling upon the first principle of responsible government, the members of the Legislative Council in their turn have proved to be inert, inefficient and

unworthy. Supporting as they did the old ministers, they should have censured out the new recruits, and forced the hands of the Governor. But instead, the new ministers are going on merrily and even expecting to command a good majority in the Council. This shows how hopeless is the party organization in the legislature. Groups are formed and dissolved, opinions are held and discarded at amazingly short intervals. Personal loyalty and party allegiance count for nothing. This is the atmosphere not characteristic of the U. P. Council alone. In the Bengal Legislative Council, the situation is no less chaotic. The group of the Swarajists has been consistently obstructive on principle. Its platform is thus quite intelligible. But the rest of the elected members have proved to be time-servers and fortune-hunters. Their combinations have been fleeting, their opinions transitory and their outlook thoroughly selfish. To-day they are in this lobby, to-morrow in another. The basis of the responsible form of government is party. And in order that this system of administration may not be inconsistent with the strength and efficiency of the executive, the members of the legislature should be organized into two parties alone. They must be well-knit and well-led. Their organization should be perfect, and their discipline consistently thorough. Weak leadership and laxity in the ranks are the bane of any organization. If public life in the Indian provinces cannot be so organized, woe to the responsible form of government in this country.

The Modernity Of Whitman's Poetry

By NIRANJAN MOHAN BARDHAN, M. A.

THE age which roughly dates from the latter half of the last century, is not so easy to characterize as the mediaeval or the period of the Renaissance. The difficulty, of course, lies in our too close proximity to the age, but it cannot be denied that the complexity of the age too has something to do with it. It is this complexity which perplexed Arnold and Clough, and also

Tennyson to a certain extent. One cannot select a particular aspect of the present out of a hundred, and say that this forms the essence of modernity. When, therefore, a modern poet proposes to portray his age, it is natural to ask how far he has succeeded. Walt Whitman in one of his opening poems in the "Inscriptions" resolved upon this difficult but noble task, and he succeeded.

in this to a degree which has rarely been attained. He expressed himself thus in that particular poem :

Of life immense in passion, pulse, and power
Cheerful for freest action formed under laws divine
The Modern Man I sing.

This 'Modern Man', it may be noted, is a complex product of the multifarious forces that have been at work in the western world since the middle of the nineteenth century. He possesses qualities which are apparently contradictory, but which have nevertheless a deep line of concord running through them. This 'Modern Man' is moved by a strong passion for material wealth and power, but at the same time has dim forebodings of the life beyond. He is out to conquer physical forces, but is at the same time keenly alive to spiritual mysteries. He is a worshipper of fleshliness, but has 'immortal longings' too. He is a votary of nationalism, but is not quite certain of its efficacy as a panacea for social and political evils. It is in giving a complete portrait of this Modern Man, in imparting a new value to every feature of his character, in discovering a harmony in the midst of his complexities, that Walt Whitman is pre-eminently a poet of the Modern. Others have exalted some aspect of the Modern Man's character, and overlooked or decried the rest. Whitman accepted all of them and found a new meaning even in the worst :

Let others ignore what they may
I make the poem of evil also, I commemorate
that part also
I am myself just as much evil as good, and
my nation
is—and I say there is in fact no evil,
(or if there is I say it is just as important to
you to the land or to me as anything else)

(Starting from *Paumanok*)

Bernard Shaw has presented the Modern Man simply as a rational buoyant creature, and can imagine no better future for him than a developed Don Juan (Man and Superman). The author of *The Blue Bird* has viewed him chiefly in the light of the doubtful destiny that awaits him after death, but has no word for his vigorous mundanity on this side of life. But Whitman has his fingers upon every feature of the Modern Man and combines the seeming inconsistencies of his character into a harmonious whole. What he said in the following lines, he fully carried out :

I will make the body of riches
To earn for the body and the mind whatever adheres

And goes forward and is not dropt by death ;
I will effuse egotism and show it underlying
all, and

I will be the bard of personality
And I will show of male and female thia either
is but the equal of the other

And sexual organs and acts ! do you concentrate in
Me, for I am determined to tell you with
courageous

Clear voice to prove you illustrious.

(Starting from *Paumanok*)

To begin with, while giving a voice to the overflowing material energy of the Modern Man, Whitman shows a kinship with the visionary and spiritual temperaments of two modern geniuses, Keats and Rabindranath. In that section of his 'Leaves of Grass' which is entitled 'Whispers of Heavenly Death,' he looks past the present life to the life to come and voices forth the spiritual instincts, the immortal aspirations of the Modern Man just as Rabindranath has done in his 'Jivandevata' poems. With a robust optimism characteristic of the American temper, he shows a strength of conviction where Maeterlinck is only a half-believer. "I do not doubt", he says in one place, "that I am limitless and that the universe is limitless." He exults over his conviction of immortality, "Oh living always, always dying ! Oh the burials of me past and present !" Again, "I swear, I think now that everything without exception has an eternal soul !... I think there is nothing but immortality." What a contrast is here to Maeterlinck's dread of the unknown expressed in 'The Blue Bird' ! A similar strength of hope is visible in the poetry of Rabindranath when he rises to a glorious realization of his immortal destiny which he believes has sent him out on a continual journey from birth to birth to a union with his God. This replacing of old doubts and perplexities by faith and hope may be said to be a characteristic of the Modern Man's spirituality. He has found it the only spiritual attitude that is compatible with mundane activities. He has discovered that unless he can set at rest his spiritual doubts and perplexities, he will not be able to keep pace with the rapid strides with which the world is advancing on its march of industrial and scientific progress. This modern feeling has been admirably expressed in a stanza of the 'Song of Myself'

And I say to mankind,
 Be not curious about God.
 For I who am curious about each
 of am not curious about God.
 (No array terms can say how much I am;
 at peace about God and about 'death').

Allied to this modern spirituality of Whitman's poetry, is its occasional visionary quality, which is attended by the modern tendency to symbolism. The exquisite song "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking" strikes one after another the mournful notes of death, yearning, and regret through a series of symbolical figures. A few lines from the poem would show that Whitman in this respect resembles Keats and Rabindranath, the two greatest symbolists of the modern age.

From under that yellow halfmoon late
 risen and swollen as if with tears,
 From those beginning notes of
 yearning and love there in the mist

 I a reminiscence sing.

Again,

The yellow halfmoon enlarged, sagging down,
 drooping, the face of the
 sea almost touching.

Whitman's modernity does not end with giving an utterance to the visionary and spiritual aspect of the Modern Man's character. He upholds with even greater force his mundane energy displayed in political and industrial activities.

What are you doing Young Man?
 Are you so earnest, so given up to
 literature, science, art, amours?
 These ostensible realities politics, points?
 Your ambition or business whatever it may be?
 It is well—against such I say not a word,
 I am their poet also...

(*Starting from Pauমানok*)

He continually asserts the glory of health, of full manhood and of ceaseless activity, all of which are at the root of the Modern Man's character. All these qualities take shape before his eyes in the figures of his own countrymen—the American mechanic, the carpenter, the mason, the shoemaker and so on. ("I hear America singing"). In fact, Whitman is an apostle of that almost elemental rage within the soul which drives on the Modern Man to a course of ceaseless activity and enables him to 'snatch a fearful joy' from his struggle for existence. This continual struggle Whitman presents not in its cruel light like the theorist of the survival of the fittest, but in the mellow radiance of charity and comradeship.

Shoulder your duds, dear son, and I will
 mine,
 And let us hasten forth,
 Wonderful cities and free nations we shall
 fetch as we go
 If you tire, give me both burdens, and rest the
 chuff of your hand on my hip.
 And in due time you shall repay the same
 service to me,
 For after we start we never lie by again.
 (*Song of Myself*)

I don't remember any poet past or present who has presented the ceaseless struggles of the Modern Man in a manner which is at once so true to life and so full of charm and beauty. The whole gospel of the Modern Man's mundanity is contained in the following lines taken from the same poem :

And there is no trade or employment but
 the young man following it may
 become a hero.
 And there is no object so soft but it
 makes a hub for the wheeled universe,
 And I say to any man or woman,
 Let your soul stand
 Cool and composed before a million universes.

One great quality which the Modern Man has learnt to value most, has been upheld by Whitman above all others. It is the quality of personality, which enables the Modern Man to rise above all circumstances and by exercising his manhood never to allow defeat and insult to go unretorted. (It is no longer the old Christian ideal of offering a second cheek). This modern virtue which often verges on egotism and self-assertion has been highly extolled in a stanza of the *Song of Myself* :

I am the teacher of athletes,
 He that by me spreads a wider breast than
 my own proves the width of my own,
 He most honours my style who learns
 under it to destroy the teacher.

He wants you to be wicked rather than virtuous out of 'conformity or fear,' and to rise 'in your own right' rather than through 'derived power.' He regarded this as the only befitting modern attitude, and it is in this sense that Whitman may rightly be said to have supplied 'body and red blood' to the spirituality of the Emersonian message. The Song of the Open Road is full of courage, sanity, comradeship, and the open air. It suggests in bold panorama those outstanding generous types of active man and womanhood that Whitman valued so much in the Modern Man's character. The Modern Man's idea of citizenship is expressed in a stanza of the Song of the Broad Axe.

Where the city of the faithfulest of friends
 Where the city of the cleanliest of the sexes
 Where the city of the healthiest of fathers
 There the great city stands.

In *By the Road Side*, he gives in a few words a picture of the Modern's ideal of manhood :

Fair, able, beautiful, content, and loving
 Complete in body and dilate in spirit
 Be thou my God.

The supremacy over every circumstance of the spirit of the Modern Man, his incredible potentialities and eligibilities—these are Whitman's high themes, as they were, to the end the subject of his wonder and amaze. These, as already suggested, he expressed in terms of his own land. Celebrating himself, a representative person, he was in the same sense celebrating 19th century America, the America of Lincoln and Green. And it is this 19th century America which gave birth to the Modern Man.

Another significant note of modernity in Whitman's poetry is his utterance of the Modern Man's political ideas. While voicing forth the national spirit of the Modern Man, he has also expressed his belief that nationalism is not the highest goal, that there is something better beyond, which is internationalism. It is in the latter case

that Whitman proved himself wonderfully modern, because it is only very recently, in this first quarter of the twentieth century that a suspicion has arisen in the mind of the Modern Man about the efficacy of nationalism as a cure for social and political evils. Whitman may, in this respect, be rightly said to be a prophet of Modernity. In *'Tears of the Modern'* he voices forth the Modern Man's longings for international brotherhood and peace.

I see tremendous entrances and exits, new combinations, the solidity of races,
 I see that force advancing with irresistible powers in the world's stage.
 (Have the old forces, the old wars, played their part ?
 Are the acts suitable to them closed ?)

Thus, while poets like Arnold and Clough are perplexed at the complexities of modern life and disheartened, Whitman finds harmony in them and is reassured. Where they see only a weary tangle between materialism and spirituality, science and religion, and so on, Whitman discovers a complex but systematic development. To quote his own language, "The diverse shall be no less diverse, but they shall flow and unite—they unite now." Whitman is thus a poet of the Modern in the truest sense of the term and will remain so for a long time to come.

Tragic end of a Mogul Celebrity

By RAM SINGH SAKSENA

"He hath not lived that lives not after death"

AMONG the many great luminaries of Akbar's court who have left a shining memory for all time in the annals of Indian History, was one bright gem—named Shaikh Abul Fazl.

Born on January 14, 1551, Abul Fazl was the second son of Shaikh Mubarak, the learned Sufi theologian, who first induced Akbar to play the role of a prophet along with that of the mighty potentate. Faizi—the prince of poets' and the elder brother of Abul Fazl—was chiefly

given to literary pursuits and did not care for ambitious career in the state. Abul Fazl, on the other hand, already considered a prodigy in learning and having a precocious mental development, combined, according to Vincent A. Smith, extraordinary ability and capacity for work with the servility of an ambitious courtier, in this resembling Francis Bacon.

In 1574 having caught the royal fancy by his commentary on *Koran* he entered the Mogul court and went on ascending the official ladder till he attained the lofty and

lucrative dignity of a commander of 4,000. He occupied the position of the Secretary of State which in fact rivalled the power accorded to a *Vizier* of the Realm.

Apart from this social prominence and courtly dignity which he made his way to easily and with good care, he wielded an inner influence over Akbar by virtue of the proximity of ideas between him and his master. He was a true son of his father as regards his preaching of universal toleration and spiritual headship of the state with which he donned the emperor. *Din-i-Ilahi*—the eclectic religion propounded by Akbar, was partly the outgrowth of his mind and was matured into a concrete shape with his consultation. He was one of the few intimates in whose company the wearied soul of the emperor drew real solace. He was aptly termed by the Jesuit missionaries at court as '*the King's Jonathon*.'

The literary excellence of Abul Fazl's writing is made manifest in his *Akbar-nama* and *Ain-i-Akbari*, both monuments raised to the glory of his sovereign.

Ain-i-Akbari is a digest of masses of administrative, cultural, geographical and economic facts showing the author's capacity for historical research and statistical work. But owing to the florid pomposity of style and diction, simple facts are wreathed in a cloud of rhetoric which tire the reader out with impatience. Moreover, his accounts of the time and surroundings and his admiration for his idol, the Emperor Akbar, generally smack of insincerity and flattery fatal to a historical treatise, and are for the most part 'one-sided panegyrics.'

In this detail he suffered from the usual drawbacks of Eastern biographers and historians and is to be handled with the rest. What distinguished him was his amazing grasp of material and its rendering in choice Persian adorned with felicitous phrases. He was the next man* of letters worthy of note since Amir Khusroe in the Mohammadan times.

Being at the zenith of his career and a confidant of the emperor, Abul Fazl aroused jealousy and hatred in the heart of Prince Salim—the heir-apparent who had caused much bitterness to Akbar in his closing years through his unfilial and rebellious conduct. Salim had already grown

impatient of Akbar's long reign of forty years and sought by the help of his evil counsellors to set himself up as an independent chief. Akbar, out of his paternal levity, did not take any serious steps against his unruly son except frequent reproaches and admonition conveyed through envoys. But all threats and counsel fell flat on Salim who struck coins in his own name at Allahabad and usurped the title of the 'King'.

Abul Fazl was engaged at this time in imperial interests in the Deccan, and Akbar sent for him to derive some help and advice from his faithful counsellor in this predicament.



Tomb of Abul Fazl, Antri, Gwalior State
Photo by Archaeological Dept., Gwalior State

Salim knew full well of Abul Fazl's unsympathetic and stern disposition towards him and feared the conjunction of Abul Fazl with his royal father, lest the former by just advice might harden the heart of the latter and turn him to resort to imperial force with which Salim could ill-reckon, or might cause him to be disinherited, thus nonplussing his succession to the throne of the Moguls.

So in order to avoid this supposed ruinous happening, Salim thought upon a cruel device and attempted, by means fair or foul, to prevent Abul Fazl's ever reaching Agra and administering any ministrations to the Emperor.

Unmindful of Akbar's wrath or grief, Salim secretly asked Bir Singh Deo, a *Gahwar* Rajput the predatory chief of Bundelkhand in Central India who was a rebel at the time, to waylay and murder Abul Fazl journeying towards the capital from the Deccan. Bir Singh Deo closed with the offer and lay

* For further details, see *Akbar* by V. A. Smith. pp. 304-306.

in ambush with his mail-clad force waiting for the unhappy man's arrival in the dense forest and the hilly tract of his retreat. Abul Fazl meanwhile proceeding post-haste disregarded every caution, and rejected many a word of advice given by his devoted adherents and marched on with a thin escort braving every danger.

A mendicant on the way unequivocally warned him to change his route or to add to his numbers for a large band of armed men were to pounce upon him the next day. But fatality dogged the footsteps of the doomed man and no note of warning availed with his rash demeanour. Shortly after he was attacked by the Bundela advance-guard which was repulsed by his party, but this only precipitated his encounter with a larger force. It was a matter of odds and Abul Fazl's retinue, with however great a valour and combating skill, could not get the better of an enemy far outstripping it in numbers. The Shaikh fought like a lion, but was transfixed with a Rajput lance and lay helpless before a marauder's band. Bir Singh after showing him some mock-humility ordered him to be decapitated, and sent his head to Salim at Allahabad where it met with an ignominious insult. His lifeless trunk, however, was casually and unostentatiously interred in a modest unassuming grave at Antri* (now an out-of-the-way village) lying in the Gwalior State.

The report of this dastardly murder reached the emperor's ears in good time and the grief of Akbar at his friend's sad end knew no bounds. He simply writhed in agony for days together and raved like a maniac saying that if Salim wanted the throne he should have killed him and spared his dear friend.

This heinous and diabolical act ended the exemplary career of this great man in A. C. 1602 and a brilliant court light was extinguished suddenly.

Despite the overwhelming grief with which the emperor was caught at so sudden

and tragic an end of his able friend and minister—the brightest jewel of his Navaratna Durbar—it is still a matter for conjecture, and on which no investigator has hitherto thrown any light, as to why this great emperor did not raise a suitable monument to Abul Fazl's memory especially when so many structures* were raised to mark even the most trivial episodes by him. In fact, Akbar committed a great error, conscious or otherwise, in not leaving a mark to the memory of his trusted and devoted friends such as Raja Birbal, Raja Todarmal, Raja Bhagwan Das or the great Abul Fazl—all of whom have proved no less faithful in sacrificing themselves at the feet of the living idol.

Abul Fazl's aged bones lay interred till recently under a shapeless heap of mud and rubble *not a stone telling that he lay there*, except the local tradition which called it the tomb of *Shaikh Fazalla*, to guide the department of Archaeology Gwalior Government to undertake its conservation.

The illustration reproduced shows a lonely and simple sepulchre, which is but a poor monument to the memory of so illustrious a personage. But however small and insignificant the tomb it will not fail to commemorate the talented royal victim and will continue to harp the pathos of the following verse of *Makhfi* † on the ears of the visitors :—

*Alas ! where we, the poor, do lie
No nightingale for rose does cry
No lamp illumines our gloomy night
No moth attracts the flickering light.* §

Verily in these lines lies the consolation of a wrecked life !

* Hiran Minar, the throne pillar, nay the very building of Fatehpur Sikri (near Agra) rightly called "the freak of an irresponsible autocrat," Smith, *Akbar*, p. 444.

† Said to be the nom-de-plume of Zeb-un-nisa, the daughter of Aurangzeb and a great poetess of her day.

§ The couplet purports to the effect that no wonderer haunts the poor tomb or cares to offer a wreath on or burn a light beside the tomb. And the absence of a wreath or light screens the tomb even from the wail of the nightingale or the buzzing of the moths.

* Antri is a railway station on the Bombay-Delhi main line of the G. I. P. Railway and lies 20 miles south of Gwalior by metalled road.

Realism And Humour in Music

THE bare mention of cats being represented in musical sounds is at once interesting and amusing, but the celebrated Scarlatti once wrote a "Cats Fugue" the subject of which had been produced by a cat walking along the keys of an harpsichord. This is a proceeding of which cats are somewhat fond, and again finding its reflection in a jazz pianoforte piece of modern times entitled "Kitten on the Keys" proves that this subject is not confined in its scope.

Stravinsky also found a measure of inspiration (?) in the pathetic 'meow' of this animal, but even he has failed to evolve a single bar of music expressive of our friend the dog, unlike Chopin, of whom it is said, one of his best known valses was suggested by the gyrations of a puppy in pursuit of its tail, and Rossini, whom we are told, once wrote a piece in memory of a dead proddle!

Camille Saint-Saens composed for the orchestra a "Danse Macabre" in which he attempts to portray a skeleton dancing on a tombstone. Xylophones are used to indicate the rattle of bones against the marble slab covering the grave. The skeleton can only stay out until daybreak, so as soon as the cock crows back he goes into his tomb with the stone clapped down over him instantly, all of which is illustrated most graphically by various instruments in the orchestra.

The theme of horses in motion seems to have appealed to a large number of composers. A splendid instance of this lies in that portion of Wagner's Walkure known as the 'Ride of the Valkyries.' In his treatment of this composition Wagner has reproduced with marvellous fidelity the neighing of horses, sounds of galloping hoof-beats and the impetuous progress of a company of riders.

Next, we have Tchaikowsky who set himself the task of writing a composition for the pianoforte with the 'troika' as its motif. The 'troika' is a Russian vehicle to which three horses are harnessed in a single span. The middle horse in the shafts, trots, but the other two, hitched to either side, gallop. The remarkable rhythm created in

this way is most successfully reproduced, albeit the composition is not an easy one to perform on the pianoforte.

The labouring of a ship in heavy seas provided a theme for the notable Russian composer Rimsky-Korsakoff in his Scheharzade Suite. The orchestra accompanies Sinbad the Sailor on one of his perilous voyages and he howling of the tempest as indicated by the wood-wind is tremendous. When at length the doomed vessel is sent to destruction amidst a crashing of drums and cymbals, every musician, from first violin to the triangle player, are bathed in perspiration, whilst the conductor shares the fate of the ship...he is an utter wreck!

It is not often the orchestra is called upon to produce laughter but this is the case in the third act of Gounod's Faust. Mephistopheles proffers Marguerite an ironical serenade interspersed with laughter, which is echoed by the orchestra in true Mephistophelian fashion.

An amusing instance of musical illustration occurs in the first act of Puccini's opera 'La Boheme', where three of the characters grope their way downstairs from a garret studio. They stumble and swear in the darkness but eventually reach the street unhurt. The hazardous descent of each flight is cleverly suggested by the orchestra, one last profound note signaling their safe arrival.

Flickering tongues of flame inspired Wagner to write the Feuer-Zauber music of the Walkure, and whilst this is less evident in the pianoforte arrangement, judicious orchestration has enabled Wagner to give a very realistic version of his subject.

These are but a few of the instances where composers have contrived to make the orchestra laugh, weep, neigh, gallop and even imitate cats and dogs, but it remained for Mendelssohn to make his orchestra bray like an ass. This he does in the incidental music to 'A Midsummer Night's Dream'. The phrase typifies Bully Bottom whose head was changed by the sportive Puck into that of an ass.

Practically without exception these musical impressions are all very cleverly

written, and there is no *bona fide* reason why material, dramatic and otherwise, should not be interpreted musically.

The art of music possesses a living soul that can readily adapt itself to any and every changing condition.

The Problem of Cattle Diseases in India

By LIEUT. S. DUTT, B. Sc., M. R. C. V. S.,

IN this paper, it is not my purpose to emphasize the importance of the cow in our national life. That the cattle represent the working capital of the agriculturist or that they are indispensable for motive-power or for milk-production needs no repetition. It is necessary, however, to bear in mind the above facts to be able to realize how very dangerously the diseases of cattle can undermine the whole fabric of agriculture, the fundamental industry in India.

As there is so little elementary knowledge in the country and much confused thinking even in the quarters that ought to have known better, I make no apology for quoting the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Ormsby Gore. He told the Imperial Agricultural Research Conference in London: "I use the word 'Veterinary' in what I regard as its only proper sense, that is, as including animal husbandry, animal nutrition and animal genetics and not merely the pathology of domestic animals." My contention is that these branches are not separate problems and to produce the fullest measure of benefit they should be administered by one single live-stock or Veterinary Department. The Veterinary service cannot prove its proper utility and gain public esteem, if it has to be content only with the negative aspect, of prevention or tackling of diseases. That these aspects are so closely knit together and are interdependent will be evident from the fact that a well-balanced diet determines the degree of physical development and general well-being of animals and as such, is a preventive of diseases. Dr. Grew of the Institute of Animal Genetics at Edinburgh has shown that by breeding from stock that is known to have a high degree of resistance to an epizootic, it is possible to raise a stock almost free from the dangers of cattle epidemics.

I am fully convinced that the stamping out or prevention of cattle diseases is the very first step to any successful scheme of cattle improvement. If the losses due to epidemics are not reduced or stopped, the 'vicious circle' from which India has been suffering badly, will not be broken. Unless that is clearly understood, endeavours by methods of selective breeding and scientific feeding is, in my opinion, useless.

The State Veterinary Department concerns itself only with combating outbreak of contagious diseases, which endanger the lives of a large number of cattle at the same time. Conditions in India have not allowed the State to take interest in the minor ailments or those affecting the individual. The Indian Veterinary Service has not been in existence for more than thirty years. It has already set up a rudimentary machinery for combating these plagues of cattle. The work that awaits to be done is enormously large and the available resources are, in the same measure, meagre. The fact that India is so vast and is a continent with scarcely any natural boundary between its provinces, makes the problem more complicated. It is not easy to estimate the exact loss that the agriculturist has to suffer every year due to these scourges. The figures supplied by the Civil Veterinary Departments must fall short of the actual casualty. Suffice it to say that animal losses are appallingly great.

Unless the feeling of uncertainty of cattle life from the agriculturist's mind is removed and animal life is made more vigorous and secure, the improvement of live-stock cannot attract private enterprise, capital or intellect. The apathy against cattle raising has been very largely caused by economic factors. There is no justification for us to maintain a C. 3 population of cattle at the expense of A. 1 population. The cost of

keeping cattle, whether of the A. 1 or C. 3 grade, is about the same but their productivity and usefulness are very substantially different. We are overstocked with quantity at the expense of quality and hence the prolific diseases.

The essentials of success in any campaign against cattle-pests are four in number.

First, knowledge of the science of diseases, causes, methods of cure, prevention, local and foreign experience. Our problem is not the lack or insufficiency of our knowledge of these diseases. It is no mean achievement for the Veterinary profession in the British Isles to have cleared the country of sheep-pox, glanders, cattle-plague, pleuropneumonia and rabies in the present state of our knowledge, which is, by no means, complete. The Veterinary profession has held its own with its *confreres* of the medical side and to-day the Royal Society of Medicine and the British Medical Association welcome veterinarians on terms of cordiality and fellowship. The fighters against disease have combined in public spirit and civic responsibility. The record of veterinarians in India has not been insignificant. Martyrs like Shilston and Gaiger and scientific workers like Evans, who did the pioneer work on Trypanosomes, stand to the credit of India.

Secondly, men of the requisite type have to be trained to gain public confidence and professional skill. That brings in the question of Veterinary Colleges and suitable curricula. The colleges are already there. It is only necessary to reorganize them in the light of the present day requirements and difficulties. I cannot lay too great emphasis on recruiting the very best men for the Veterinary profession.

Thirdly, nothing can be done without funds. In this connection, the credit of pioneer work must fall on the State. There are a few private organizations that have the same object in view but though their objects and sentiments are to be admired, their methods are not modern or efficient. Unless the veterinary work inspires more confidence and is raised in public esteem, voluntary contribution for such work cannot be hoped for. The example of the late Mr. Wadia in leaving a large sum of money for animal hospital at Bombay, of Mr. Henry Phipps of Chicago, who donated £30,000 for agricultural research at Pusa should be held up before the public as an object-lesson.

Fourthly, no success is possible without public co-operation. Co-operation is only possible with people who have the same angle of vision and the same line of thought. There is every grade of progress and decline in India. To make co-operation possible, these different grades of people have to be levelled by education. Propaganda is very necessary. A positive propaganda to awaken a desire in the community for better things, cleaner milk, more efficient bullocks and a campaign of "drink more milk" will bring far better results than a negative propaganda like "do not kill cows." The experience of the publicity campaigns of the Indian Tea Cess Committee is an example in point.

It passes my comprehension how a population that is so fastidious about its food, does not insist on clean milk production and incidentally on a systematic veterinary inspection of dairy cows, premises and utensils. I confess, I am unable to understand the workings in the mind of people who resist the slaughter of cattle for food purposes by certain communities and yet do not lift their smallest finger against the indiscriminate slaughter that is brought about by preventible epidemics on a very much larger scale.

We are all aware that diseases can be carried by animals to man as well as by human beings to animals. The veterinary expert that eliminates and destroys the sources of infection of anthrax and rabies is no less important in public service than the medical officer that combats the problem of cholera or small-pox. That the cow's milk is an excellent food for the human baby is undeniable. Bacteria or organisms of a devastating disease like tuberculosis are capable of being conveyed with contaminated milk to man, particularly to children. To what extent this source of infection has played its part in the tragedies of life, in the ceaseless sufferings of helpless children with twisted or deformed limbs, is not for me to say. I am here only to tell you how very closely bound up with animal health or otherwise is our own life, how the lack of proper veterinary health departments for meat and milk inspection for urban supplies has been a potent source of danger to human life.

So far I have only touched the general aspect of the problem. I have made many a digression to make the subject interesting. Now I shall name some of the commonest

scourges in India that take the heaviest toll: rinderpest, haemorrhagic septicaemia, foot and mouth diseases, tuberculosis and parasitic infestations. As rinderpest is the most dreadful of all, let us consider this as an example. There is no lack of scientific knowledge about this disease, thanks to the Imperial Institute of Veterinary Research at Muktesar in Naini Tal. The experience of Egypt and South Africa are there to help us. Nearer at home, the Mysore State has already shown us how much can be done by hastily improvised and trained staff. The rapid strides of the Veterinary Department in the Punjab should be an object-lesson and incentive to individual and corporate effort in other parts of India. Methods of inoculation should be popularized to win over the sentimental objections to use cow's blood. Inoculations should be done on a voluntary basis. Initially it must be allowed free otherwise the cost will be a deterrent to extensive use. In the process of time, public opinion is bound to gather round the serum simultaneous method and it will be time then to insist on compulsory immunization. This will need a lot of tact, judgment and initiative. India has some great advantages for combating rinderpest. Suitable cattle for the production of materials for inoculations are available in the hill-bulls of Naini Tal and the sera can be produced very cheap. The Institute at Muktesar has made a profit of over five lacs recently after having met all the expenses of production. Achievements have been great no doubt, but the possibilities are greater. We have it on the authority of the Royal Commission on Agriculture that in no sphere has scientific research conferred

greater benefits on agriculture than by the means of controlling live-stock disease and it may be added that India has no reason to be dissatisfied with the contributions which its scientific workers have made to world knowledge during the last thirty years.

The recently brought-out "Goat Virus" method does offer a very strong hope that in the course of a few years, at any rate, it may substantially increase our powers of control of rinderpest. Experience now is very insufficient and a definite assertion is not justifiable.

I suggest that a more expanded and better organized live-stock department will mean a substantial increase in the wealth of the cultivator as also a corresponding increase of the resources of the State will be achieved. It is a matter of paramount importance that the cattle wealth be first protected from the menace of these virulent scourges before any real progress in the improvement of rural India or agriculture for that matter, can be effected.

The Rt. Hon'ble L. S. Amery, the Secretary of State for Colonies in London, said not long ago, "There is no science which has a greater importance for the Outer Empire to-day or indeed in a large measure for the old country itself, than your science of animal health—Veterinary Science and there is no wider field for its activity than is offered by the many diverse problems of the British Empire." That statement, coming as it does from a responsible minister, is full of significance and substantiates my contention that live-stock work is far more important and is capable of far greater development than any other branch of agriculture.

Some Impressions of Educational System in the U.S.S.R.

By M. LAKSHMI, M. A., L. T.

THE news reporters have tried their best to spread stories about the poverty and misery of the population of Russia under the Soviet regime. The dirt and filth of the trains, the complaints and grievances of the dispossessed nobility are all exaggerated beyond the possibility of belief and without any consideration for human intelligence. Yet in no part of the world has education

made so much progress, been so much thought of as a constructive force; it is no exaggeration at all to point out that under the Soviet system, children and mothers are better, men and women are treated, fairly and their work judged by the same standards.

People invariably tell you, that if you go to Russia you see what the Russians want you to see. The writer's experiences

were different. In England the foreigner is shown the best the country has evolved, its experimental schools maintained by voluntary effort, and enthusiastic experts, over public schools and universities where tradition still lingers among the dreaming spires and casts a halo of romance and medievalism; but the slummy corners of the great city itself, the great unhappiness in areas like Bow, Bethnal Green, Deptford etc. are deliberately screened away from the vision of the foreigner for obvious reasons. If comparison is any good, it may be safely asserted that in Russia any visitor, as long as he is not a spy, could observe what he wants, what the Russians are doing, the practicality of their ideals, and the actual results achieved.

In dealing with Russian education we have to bear in mind two important things. (1) The effects of the war, Revolution and Counter-revolution. Russia suffered like any other ally during the War, before efforts could be made to efface these effects. The Revolution broke out; the Czarist regime had to give way to the workers' Government; the young Union of Republics was straightaway confronted with the Counter-revolution; the White Army under Wrangel and all the miseries of a nation pitched against itself and committed to opinions utterly contrary to each other. Yet it is amazing to note that even Wrangel in his "Memoirs" could not but view the Revolution as a natural historical sequence, the inevitable result of the course of events.

(2) The second deplorable thing is the great lack of popular education before the Revolution and the general cultural backwardness of the country. According to the census of 1921 the percentage of literacy was 47 in towns, in the rural areas only 27.8 out of 1000 could read. This was the heritage of the Czarist regime. The Soviet Government confronted with a situation like this, which is abnormally difficult, is doing all it could to live down this terrible heritage and evolve at the quickest possible time something, which would make Russia and the Russians propagandists of a new regime. The Educational authorities are fanatically enthusiastic about the solution of problems; the government is the real driving force and the greatest propagandist of education. The question is viewed not as a part of the party programme not even as an effort to secure government prestige, but as a real problem

affecting and concerning the whole nation and demanding immediate solution.

The problem in Russia is not only a problem of building schools; indeed, there are miles and miles of Russia without any kind of school, not even an elementary school of the poorest type. It includes the equipment of schools, writing of text-books, training of teachers, education of the "minorities" within the Republic. It is hardly possible to exaggerate the difficulty of finding an alphabet for the 'minorities' that have only a spoken and not a written language. The ideals of the Government with regard to this, the earnestness, enthusiasm and activities of the authorities concerned in the building up of these things round a central idea of co-operation and labour, are facts which go up to the construction of a national education on an International ideal.

In the Soviet Republic, education aims at the solution of three problems; the development of national culture, the development of public economy in the interest of the people, and the general, social and political development of its people. Hence the object of education is laid down on the following lines:—to train the children of Russia as useful members and efficient citizens with an understanding of their place in nature, society and State; to train them to be courageous to ideals of collectivism and understand the affairs of the world and judge their own position, and make their contribution to the future. This in fact is a bare summary of a scheme, the best laid out and expressly carried out in practice by any country in the world.

The material of instruction is not a band of dull conceited deficient children but a race of intelligent, courteous, and responsible youngsters who understand and are alive to the needs of the country as much as the authorities themselves and react to surroundings accordingly. The Primary and Secondary schools are called Unified Labour Schools and cater for children between 8—14; the title itself denotes the fundamental principle round which everything depends—Labour.

It would perhaps amuse people accustomed to ministers of Education who know no more about educational problems than the priests of the vital needs of social life, that in the Soviet Republic, the syllabus is drawn up by a body of experts, used and tried in the experimental schools before it is issued for universal use. And when the new

methods are issued for universal use, they are not accepted blindly but are expected to be adapted to suit the bias of the school, industrial or agricultural.

The prime object is general cultural development of children and their work. The programme of studies, therefore, is based on the surrounding life of the locality. The study of any subject is essentially practical and based on actual observation. The method followed in the teaching of any subject is the "Complex System" in which definite attempts are made to co-ordinate the various subjects taught in schools. The school subjects are usually grouped round a central idea which forms the connecting link between life, locality and subject taught. Thus the school is brought into direct contact with outside influences, with everything that is of interest in life. Individual work, competitions by means of rewards and punishments and marks are discountenanced; wherever I had reasons to ask whether children were punished, the invariable answer from the teachers was "For what?" If anything anti-social happens, the children are the best judges, and they mete out justice according to their light. Group work is always encouraged and insisted upon, because to have collective life in perfect harmony with nature, children must be taught by giving them opportunities to share the fruits of labour by sharing the toils as well. The ultimate result is expected to be the natural obliteration of artificial class-distinctions and development of social and political *camaraderie*. Every child is taught from its infancy, in the factory circle that collective life means collective responsibility as well. Consequently the child's responsibility towards the State and Society begins as soon as it realizes itself.

Children under fifteen belong to Pioneer Organizations, who besides working for the club and school carry out an intelligent programme of public work for the liquidation of illiteracy and mortality. At the time of the October revolution, the percentage of literacy was only sixteen. To-day the percentage has amounted to fifty-four and this astounding progress is due to the co-operation of the

children and students of the Soviet Republic. In all the schools whether primary, secondary or party, the social aim of knowledge is emphasized; knowledge is not and should not be used for selfish aggrandizement but for collective use. Twice a year during the holidays 120,000 free railway tickets are issued to students and teachers with which they can travel anywhere in Russia. During the summer months, these Pioneer workers go to the villages with two objects in view; to spread the idea of education, and to teach the villagers conditions of a healthy life. Usually reading-rooms are opened where the children read to the villagers, teach them to take an interest in the affairs of Russia and the world. The opening up of children's homes and play-grounds is another significant feature of holiday programme.

Russia fully believes that a nation does not live on its past but on its children, and the motto in many of the children's homes I visited bears this message "We are a million young, strong and daring; we will lead you." This growing band of hopefuls is brought up in a philosophy of life which expounds and believes only in daring and doing things. The new Russia does not believe in spiritual influences or supernatural agencies shaping the destinies of man. Social evils are studied and understood not as consequences of divine manipulations or as the pardonable vagaries of a so-called Law-giver but as mal-adjustments in economic life. Such mal-adjustments are best remedied by righting the wrongs by honest human effort—we are a part of nature and the vast forces in nature give us control and power over our surroundings; education must enable the individual to harness this power or force for the use of his fellow-beings. Labour, co-operative, collective labour is that which offers the best aid. This philosophy has worked wonders even among the supposed superstitious people like the pre-revolutionary Russians; it has dignified labour as the only thing worth living for; a consideration of its achievement has actually hastened the movement towards the fulfilment of the ideals of the new Republic.

Prof. Radhakrishnan's Reply

The Editor,
The Modern Review.

Sir,

Please forgive me for troubling you again. Having written one letter, I am afraid, I have to write another. I shall, however, try to be brief.

I am sorry that my remarks regarding the attitude of the *Modern Review* to my writings have vexed you somewhat. I read your comments with great care. You invite me to believe that you have not only been fair to me but even generous. If I am not able to see it, it must be due to some unfortunate limitation or prejudice in me.

I note that you say that "printed and published pages and passages are something substantial to go upon" and yet the bulk of Mr. Sinha's second communication (10-53), as of the first, consists of unpublished passages. I suppose that the sheer quantity of it, whatever be its quality, is intended to create an atmosphere favourable to the suggestions made.

Almost all the unpublished passages relate to texts and any one who reads my versions which are not close translations but brief summaries will find enough indications in them to show that they are based on the texts and not on any secondhand sketches of them. Take, for example, passages 10-24. Mr. Sinha's *Modern Review* version does not refer to *Sāstra-dīpikā* from which they are taken, while mine gives the source of *Sāstra-dīpikā* and the pages 158-159 thereof. Besides, my account gives the original of passage

Mr. Sinha's version.

1-3. But though there is always a direct and immediate knowledge of the self in every act of cognition, there is not always a direct and immediate knowledge of the not-self or an external object. An object is not directly presented to consciousness, in recollection and inference. Though in indirect knowledge its object is not directly presented to consciousness, yet the indirect knowledge itself is directly presented to consciousness.

4-7 Mr. Sinha says: "The whole extract is my own interpretation of Kumārila's doctrine" (italics Mr. Sinha's.) I refer the passage to *Sāstra-dīpikā* which has the corresponding text. A

"Both in recollection and recognition it is the object of recollection and recognition that appears in consciousness and not their subject. It is the self-apprehended as an object of previous perception that is represented to consciousness as the object of present recollection and recognition. If in the recognition of the self, the self is not known as the object of recognition, then the act of recognition would be objectless. But there can be no consciousness without an object. Hence, the self must be regarded as an object of self-consciousness."

17 "Anyathā jñāto mayā gṛhaṇa iti jñānuñney-asambandho jñātṛ jñeyasambandho vi na vyavahartum śakyate." Even Mr. Sinha will allow, I hope, that I could not have mentioned this text, if I had depended on his account which does not contain it.

It is a matter of no little surprise to me that a serious charge should be based on the use of such words as 'unrelational' 'undifferentiated' 'relational' 'differentiated' etc. in explaining the distinction between indeterminate and determinate perception, words which are employed by almost all writers on the subject.

With regard to the published passages themselves, Mr. Sinha generally brings together from different contexts those relating to textual matter and suggests that the corresponding passages dealing with the same texts, from my book, have a certain amount of resemblance to his. I have already said that when two or more writers deal with the same texts, they are bound to use some common words and characteristic expressions which do not warrant any inference of "harrowing."

Mr. Sinha seems to have felt that his attempt, so far as textual renderings were concerned, was not quite successful and so is anxious to make out in the second letter that he is giving his "own interpretations" in several passages. I give below his version and the Sanskrit texts which he is expressing in them and leave the reader to judge for himself, how far they are his "own" ideas or are only textual renderings.

Sanskrit text.

Sarvair eva jñānahotubhir ātmani sāksātkāra vañ dhīr upajanyate sarvatra prameyāsya āparokṣatva-niyamābhāvāt. Smṛtiṣvanumānāntareṣu ca na prameyam aparokṣam... sarvās ca pratītyah svayam pratyakṣāḥ prakāśante.

Prakaranapañcika.

p. 56.

comparison of the two will make the reader understand how far it is Mr. Sinha's "own interpretation" that is given here.

Ye tu kartṛtayaiv ātmasiddhir na karma tayoty-āhuh, tesām ātmani smarāṇa pratyabhijñāne nopapadyeyātām, tatpāpi hi pūrvakālasambandhit-venātmanah pratibhāso 'ngikaraṇīyah na ca sāmprate smarāṇa pūrvakālasambandhinah kartṛtvam sambhavattī katham kartṛtaya siddhyet. Tasmād ahampratyayakarmatayaiv ātmanah siddhiḥ.

Sāstra-dīpikā

p. 352 Chowkhamba Skt. Series
See also Yuktisneha prapūraṇi

8-9. Mr. Sinha here again brings together two sentences from two different pages of his version and gets two of my consecutive sentences and argues that he is stating in them his "own" exposition. I need not labour the point about 9 as Mr. Sinha himself gives part of the Sanskrit text used. As for 8, the sentence reads: "If substantiality constitutes the object of consciousness, then the self can never be the subject or knower; for the self is as much a substance as a jar." The passage from *Nyāyamañjari* here quoted is this: "Dravyadisvarūpe grāhye na jātari grāhakatā sādhitā syāt, ātmanavartinopi dravyādirūpasya ghaṭādityatvāt" (p. 430). Thus it is clear that the views of the texts are claimed by Mr. Sinha to be his "own."

Passages 10-53 are unpublished and I do not propose to deal with them in any detail.

54-57. These deal with the Naiyāyika's criticism of the Advaita view based on *Nyāyamañjari*, p. 432 and Mr. Sinha does not claim them as his "own interpretation" or "own exposition." There are significant differences in the two versions.

58-67. The text dealt with is *Sāstraṭīkā* and my version differs materially.

62. Here Mr. Sinha claims that it is his "own exposition" of the distinction between Vācaspati and Vijñānabhikṣu regarding the self's knowledge of an object. The distinction is a very familiar one (see Dāsgupta: *Indian Philosophy*, p. 260.) My rendering of Vijñānabhikṣu's theory of mutual reflection (parasparapratibimba) reads: "The mental modification which takes in the reflection of the self and assumes its form is reflected back on the self and it is through this reflection that the self knows the object." It is based on *Yogavārttika* I.4 "Buddher viṣayākāravṛttinām puruṣe yāni pratibimbāni tāny eva puruṣasya vṛttayah. Yathā ca citi buddheh pratibimbam evam buddhāv api cit pratibimbam svikāryam anyathā caitanyasya bhānānupapattēh..." Mr. Sinha gives the passage dealing with this topic, omits certain words from it and retains others which happen to be similar to mine and then complains that I have borrowed from him. My version is not identical with his but the use of the words 'modification' for vṛtti and 'reflection' for pratibimba makes him believe that his "own exposition" is adopted by me without acknowledgment. No argument is possible.

63-70. These deal with the Nyāyavaiśeṣika theory of dreams. In seven consecutive sentences, I refer to the chief varieties of opinion on the subject including those of Kaṇāda, Praśastapāda, Śrīdhara and Udayana. Mr. Sinha brings from five different pages a number of sentences where he is stating the views of the identical writers. My sentences are different from his but they happen to deal with the views of the classical writers. His complaint seems to be that I should not have stated them without my acknowledgments to him

because he has also in different words dealt with the views of the same writers.

I do not want to weary you or your reader. In these two letters I have shown that Mr. Sinha tries to make out a case in different ways that have borrowed his "ideas" and his "language."

1. In the two letters, there is not a single idea which can be regarded as Mr. Sinha's "own." He uses textual renderings and declares often that they are his "own interpretations" which no one familiar with these studies will grant.

2. He uses translations made by others, claims them as his own and then complains that I have taken my versions from his account.

3. He brings together textual matter from different contexts in his thesis and collects from different places in my book the corresponding passages and from the partial resemblance inevitable on account of the identity of the texts considered suggests that the resemblance is due to "unacknowledged borrowing."

4. Even with regard to the textual matter, his attempt seems to be a literal translation while mine is an exposition of the thought and throughout the passages there are striking differences and significant indications to show that I had an eye on the texts all through.

The charge reduces itself to this that I have used some of the classical texts on which he has based his account. I can only say that it will be difficult to deal with the Sāṃkhya-Yoga system without using Vācaspati and Vijñānabhikṣu, the Mīmāṃsā theory without using Pārthasaradhi, and Śālikanātha and the Vaiśeṣika doctrine without using Praśastapāda and Śrīdhara. Any one who knows anything of Indian Philosophy will understand how these books are the indispensable classics and no one can write on these topics without using them.

It is impossible to write on Advaita Vedānta without using Saṃkara's commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtra* and if we place side by side parallel passages from Thibaut and Deussen where Saṃkara is quoted, we shall have enough copy for any journal in India for nearly a year. But from the resemblance in matter and form we cannot draw any conclusion of plagiarism.

Mr. Sinha has passed judgments on my alleged mistakes of fact and of interpretation. This is not the place or the occasion to deal with them. Of course I do not claim that my account is perfect or free from errors!

With apologies for troubling you,

I am,

Very truly yours,

S. RADHAKRISHNAN

Calcutta, 12-2-29.

Town or Country

By MAJOR B. D. BASU, I. M. S. (Retired)

"GOD made the country, man the town," is a very well known saying.

Many people, however, seem to consider the town better than the country. As civilization progresses, more importance is attached to city life than to country life. A dweller in the country is contemptuously called a *rustic*.

The advantages of town-life are laid stress upon by almost every writer on sociology. In his work on *The Principles of Sociology*, Prof. E. A. Ross in the chapter on "City and Country," has quoted Josiah Strong, "The Challenge of the City," p. 18, to show that the cityward movement is a world phenomenon.

"London is probably two thousand years old, and yet four-fifths of its growth was added during the past century. From 1850 to 1890 Berlin grew more rapidly than New York. Paris is now five times as it was in 1800. Rome has increased 50 per cent. since 1890. St. Petersburg has increased fivefold in a hundred years. Odessa is a thousand years old, but nineteen-twentieths of its population were added during the nineteenth century. Bombay grew from 150,000 to 821,000 from 1800 to 1890. Tokio increased nearly 800,000 during the last twenty years of the century; while Osaka was nearly four times as large in 1903 as in 1872, and Cairo has more than doubled since 1850. Thus in Europe, Asia and Africa we find that a redistribution is taking place. The movement from country to city is a world phenomenon."

The above-quoted author has not referred to the growth of Calcutta. We know how villages have been deserted in Bengal and almost all well-to-do people have flocked to Calcutta. Many landlords of the permanently settled province of Bengal live in the proverbial city of palaces, while their tenants drag on their miserable existence in malaria-stricken haunts in the villages without pure drinking water, and suffering many other inconveniences.

The causes of the growth of cities, as mentioned by Prof. Ross, are to be traced to

(i) Expansion of commerce; (ii) growth of factory system of manufacture; (iii) rise of standard of living; (iv) development of government service; and (v) amelioration

of city life, and the diminished social prestige of the country.

There is difference also in the make-up of the population of city and country. In the Christian countries of the West, there are more males in the country than in towns, for the latter offers great opportunities for "maiden tribute." This is not the case in all towns in the East. It is the demand which creates the supply; hence irregular sex relations and prostitution are very common in large towns. Family life is stronger in the country than in towns, and so little of the sexual immorality is visible there as is witnessed in London, Paris, New York or Bombay.

The dweller in the town is not so much in touch with Nature as the man in the country. But this has been considered an advantage, for

"The love of Nature is not, as we might naturally expect it to be, a feeling much experienced by those who live in constant contact and conflict with its sterner forces, as by husbandmen, herdsmen and hunters; nor is it developed consciously in primitive types or unsophisticated races; but it is the accompaniment of leisure, culture, and refinement of life." (Sellar, Virgil, p. 47, quoted in Ritchie's *Natural Rights*, pp. 56-57).

Ritchie says that

"Like many strong feelings, it (the love of Nature) is due to reaction, the genuinely aesthetic love of the country is in the main a product of city life.

"All the fine arts, indeed, require the existence of city life for their life and growth."

Prof. Weismann has pointed out that 'nearly all the renowned musical composers and singers of the present century have come from large towns.'

"No element of civilization is possible without the city." (*Ibid.*, pp. 57-58).

But what does civilization do for the dweller in the town passing his existence in slums? An English author writes:—

"Creatures which dwell in darkness lose their sight and their colour; they become like their environment.—And so it is with slum dwellers. They are moulded to the likeness of their surroundings.

"There is another way in which their conditions may react upon them. Deprived of healthy, normal stimuli they may turn to unhealthy stimuli. There

is nothing in the slums to compete with the lure of strong drink and the fierce excitement of gambling...

"In our great cities there is an almost complete divorce from nature. Think, for instance, of the East End of London, some five miles long by three miles broad, densely populated, with its interminable stretch of mean streets, with few large open spaces, and with the country far away..."

'Railings for hedgerows, lamps for trees,
For hills the tenements grim.'

"Such is the scenery in which thousands of our boys and girls grow up and which very many of them will see practically every day of their lives until they die..."

"In London especially, with its enormous distances, the inhabitants are veritably in prison. It is a sad reflection that so many thousands in our great city are deprived of that education of the spirit which comes from the contemplation of nature. They do not see the procession of the seasons, seed time and harvest, the revelation of the orderly unfailing methods of God." (*The Facts of Poverty*, by H. A. Moss, pp. 19-21).

The same author says again that

"Men have sinned monstrously in building these huge cities from which God seems to be shut out. ... Stupidity and selfishness have made our cities; wisdom and unselfishness must transform them." (*Ibid.*, pp. 27-28).

It is these facts to which should be attributed in England the movement for "Back to the Land". It will do good to the natives of England to take more to agriculture than they have hitherto done.

On the other hand, the importance of the town for the education of political rights and civic duties of a people must be borne in mind. Prof. Ross writes:—

"The towns which arose in the Middle Ages to meet the economic needs of an expanding population gave rise to fresh social and political developments. The feudal manor stood for constraint; the town for freedom ('city air makes free'). Outside the town the workers were serfs and labour was despised; inside labour was respected and the worker had pride in his work. Outside, fighting and working were distinct occupations; inside, one wrought or fought as occasion required. Outside was caste; inside, men were in free and fluid relations. Moreover, town life develops a social mind more impressible and plastic than that of the open country. Outworn traditions and narrow local sentiments meet and cancel one another. The shutters of the intellect are taken down. The mind becomes supple and alert. Freed from the net of kin ties and class fealty the *individual* appears. The town is therefore a hot bed, where seed-ideas quickly germinate. It places itself at the head of the social procession and sets the pace for the country-dwellers.

"Less traditional than the country, the city appraises men according to some present fact—their achievement or their wealth, rather than according to their ancestry. It is plutocratic or democratic in temper, whereas the country-side believes devoutly in family. In the city, people consume, as it were, in one another's presence, and hence their expenditure conforms to the canon of Conspicuous Waste more than does that of the country-folk. In towns the multiplication of merely conventional wants intensifies competition, whets egoism, and restricts the size of the family." (*Loc. cit.*, p. 530).

But the author just quoted above, has referred to the cities as being sinks of gifted stocks as follows:—

"Now there are various things which may change for the worse the hereditary fibre of a people. One is the cityward flow. The glittering cities lure the brightest youth from the fields and tempt them to strain for the prizes of success. But in the city they marry later, die sooner, and leave fewer children than the dull cousins that stayed on the farm. Invariably, until about a century ago, cities were consumers of men, their deaths always exceeding their births, so that nothing kept them up but the endless inflow from the country. The fact that the urban population can reproduce itself to-day should not lead us to forget how for centuries cities were blast furnaces where the talented rose and became incandescent, to be sure, but were, nevertheless, incinerated without having duly reproduced themselves." (*Loc. cit.*, pp. 515-516.)

City life does not favour heart-culture. But the present civilization based on industry cannot do without cities. They are necessary evils. However, cheap means of transit may be expected to afford facilities to many to live in the country and come to the city for purposes of business only.

The country must play a greater part in the uplift of humanity than the town. This was well understood by the sages of ancient India and hence they enjoined on all to pass the last stage of life in the forest, in communion with God and Nature.

Prof. Giddings writes:

"The country produces population, energy and original ideas,—the raw materials of social life,—as it produces food and the raw materials of manufactures. ... Genius is rarely born in the town. The world's great faiths have germinated in the desert, or among mountain heights. Its great policies have been suggested by unsophisticated men. It owes its great discoveries and immortal creations to those who have lived with nature and simple folk." (*Principles of Sociology*, pp. 346-347.)

The Pact for the Renunciation of War

By PROF. SAILENDRANATH DHAR, M. A.,

INTRODUCTION

THAT the Covenant of the League of Nations was not a sufficient guarantee against another disastrous war was perceived by practical politicians in Europe at its very inception. Even at the Peace Conference at Paris France pressed the U. S. A. and England for defensive alliances against Germany. Since then the structure of peace has been sought to be built up chiefly by the 'bad old method' of pacts and alliances amongst the various states. It has been calculated that, exclusive of the famous Locarno engagements twenty-six treaties purporting to create defensive alliances have been concluded in Europe. Most of these are nothing but the attempts of those powers of Europe who gained by the settlement of 1919 to defend and maintain their acquisitions. Naturally, the peace of Europe at present rests on bayonets, and, according to competent critics, she is at least as well prepared for war now as she was in 1914.

Nevertheless, the peace *idea* continues to make steady progress in the West. In 1924 the famous Geneva Protocol for the pacific settlement of international disputes was accepted unanimously in the first reading by the Assembly of the League of Nations. It abolished war absolutely, and for that reason many anxious governments accepted it. It however, failed eventually, partly because of irrelevant and accidental reasons, and partly because it imposed too rigid and onerous obligations. The failure of a general treaty abolishing war again led to pacts among pairs of nations, the most important of these being those concluded at Locarno. Then came the proposal of Secretary Kellogg for a new multilateral treaty for the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy as among the various states of the world. On August 27, 1928, this pact was signed at Paris by the representatives of fifteen nations, and it has since been thrown open for adherence to the other nations of the world. How far this constitutes a practical proposal for the realization of the object aimed at by it will be discussed in the

present article; for this, I shall first deal with the history of negotiations behind the signature of the Pact.

THE FRANCO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS

It was M. Briand, the French Foreign Minister who first set the ball rolling in this direction. On April 6, 1927, the tenth anniversary of the entrance of America into the Great War, he made a remarkable statement to an American newspaper reporter. In the course of his observations, which largely dealt with the efforts made by France for securing European peace, he said that his government would give further proof of its pacific intentions by concluding with the United States an engagement "outlawing war" as between themselves. On June 20, he followed it up by sending the draft of a pact of perpetual friendship between France and the United States. This overture was viewed with different feelings by public opinion in Europe and America. While Dr. Murray and others in America eulogized the offer of France, it was regarded with suspicion by a section of the European press. It was pointed out that as France was determined to prevent any modification of the Peace Settlement of Versailles, it was clearly to her interest to secure American neutrality in case she became involved in a European war for maintaining this object. The American government must have regarded the offer of M. Briand with considerable suspicion, for it was not until six months had passed that Secretary Kellogg replied to it, and then also the reply was hardly as the French government had expected. The American government took up the idea of the outlawry of war, but, instead of confining themselves to a bilateral engagement between France and America, invited France to "make a more signal contribution to world peace by joining in an effort to obtain the adherence of all the principal powers of the world to a declaration renouncing war as an instrument of national policy." The French Government, in their reply dated the 5th January, '28

agreed to the idea of a multilateral treaty but only for the renunciation of 'wars of aggression.' This led to a lively correspondence between the French and American Governments, Mr. Kellogg insisting on both a multilateral treaty and the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy and M. Briand pointing out various difficulties in the way of French acceptance of such a pact. The French Government explained that on account of her obligations under the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Locarno engagements France could not renounce all wars with reference to every state. Refusing to believe that this was really the ground of objection to such a pact as was desired by himself, Mr. Kellogg offered to submit it together with the correspondence on the subject between the two Governments to England, Germany, Italy and Japan so that they might consider to what extent, if any, their present engagements stood in the way of their acceptance of his proposal. This was accordingly done on April 13, 1928; a week later the French Government also sent to the same Governments and to America their alternative draft of a multilateral treaty. War as an instrument of national policy is renounced most solemnly in both the drafts; but the French version states expressly in addition that under certain conditions, such as in accordance with the League Covenant or the Locarno engagements or in self-defence, the signatories are released from their obligations.

THE NEGOTIATIONS

The first Government to respond to the American note as also the only Government not to ask for further definition of the proposed renunciation of war was Germany. Dr. Stresemann observed that the pact 'could only strengthen the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Rhine Pact' and hoped that it would be immediately followed by practical disarmament and the pacific settlement of existing and potential conflicts among nations. The British note, which was sent after considerable delay and which, therefore, could take notice of the reply of the German Government and of a speech delivered in the meanwhile by Mr. Kellogg on April 28, before the American Society of International Law, generally supported the American proposals, but raised a very important argument. The relevant paragraph is worth quoting in full:

"The language of Article 1, as to the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy, renders it desirable that I should remind your excellency that there are certain regions of the world the welfare and integrity of which constitute a special and vital interest for our peace and safety. His Majesty's Government have been at pains to make it clear in the past that interference with these regions cannot be suffered. Their protection against attack is to the British Empire a measure of self-defence. It must be clearly understood that His Majesty's Government accept the new treaty on the distinct understanding that it does not prejudice their freedom of action in this respect. The Government of the United States have comparable interests any disregard of which by a foreign power they have declared that they would regard as an unfriendly act. His Majesty's Government believe, therefore, that in defining their position they are expressing the meaning and intention of the United States Government."

On June 20, Mr. Kellogg sent a circular, letter to fourteen Governments, *viz.*, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Czecho-Slovakia, France, Great Britain, Germany, India, Irish Free State, Italy, Japan, New Zealand, Poland, and South Africa, in which he endeavoured to meet all criticisms of his proposals. He says that the right of self-defence is inherent in every state and is implicit in every treaty. As regards prior international obligations, such as under the League Covenant or the Locarno treaties or the treaties of neutrality entered into by France, he held that inasmuch the signatories of these were also to be the signatories of the Pact, no state could violate any of them without at the same time violating the proposed anti-war treaty, in which case they would be released from their obligations under the treaty. Mr. Kellogg observed that the Covenant of the League of Nations does not impose an affirmative obligation to go to war, and that the obligation, if any, is secondary and attaches only when deliberately accepted by a state. Nevertheless, in order to avoid binding down such states by the obligation of renunciation of war, he proposed to add the following sentence to the preamble of the Pact:—

"That any signatory power which shall hereafter seek to promote its national interests by resort to war should be denied the benefits furnished by this treaty."

It is to be noted that, in this letter, Mr. Kellogg does not say a word about the British objection, and the inference is that he accepts the interpretation that the cases mentioned are covered by the doctrine of self-defence.

THE SIGNING OF THE PACT

The Governments thus addressed having responded favourably to Mr. Kellogg's letter, it was decided, on the invitation of M. Briand, to get the Pact signed at Paris by the representatives of the fifteen nations and then to invite the other nations of the world with whom America had diplomatic relations, forty-eight in number, to adhere to the pact. It was decided that on the same day France should send a similar invitation to Russia. The signing of the Pact took place on August 27 at Paris amidst the enthusiasm of the citizens. (The representative of India was Lord Cushendon, the Acting Foreign Secretary of Great Britain.) As fitted such a solemn occasion no speeches were delivered, except only an address of welcome by M. Briand. He characterized the Pact as 'the greatest collective deed born of peace' and as a 'direct blow to the institution of war, even to its very vitals.' But, though, in his enthusiasm, he spoke of it as marking 'a new date in history-making,' he was careful enough to observe that 'the treaty is a beginning, not an end unto itself.' "Peace is proclaimed" declared he. "That is well; that is much; but it still remains to organize it."

AFTER THE PACT

Thus the Pact for the Renunciation of War now belongs to the world. We do not know if all the Governments of the world have by now declared their adherence to it, but it is highly probable that nearly all have done so. It has come before the American Senate for necessary ratification. Russia has declared her willingness to accept it. It may, therefore, be said that nearly the whole of the civilized world has bound itself by a solemn treaty to renounce war as an instrument of national policy in their dealings with one another. How is it to affect practical politics in future?

IS WAR RENOUNCED?

If the enthusiasts for the treaty are to be believed the institution of war is now destroyed and the structure of peace built up. This is the view of Mr. Kellogg himself as appears from his letter to the French Government dated Feb. 27, '28. "From the broad standpoint of humanity and civilization," he stated, "all war is an assault upon the stability of human society and should be suppressed in the common interest. The Government of the United States desires to

see the institution of war abolished." Yet, under the reservations to which he agreed, the Pact, it is quite clear, does not aim at the renunciation of all warfare. It may even be fairly argued that the Pact does not prohibit exactly those sorts of war which are likely to happen in Europe in the near future. Let us, first, take up the case of France. She regards the peace settlement of 1919 as vital to her security and is sure to turn down any proposal for a pacific rectification, through the League of Nations, of the blunders of the Treaties of Versailles, Trianon and Neuilly. From the viewpoint of the Central Powers, these treaties are unbearable and unsustainable. Sooner or later, this must lead to war in Europe, and yet, this would be a legitimate war according to the Pact. Take again the case of England. The Pact, under the reservations of the British Government, cannot affect in any way vital British policy. It must be said to his credit that Mr. Austen Chamberlaine has quite frankly declared it in his note of reply. None of the latent or potent causes of strife that exist in Europe have been in any way lessened as a consequence of the signature of the Pact. Nor can it have any effect on American relations with Latin America. The silence of Mr. Kellogg on this point in his reply to the British Government is quite significant. It is appropriate too, for, while he was renouncing war on behalf of his Government, his country was maintaining by force of arms its intervention in Haiti and Nicaragua, holding San Domingo in iron bondage, and pushing forward, as usual, its investments in Latin America.

Again, it is believed, America can now hardly afford to maintain her traditional policy of neutrality in case there is a great war in Europe. An American writer, Mr. Quincy Wright says that while this policy was economically profitable in the past and was hence followed by America, it is no longer possible to be pursued because the economic (also the moral and political bases) of this policy have largely disappeared. With Europe owing her billions and borrowing half a million every year, it is evident that "though these loans are distributed it is probable that the bulk will be on one side or the other of the line of battle in any future war involving the important powers and American creditors will exert a continuous pressure for American intervention on that side."

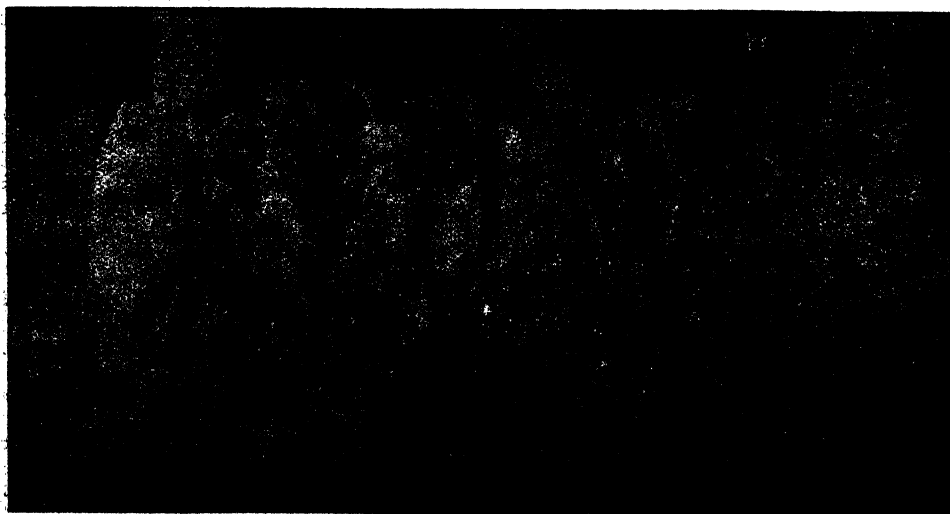
THE PACT AND ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS

The outstanding fact of western politics at the present day is the failure of England and America to come to an amicable agreement as to their own naval requirements and the reduction in the light of an agreement of their naval armaments. The programme for the construction of 71 ships which was sponsored by the Naval Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives last year has now been reduced to a proposal for the construction of 16 more ships. If the naval programme announced by the British Government is not increased, the American programme, if carried out, will outstrip the British total of 10,000 ton cruisers by ten cruisers of this class. The acceptance of the proposal by the Senate will involve America in a competitive armament race with Great Britain and perhaps with an Anglo-French alliance. *The World To-morrow* of New York (December, 1928) understands that as a bargain for the ratification of the Kellogg treaty, important church groups and peace organizations as also Senator Borah have decided not to fight the Cruiser Bill so that it has every chance of being carried through. "It is argued," says the journal, "that after we have once secured this treaty, then lovers of peace can compel limitation of armament more and more every year, but they must first get the treaty passed." This is, obviously, very superficial reasoning; for the threat of this programme

will surely complete the Anglo-French naval understanding which the press and people of England now deplore and would thus make naval limitation more difficult in future. It would also take away any moral value that may be sought to be gained by a subsequent ratification of the pact.

THE PLACE OF THE PACT IN HISTORY

Is the Pact going to be a driving force in the history of the West or is it going to be one of the curiosities of history? The question seems to be premature. One strong argument in favour of the Pact is that it has got solid popular support in many European countries and also in America. The whole negotiation about the Pact was done in public, as in every stage of the proceedings the correspondence among the Governments was made known to each other and to the public at once. The Pact of Paris differs in this respect from many other such scraps of paper. It may be regarded as the crystallization of one strong current of public opinion in favour of organizing peace in Europe. According to Dr. Gilbert Murray of America it marks "the longest step forward since the noble movement to lift civilization above the barbarism and cruelty of international war began." Many will hesitate to accept this view as the whole truth, but at the same time we should not deride or ridicule the Pact, as is frequently done in our country. The Pact shows that "the will to peace, the habit of thinking in terms of peace" is increasing in Europe.

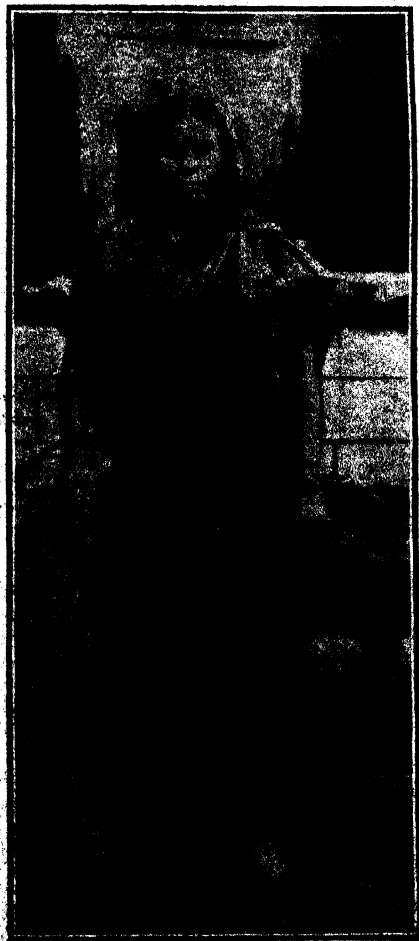


Mothers and Children at one of the Child Welfare centres in Calcutta.



MISS JYOTIRMOYI GANGULI, M. A. is a hereditary social worker. Her father, the late Mr. Dwarka Nath Ganguli, was one of the founders and foremost members of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj and conducted the *Abala-bandhab* magazine, in which he fearlessly advocated the cause of womanhood and also strenuously preached the creed of Indian nationalism. Her mother, Mrs. Kadambini Ganguli—an equally distinguished personality—was the first graduate Bengali lady to enter the medical profession and had also the honour of being one of the first five ladies who attended the Congress as delegates. It was the wish of Miss Ganguli's parents that her life should be dedicated to Social Service, and she is carrying out their desire very faithfully. She is closely connected with the Bengal Social Service League and Saroj Nalini Memorial Association for Women's Work. A thoughtful and eloquent speaker, cultured and learned, she has attained an All-India reputation in public life. She was recently called upon by the Madras Social Service League to preside over the second Madras Provincial Anti-Untouchability Conference and performed the task so well as to win the love and admiration of the people of Madras.

Miss Ganguly has also made a name in other spheres. She is the champion of labour.



Miss Jyotirmoyi Ganguli, M. A.

Miss Jyotirmoyi has thrown herself heart and soul into the cause of female education. Since her graduation she has been engaged in disseminating culture and knowledge among her own sex. She served as a teacher in the Bethune College, and later in the capacity of Principal in Ravenshaw Girls' College, Cuttack (1915-17), Buddhist Girls' College, Colombo (1917-19), Kanya Mahavidyalaya, Jalandhar (1920-21), and lastly in the Brahmo Girls' School. Since its inception Miss Ganguly has been the soul of the Vidyasagar Bani-bhawan (a Widows' Home) in Calcutta, and is now working as its Honorary Assistant Secretary and the head of the teaching department.

While at Colombo and Jalandhar she identified herself with the labour movement. It was principally through her ceaseless efforts that child-labour was abolished in Ceylon. The idea of a Greater Indian cultural union took a practical shape in her mind and, while in Ceylon, she invited Dr. Kalidas Nag there and, in collaboration with him, founded a school of Indian Art and Music at Colombo.

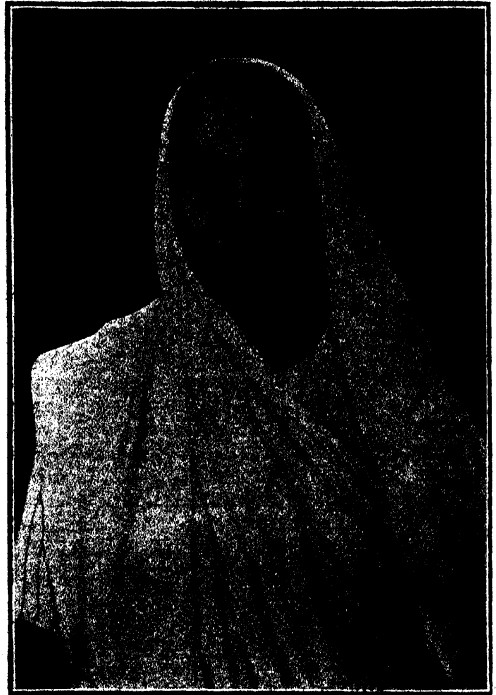


Srimati Suniti Mitra

Among the devoted workers for the nation may be mentioned the name of SRIMATI SUNITI MITRA. After graduating from the Calcutta University she acted as an Inspectress of Schools in Bengal for some time. She threw up this post as a result of the Non-co-operation movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi. Her name is closely associated with various social works undertaken both in Bengal and in the United Provinces. Her activities in advancing education and promoting the diffusion of knowledge among India's woman-kind are well-known. It is with pleasure, we learn, that she has recently been elected a Municipal Commissioner at Lucknow. It is to be hoped that, if Indian ladies come forward and occupy such positions, the Munici-

palities would perhaps be able to give more attention to the health and welfare of children and their mothers.

MRS. CHANDA BAI is the eldest daughter of Mr. Naraindas, ex-M.L.A., and the daughter-in-law of Mr. Chandra Kumar Jain, a distinguished zamindar of Arrah. She lost her husband shortly after her marriage. A strong inclina-



Mrs. Chanda Bai

tion to the pursuit of knowledge was noticed in her very early, and despite the strict *purdah* system prevalent in Bihar she has made great advance in self-education. She possesses a sound knowledge of Sanskrit and has gained proficiency in Jaina philosophy. To promote the education of her sex, this learned lady has produced a number of Hindi books, of which the following deserve to be mentioned: *Upadesha-ratnamala*, *Saubhagya-ratnamala*, *Nibandha-ratnamala*, *Mahila-onka-chakravartitwa*. Chanda Bai has been editing *Jaina Mahiladarsha*, a monthly

magazine for the last seven years with conspicuous ability.

Born and brought up in affluence though she was, Chanda Bai leads a very simple and unostentatious life. The noblest monument, erected by her at Dharampur, near Arrah, at a great cost, is the "Sri Jaina-bala-Vishrama", where Jaina women, young and old, are taught. Chanda Bai herself shares in the work of teaching and delivers, from time to time, useful and instructive lectures to the students.



Mrs. Saraswati Bai Ovalekar

MRS. SARASWATI BAI OVALEKAR is a Maharashtra lady of Thana. She is a skilful artist in embroidery and specimens of her work on khaddar were exhibited in the Congress held recently in Calcutta.



Y. V. Ranganayaki Ammal

The Government of Madras has appointed Y. V. RANGANAYAKI AMMAL as a member of the District Educational Council, West Godavari.

MRS. C. SANJIVA RAO is the first lady to be nominated a member of the District Board, Vizagapatam.

The Third All-India Women's Conference on Educational Reform was held at Patna recently and RANI LALIT KUMARI SAHEBA of Mandi State presided over its deliberations. We reproduce here extracts from her presidential address :

Meeting in the city of Patna, it is impossible not to feel inspired by the memories of ancient



Mrs. C. Sanjiva Rao

Pataliputra, associated with the great traditions of Asoka and Chandragupta who reigned at this capital and under whose benign sway India saw some of the most glorious day of her history. India's daughters were not "cabin'd, cribb'd, confin'd" in those spacious days of the past, but



Rani Lalit Kumari Saheba



ALL-INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE.---A group photograph of President and members of the Standing Committee of the All-India Women's Conference.
1st row sitting: Mrs. Nehru, Mrs. P. K. Sen, Mrs. Saraladevi Choudhuran, Mrs. Mazharul Haque, H. H. Dowager Rani of Mandi (President), Mrs. Faridoonji, Mrs. Hindikoper, Mrs. S. C. Mukerji, Mrs. Byramji.
2nd row standing: Mrs. Shukla, Mrs. Bhaskeramma, Miss Nilkanth, Mrs. Miles Irving, Miss Bahaduraji, Miss Lazarus, Mrs. Mayadas, Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, Miss Copeland, Miss Khemchand, Mrs. Mukerji, Mrs. Herlekar.



The members of the Reception and Executive Committees of the All-India Women's Conference

they marched onward hand in hand with men, in the spirit of true comradeship and were known to have distinguished themselves in many spheres of national activity. They were not immured in the *zenana*; they were not burdened with the cares of family life even when they had not passed childhood; there were no limits set to their intellectual ambitions and they enjoyed a measure of social freedom which is in refreshing contrast to the fate of their descendants to-day....

It is a feeling of intense depression that comes over any one who has occasion to examine the present extent of the illiteracy of women in India, the wiping off of which is one of the important aims of our organization. Nothing can be a matter of sadder reflection to us than the fact that, according to the latest official statistics, only about twenty-one out of every thousand women in India are literate, while in the advanced civilized countries of to-day, not only in Western lands, but also in Japan, practically every woman is literate.

The highest culture and enlightenment should be the birthright of women as well as of men....

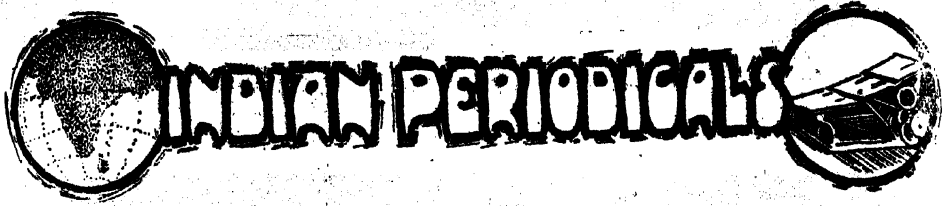
Women benefit by the highest education as much as men and it is a narrow view indeed which seeks to fit woman only for the needs of motherhood and domestic life, though it is not argued on parallel lines that man's education

should be ordered so as to make him primarily a good father and a good husband....

As has been recognized on all hands, the question of the educational progress of the women of India is bound up intimately with the improvement of our social conditions. The best of our educational programmes must come to naught and all our resolutions at conferences must be futile, if women cannot come out of the *purdah* and have the benefits of God's light and air; if little girls continue to be hustled into marriage even before they have reached their teens and laid the foundations of the most rudimentary education; if women are to be handicapped as at present, by disabilities of various kinds, preventing them from reaching the full heights of knowledge and experience of which they are capable....

It is time that the justice of the equality of opportunities for both sexes was enunciated in no uncertain language and its recognition enforced in all directions in this country. This great principle was acknowledged in no indefinite terms by our great ancestors....

The recognition of this fundamental equality, the removal of our numerous social disabilities and, above all, unremitting attention on our part to the cause of our educational advancement—these should lead to a new era of development in our history without which our beloved motherland can never hope to take her rightful place among the civilized nations of the world.



Sanskrit Culture & Brahmins

The *Prabuddha Bharata* for February publishes the first half of the Presidential Address by M. M. Haraprasad Shastri at the last session of the Oriental Conference at Lahore. In it the President takes a rapid and informative survey of Sanskrit culture in modern India—its palmy days in the eighteenth century, its sudden and sweeping decay in the nineteenth when western education made its triumphant entry, and then the steady and slow revival of it when careful students undertook researches in it and searches for the manuscripts. The account of migration, retracing and publication of Sanskrit MSS. in which Mahamahopadhyaya H. P. Shastri filled so glorious a role among living men, is exhaustive, full of suggestions and of absorbing interest. The first half is concluded with this pertinent observation:

The Brahmins are much maligned for their selfishness, bigotry, short-sightedness and what not. But there is no doubt that they saved the Hindu ideals in India on two great occasions: Once in the third century B. C.; when Asoka wanted to level down distinctions of caste and creed and take away all privileges which the Brahmins enjoyed in matter of punishments and law-suits they had no other alternative but to put their house in order and really deserve the respect of the people by writing the metrical Smritis by making the *Rāmāyana*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* available to the people who were being lured away by Buddhism with its gorgeous ritualism and its democracy. Once again in the eleventh century they saved Hindu society, by writing these *Nibandhas*, from the onslaughts of Mahomedan preachers. They were equally clever in absorbing all conquering races into the bosom of the Hindu society in some of the most crucial turns of its history. Where are the Huns? Where are the Jattas? Where are the Sakas? Where are the Yuch-chis? They form an integral part of the Hindu society. May they yet do the same and absorb Western and Mid-eastern culture into their own!

National Movement—the Present Stage

"There are at least three distinct stages in the realization of an ideal," and the *Prabuddha Bharata* prefaces its editorial survey of the national movement with the following:

There are at least three distinct stages in the realization of an ideal. In the first stage, that is to say, in the beginning, the attachment to the ideal is more or less a sentimental one. The ideal fascinates us; it seems the very pink of perfection. Its charms and attractions seem to paralyze our action. We do not consider much how we can fit it with our realities, or if it will be able to stand the contact of practical considerations. In the second stage, an understanding has to be made between the ideal and the real, and a tug of war takes place between them. The perfections of the ideal seem to vanish away one by one; and it appears sometimes as if the ideal is no ideal at all. We get disgusted with ourselves at our former infatuation for it. We have been fools, so we think, to have ever adored it. The realities engross more and more of our attention now. We cannot overlook them in the way we did in the first stage. They seem often too much for us. The earth spreads all her treasures before our eyes and tries to lure us away from the ideal. This is a stage in which the struggling soul passes through a great crisis. There is the fear of its losing its balance and being for ever lost in the morass of so-called facts.

Yet this crisis and confusion should not be considered a set-back. All progress towards an ideal has this as its middle stage. It cannot be avoided. A mere sentimental regard for the ideal is little good. The reckoning with the actualities of life and circumstances is an essential factor. Such a reckoning is a test of both the soul and the ideal. And this stage of reckoning cannot be reached unless we have made some progress towards the desired goal, and unless we have acquired vigour enough and have learnt to look facts squarely in the face.

In the third stage, the victory over the real and the actual has been won. The so-called realities have handed over their domains to the ideal which is now no longer the ideal but the Real in the true sense. The realities have become transfigured and reveal in their inmost being those charms and perfections which had bewitched us from afar in the first stage.

In the opinion of the paper, which is always weighty and thoughtful, our national movement is at the second stage—the state 'of reckoning with the actual,'—and for the moment the ideal is in danger of being swamped by the glammers of the real.

Of course, we are not much disturbed by these manifestations. This fight and understanding with the actual is a necessary stage on the way. The national mind must pass through it. The present realism is undoubtedly an advance on the inactive idealism of the past. Much has to be done in all

fields of life,—physical, political, economical, industrial, social, educational, cultural. A sturdy sense of realities is absolutely necessary to accomplish these arduous tasks well and quickly. It will not do for India to lag behind other nations in all respects, and merely gaze at the stars. An idealism that has not triumphed over realities and has merely evaded them, is certainly weakening. But, as we have pointed out before, this stage is also fraught with danger: the national mind may lose its balance and then there will be complete anarchy and ruin.

The safe and most fruitful course is therefore to keep our eye ever on the spiritual ideal of India, even while we are waging the fiercest warfare with realities. It will not do if in our enthusiasm for India's material prosperity, we lose sight of the ideal. The only security, under the circumstances, lies in the rapid growth of a section which has reached the third stage of progress, the state of certitude and victory. We want now in the country a larger and larger number of persons to whom the idea of India is no mere ideal but a living reality.

The editor then protests, not without point however, against the frequent attacks on Yogis by some politicians.

Can anybody else than a real Yogi, can a mere intellectual or worker, ever conceive this synthesis? How can spirituality be synthesized except by a spiritual person? We must study the history of India a little more carefully. Did not every epoch of India have as its fountain-head of inspiration the life and teachings of a Yogi? When did India ever do without the guidance of Yogis? Evidently the speaker wanted to say that all kinds of Yogis cannot lead. That is true. The Yogis who would lead must be the embodiments of the spirit of the age, and must themselves come into the active field. The leading of such Yogis India must secure, or there is shipwreck ahead.

The fact is, there is no other way for the national workers than to be intensely spiritual and intensely active at the same time.

Karnata Music : Its Philosophy

In the *Triveni* (January), Mr. Hari Nagabhusanam contributes a thoughtful paper on the philosophy of Karnata music, which, as distinct from the Hindustani school, 'preserves the individuality of the Aryan conception of music much better than its sister-school.' The philosophy of Karnata music is, therefore, the philosophy of the Aryan music, and the writer explains its transcendental and conventional aspects:

The transcendental aspect of music is that which accords with the highest purpose music is said to serve, namely the attainment of eternal bliss. It is an inviolable rule that the effect is nothing else than the cause itself in another phase or form. Hence that kind of music from which eternal bliss emanates must be that which is itself all-blissful; and what is this all-blissful entity but *Bhagavan Brahman* Himself who is described in the Upani-

shads in the following terms. *Anandam Brahmethi Vyajanath*. "Brahman is bliss." *Brahman* proper is by himself unmanifest and unqualified. *Aum* is His highest and noblest manifestation with all His attributes of eternity-consciousness and infinity, and thus this *Aum* has assumed the various phenomenal forms by an inconceivable process of disintegration into elements and their subsequent combination to give the resultant phenomena composed of life and matter—life representing the subjective self as emanation or reflection, in all His essence, of the unqualified *Brahman* and matter affording the apparently-real objective projected out of His qualified personality. *Maya* becoming transformed as such.

The aim of life according to the Aryan theological doctrines is to investigate, as already stated on what principle the universe rests, and by what means man attains eternal happiness. The cosmos has evolved out of the all-blissful *Brahman* manifested as *Aum* at the inception, and it therefore has its being in that *Brahman* as such. This solution of the fundamental principle of the cosmos suggests the answer to the next question, involved in the subject of our enquiry; and it is this. A person who wishes to attain eternal happiness has to realize that he is the subjective self which is a reflection of the universal self, that he is as such all-blissful as the cosmic self, that the objective matter is only an emanation from or a projection out of the conventional and hence illusive vesture of the *Brahman*, termed *Maya*, and that self-realization is possible through the medium of the all-pervading, all-blissful sound, a manifestation of the *Atman*.

Self-realization through the medium of music may take the form of *Pranacopasana* of *Jnanayogins* or *Geelopasana* of *Bhaktiyogins* and *karmayogins*. But it is the conventional aspect of music which obtains credit with the world. The writer explains it:

Works on music define it as composed of three elements—*Bhava*, *Raga* and *Thala*. *Bhavam* may be taken to mean ideas, as generally understood, and emotion as truly interpreted. *Ragam* is defined as a combination of *Swarams*, a *Swaram* being so named as it automatically pleases the hearer's heart. *Thalam* refers to time-keeping. Such a definition of music, of course, covers as well the three types of transcendental music above commented upon, but the three conceptions of *Bhava*, *Raga* and *Thala* are found therein in their *Sukshma Sthiti*, i. e., subtle form, whereas in conventional music they become perceptible in their *Shutthla Sthiti*, i. e., gross form. The spirit of subtle things, as everybody concedes, is inconceivable to ordinary minds, and hence the generality of people are not able to discern the splendour and grandeur of transcendental music. Knowing this, our Maharshis have discovered such forms of sounds wherein the all-blissful aspect of *Brahman* becomes manifest even to the untutored mind and named them *Sa*, *Ri*, *Ga*, *Ma*, *Pa*, *Dha*, *Ni* as they occur in nature.

Bhavam literally means 'existence' and implies the *Satya* aspect i. e., the eternity aspect of *Brahman*. The derivative meaning of *Ragam* is 'pleasingness' and it connotes the *Jnana* aspect i. e., the all-conscious or the all-blissful *Shruti*

aspect of *Brahman*. *Thalam* comes from a root-meaning 'time' and it signifies the 'Ananta' aspect, i. e. the infinity aspect of *Brahman*. Our Maharshis perceived that these three aspects of *Brahman* discernible though they are in every phase of sound and in every atom of matter evolved therefrom, are vividly manifest in verbal concept. *Swara* combinations and time-keeping, assuming the names of *Bhava*, *Raga* and *Thala* respectively, and have achieved a system of music on these premises to please all grades of people. This is the conventional system of music.

But the conventional aspect, the writer explains, may serve as an access to transcendental music again.

Political Vs. Social Reform

The fascinating question that works in the mind of thinkers and workers is answered by Mr. Kalinath Roy, Editor, *Tribune*, in the pages of *The Vedic Magazine* (November & December 1928) :

A country cannot indefinitely remain socially stagnant and yet strive for political freedom, nor can a country remain a contented slave politically and yet sincerely hanker after social reform. Taking the nation as a whole and a fairly long period it is safe to assert that great movements for social and political uplift are as a rule synchronous. It could scarcely have been otherwise. The soul of a nation, like that of an individual is one and indivisible, an organic unit; and every great movement is a movement of the soul, an attempt on its part to reach forward to an ideal. How could any such movement leave any part of the soul entirely unaffected? For an illustration of this truth we need not go very far. The two greatest movements for social reform in India in our time undoubtedly are the *Brahma Samaja* and the *Arya Samaja*; and it is a matter of common knowledge that each of these movements in its own way has had a vast reacting influence on political thought and political action. Similarly the Congress has from the first been among the chief inspirers of the social reform movement, and many of its most prominent leaders have been among the most ardent social reformers. The great Tilak himself had a social side to his political programme; while his successor in national leadership is at least as enthusiastic an advocate of social reform as of political progress.

In a subject country social reform like all other activities tends to bear the stamp of the slavish mentality of its people. A few choicest spirits may rise from time to time who can shake themselves free from such mentality and can look at problems in their true perspective. But most people are content to take themselves, their social customs and institutions at the valuation of their political masters. A movement for social reform in such circumstances naturally runs the risk of being an attempt to make the country socially a copy, a feeble imitation, of the ruling country. All great movements, all movements that leave an abiding impress on

the life or the destiny of a people, are spontaneous, springing out of the free life of that people, acting upon and being reacted upon by its environment. A movement for social reform, in this sense, is naturally denied to a people as long as it is not politically free. Then again the worst effect of political subjection is that it deprives a people and all its component parts of their power of initiative. Subject to extraneous authority politically, they tend to accept social customs and usages as a part of their lot, the decree of an inexorable fate. In such circumstances, the mere fact that a custom or an institution exists or has existed for years, is regarded as a sufficient reason for its continuing to exist. The pressure of economic forces may change the institution or the custom, but such a thing as a conscious deliberate change becomes almost an impossibility. For the same reason those who are on the lower rungs of the social ladder are content to remain where they are, without asserting their natural human right to ascend to the higher ladders. The problem of untouchability can never be wholly solved unless and until the untouchables themselves take the riddle of their deliverance into their own hands. Till then the process will be one of mere tinkering, and not of that complete transformation of the lot of these millions of people, which is their inalienable birthright. And there is no other, certainly no better way to enable the untouchables to take the problem of their uplift into their own hands than by giving them the franchise. As Mazzini has so beautifully put it, "how is a man to be shown that he has a mission on earth to be given the consciousness of his duties and his rights, except by his initiation into citizenship, in other words, the suffrage?" It is for this reason and from this point of view that there is truth in the statement that in a subject country, at all events, political reform with a capital R must precede social reform with small r. A movement for social reform there may, and indeed must, be simultaneously with political reform movement. Such social evils as definitely stand in the way of the big political reform or seriously interfere with national efficiency or are obviously inconsistent with the time spirit must be removed, irrespective of whether political reform is or is not within immediate reach. To remove them is in most cases a part of the political reform movement itself. But anything like a complete social transformation can only follow and not precede the attainment of political freedom. This is exactly what the history of Turkey before the European war and now of Afghanistan clearly shows. This is exactly what we in India can expect. Only a politically free India can rejuvenate and overhaul herself socially.

Indian Architecture Under Akbar

In the *Half-Yearly Journal of the Mysore University* Prof. S. V. Venkateswara gives an elaborate account of Indo-Saracenic architecture as it is seen to have developed in the palaces, tombs, mosques, etc., built by Akbar. Observes the writer :

Akbar's ideal in art was conditioned by the times. They abounded in artists and patrons of

rt, and the artistic vigour of the period was vident throughout India. The causes of such a universal art-movement should be sought partly in the spiritual and moral forces of reviving Hinduism, in the wealth of India and her abundance of building material, and in the existence of separate castes of artists and architects who clung enaciously to their ancestral professions, as well as in the political strength, religious zeal, and love of decoration and display of the Mussalman rulers. True to the genius of his race, whether in China, Persia or India, Akbar tried to utilize and assimilate the art traditions of the conquered peoples. His open mind and selective genius adopted whatever was best in the Fine Arts of his time. A blending of the building styles and decorative modes that obtained among his friends and subjects was the aesthetic counterpart of his eclectic policy in religion.

The artistic remains of the great Emperor are rightly characterized as the mirror of history :

It is easy to see how Akbar's architecture bears the impress of the feelings and fashions of the age—an age of luxurious leisure, an atmosphere of sensuousness and sensuality. We have seen now in its details also the art of the age reflects the general conditions of the times. Alike in the styles of building and modes of ornamentation we notice a dexterous combination of the Indian and Saracen elements on which is engrafted whatever is artistically fine or effective in the building and decorative arts of other countries. Thus we have that strangely beautiful medley of buildings of all styles and plans, destined for all sorts of purposes, which has long been the wonder and delight of artists and architects of all countries. The general purpose of the design was Indian: to counteract the heat and glare of the fierce tropical sun. Everywhere we have enclosed courts with their cool shade, pleasant shrubs and gay flowers; tall trees flaunting their silken flags, speckled with bright blossoms or laden with golden fruit; and dark verdant banks of varied foliage cooling the eyes and quieting the heart,—a relief from the silvery sheen of the white marble charged with the noon-day blaze of the Indian sun. Ladies of rank performed their elaborate toilets by the splashing fountains, and their husbands sought rest and repose in the gardens of the seraglio. Nor was such splendour reserved for the Indian Pompeii or the imperial city of Agra. On their environs we find relics of huge buildings with extensive grounds enclosed, where were housed the nobles of rank, a number of whom with all their stately equipage attended on the Emperor's person at the public processions and the ceremonies of the court. The palace of Birbal at Samougarh, for instance, is one of the innumerable remains of the kind in the neighbourhood of Agra. The architectural effect is marvellous. Of the least among the buildings we may use the words of Victor Hugo: 'Everywhere was magnificence refined and stupendous; if it was not the most diminutive of palaces, it was the most gigantic of jewel-cases.'

Akbar's eclecticism in religion is illustrated by the borrowings from various religious styles—Hindu, Jain, Buddhist and Christian. His love of variety and delight in things new are evidenced by in

the resemblance of parts of his work to the English, Persian, Chinese, and Japanese styles. Akbar's inventiveness is illustrated by his introduction of various coloured stones encrusted in marble in place of coloured tiles. We can see an illustration even of Hindu superstition in the structure. It is a well-known fact that the Indian artisan believes to this day that the Gods cannot bear the sight of a caparisoned building brought to completion. The artist leaves off before giving the finishing touch lest some sad calamity should befall him or the inhabitant of the building. This is the reason why a portion of the border is left unfinished in a carved panel in the Turkish Sultan's house. For similar reasons too, the wall of Fatehpur-Sikri remains unfinished. We are told that the Shaikh warned Akbar that his imperial glory would begin to wane if the city were encompassed by walls on all sides. The Sangin Burj (tower) is therefore an irregular pentagon.

Greater India—Some Landmarks in its History

Dr. B. R. Chatterji takes in the *Meerut College Magazine* a birds-eye-view of Greater India :

A SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION

Our earliest sources of information about the spread of Indian culture in Indo-China and the Malay Archipelago (Java, Sumatra, Bali, Borneo, etc.) are the Chinese Imperial Chronicles. From the accounts of Chinese envoys to these regions we learn that in the 1st century A.D. a Brahman of the name of Kaundinya founded a powerful kingdom (called Fu-nan by the Chinese) in Central Indo-China. This is corroborated by a Sanskrit inscription from Champa (now known as Annam) of the 7th century A.D. relating to the foundation of Bhavapura—the capital of that kingdom (Fu-nan). It seems that the Brahman Kaundinya married a native (Indo-Chinese) princess and founded a dynasty which later traditions linked up with the lunar dynasty of India.

Gradually other states, thoroughly imbued with Indian culture were established in Indo-China. Among them may be mentioned Kambuja (now known as Cambodia and which was originally a vassal state of Fu-nan), Champa (the present Annam), Dvaravati (in south Siam), Hamsavati (Pegu in Burma), Arimardanasapur (Pegu in Burma) etc.

IN BORNEO AND SUMATRA

In the Archipelago centres of Indian influence rose early in Borneo—where a Sanskrit inscription of the 4th century A.D. describes the performance of a Vedic sacrifice by a king of the name of Mulavarman, West Java—where king Purnavarman constructed canals and posed as Vishnu, Bali where Hinduism still survives, and Sumatra—known in early times as Suvarnadvipa (the Isle of Gold). Later on, Central Java and finally East Java became the seats of powerful 'Indianized' kingdoms.

The empire of the Shailendra monarchs of Shrivijaya (in S. E. Sumatra) was for centuries the most powerful maritime state between China and India. In the 8th century A.D. the Shrivijaya

rulers reigned over portions of Sumatra, Java, the Malay Peninsula, and numerous islands in the Archipelago. It was recognized by the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing as a great centre of Sanskrit learning.

As late as the 14th century A.D. the mighty Hindu-Buddhist kingdom of Majapahit (its Sanskrit name was *Bilva-tikta*) held sway over the whole Archipelago and considerable portions of the Malay Peninsula. Its highly efficient navy kept order in the innumerable islands lying between Australia to the east and the Philippine Islands to the north.

Sanskrit inscriptions found in Champa (Annam), Kambuja (Cambodia), Borneo, Java, Sumatra, Bali, the Malay Peninsula, etc., provide the material for reconstructing the history of Greater India. French scholars in Indo-China and Dutch archaeologists in Java have done wonderful work in discovering and editing these inscriptions. We in India know very little about this spread of Indian cultural and political influence abroad—because there has been written very little on this subject in English.

CAMBODIA

In the middle of the 6th century A.D. Kambuja (Cambodia) overthrew Fu-nan, the suzerain state and soon became a powerful kingdom under a succession of warlike princes. About five hundred inscriptions, many of them quite long and in faultless Sanskrit, provide us with ample material for the reconstruction of the cultural (and to a substantial extent also the political) history of this great Hinduized State from the 6th to the 14th century A.D.

To the east of Cambodia was situated another Hindu kingdom Champa, which had a more chequered career as it had to fight continuously against Chinese and Annamite invaders. About 150 inscriptions (which can be supplemented by Chinese and Annamite chronicles) give us a fairly connected account of this interesting realm. It is solely to the French archaeologists that we owe the discovery of the Hindu period of Indo-China.

As regards Java, Sumatra, Bali, etc., the number of inscriptions in Sanskrit and Kavi (the old literary language of Java) is not large, but there are two important Kavi chronicles which deal with the 13th and 14th centuries—the most glorious period of Javanese history. The narratives of the Arab merchants of the 9th and 10th centuries also throw an interesting side-light on contemporary conditions in these islands. The Dutch archaeologists have done most valuable work not only in collecting the material for the history of the Hindu period of Java but also in conserving the splendid shrines and monuments of that lovely island.

ANGKOR VAT

In Cambodia the great Vishnu temple of Angkor Vat, built by Suryavarman II in the first half of the 12th century A. D., is now recognized as one of the wonders of the world. This marvellous shrine had been almost forgotten—enveloped as it had become in a tropical forest. It was re-discovered by H. Mouhot, a French scholar, in 1860. Wonder-struck at the quite unexpected sight of this colossal temple in the midst of an impenetrable jungle,—he wrote in his diary that it was

the most wonderful structure in the world, the like of which Greece or Rome had never built. Everything here (at Angkor Vat) is on a grand scale. The moat which surrounds the temple is about 700 ft. in width. The stone wall enclosing the shrine is $\frac{1}{2}$ rd of a mile east to west and half a mile north to south. The temple itself rises in terraces (there are three terraces) and is surmounted by very lofty towers. The inner walls are adorned with reliefs depicting scenes from the Ramayana, Mahabharata, Harivamsha, etc.

BOROBODUR

In Java, scenes from the life of Buddha decorate the walls of Borobudur—which is a whole hill carved into a Buddhist stupa. In the temple of Prambanan in Central Java the first five cantos of the Ramayana are carved very artistically on the stone walls. Java cannot boast of such magnificent temples as Cambodia; but Javanese sculpture is decidedly superior to that of Cambodia. There are few images in the world which can surpass in beauty some of the Buddhist sculptures found in Java.

India, as Dr. Chatterji justly points out, should be taking her share in the matter of reconstructing the history of Greater India.

German Thought of To-day

In his instructive address, published in *Calcutta Review* for February, Prof. Helmuth von Glasenapp sets forth the different modes of Modern German thought materialistic, idealistic, religious or even mystical like that of Steiner and the occultists, and concludes thus from the two things he finds in the prevailing movements of thought:

Firstly: how strongly the interest for philosophical and religious questions is felt in Germany and with what earnestness they are studied; and secondly: how great the divergence is among the many endeavours that are to solve the problems of life.

Is this divergence a sign of overflowing productivity of thought or is this a sign of decay? From the standpoint of a firmly fixed dogmatism all differences from one teaching, which is regarded as the only right way, are to be displaced as aberrations. We do not believe, however, that the uniformity of thought, as it has been realized during the Middle Ages or as it is aimed at, in an opposite direction, to-day in Russia, is the salvation of mankind, but have the opinion that every one has a claim to build up his own ideas of the world. Who shares this opinion, will see just in the divergence of religious and philosophical views a sign of the creative energy of thought. Hegel declared liberty to be the essence of thought, and one of the philosophers who was in his early time a follower of his, Karl Marx, has expressed the same idea in a somewhat flowery language, when he says: "You admire the wonderful variety, and the inexhaustible abundance of nature, you do not demand that the rose has the odour of the violet, but the richest of all, thought, is only to exist in one way."

History tells us that at all times endeavours have been made to solve the great enigmas of life in many various ways. If Socrates or Plato came back to the world now, they would find everything altered, but in philosophy they would find the same contrasts as in their own time. This is not strange. For thoughts on life rely on the character really, and the characters of men have of altered all these thousands of years. In all times in which personality is allowed to unfold itself freely, a divergence of systems will spring up. And that is good so. For this multifariousness will prevent the levelling of thought; the permanent strife of the different explanations of the world gains new movement of itself. Out of the understanding of the necessary variety of thought tolerance rises like a ripe fruit; tolerance which, firm in its own belief, leaves other opinions the same right and admires the inexhaustibility of thought that seeks always to solve the riddles of life in new ways. Especially in this country which was a home of philosophy already at a time when culture had not yet dawned in Northern Europe and which is proud of always having been a home of tolerance to philosophical and religious views of very description, this many-sidedness of thought will appeal to the very heart, as it is the result of the free development of individuality.

The Crisis in the Trade Union Movement

'Red' menace to the Indian Trade Union movement as revealed at the Jharia session of the Trade Union Congress forms the subject of editorial comments in *The Indian Labour Review* (January). Two methods, definite and decisive, suggest themselves to the editor:

One is to convene mass meetings of workers at strategic centres in the country to be addressed, say, by Gandhiji, who might be induced to explain policy previously agreed upon by responsible Trade Unionists; the other is first to call a Conference of all those in the movement who stand for constructive Trade Unionism, decide there upon plan of drastic action, and then appeal to the workers along these lines. We use the term "drastic" advisedly for it is now clear that no half measures will or can meet the case. We ourselves are decidedly in favour of the latter method (we now many others are also) if no other reason than that the Trade Union Congress must be its own arbiter. It means, of course, a clean break—either that or being absorbed into or going right over to the Bolsheviks.

The editor admits that the occasion of 'purging' may be exploited both by the capitalists and the Government, but still Trade Unionists have to move in the matter. The crux of the matter between the Left and Right (or Centre?) is put by the writer thus:

There are many things in the Great Russian Experiment that are admirable and desirable, but not the Russian way, not at the price of hatred

and violence, which are the very negation of socialism. There are also serious defects in the Bolshevik *idea* of a socialist or Communist state. To work to plant these things upon us by violence because they, the Communist, are convinced they will be good for us, is just about as sensible, and as logical as it would be for Mussalmans to plan and work to bring India under a Pan-Islamic dictatorship on the ground that the Mussalmans were convinced such a transformation would be for the good of India and the world generally.

National Health

The *Athletic India* (January) which we welcome as a new periodical that will successfully answer as it promises to a great and useful purpose, writes editorially:

The building up of a high standard of national health is important to every country. Such a standardization is of prime necessity in India where infant mortality and the spread of tuberculosis among the youth of both sexes are eating into the vitals of the Indian nation. Unless a change in the outlook of national health is brought about, a complete emasculation of the whole of India will soon become inevitable.

We admit that outstanding individual athletes set a very high ideal of athletic attainment, but unfortunately they do not form the index of a nation's health. We believe that it is better to have a large group of healthy and strong people in a country than a few outstanding champion athletes. Athletic India will work for the greatest good of the greatest number rather than for any special class or community.

Happiness is the ideal of the entire human race and though we do not believe that physical culture alone can help us to attain that ideal, it is at least a large factor in the building up of a healthy enthusiasm for life and making us optimistic. As a means to the attainment of this end the physical health of an individual or a group of individuals is certainly important. In keeping with our theme it will be best to make our education a combination of aesthetic and athletic culture—a culture which blossomed fully in the hey-day of ancient Grecian life.

The Eastern System of Medicine

Mr. Rushbrook Williams pleads in *The Feudatory and Zamindari India* (January) on the basis of his own experience of the success of the Bhupinder Tibbi College, Patiala, for extension after necessary adaptation of the eastern system of medicine in India as it meets the present conditions more effectively.

The practitioners who are trained in the indigenous systems of medicine are often astonishingly successful in gaining the confidence of the masses of the population in a very short time. Most people who have experience of medical administration

in India know well the difficulties which have to be overcome if wholesale inoculation is necessary. Although, as I have said, the State Medical Department of Patiala enjoys to an unusual degree, the confidence of the people, there are still certain localities where the population does not take readily to such innovations as hypodermic injections. But I have found that the influence of the trained *hakim* is often effective in persuading the population to undergo the ordeal *en masse*, when the exhortation of the Western trained doctor, even when supported by the moral influence of the local executive authority, has yielded comparatively poor results. So much is this the case, that in public emergencies such as the large melas, which are held in His Highness's territories every year, it has become a regular thing for the Director of Medical Services to indent upon the assistance which can be rendered to him by his Unani confreres. Accordingly, one sees the spectacle, which must be unusual, even if it is not unique, of the Western-trained State-employed physicians labouring side by side with the graduates of the Unani College; and combining with the utmost harmony for the task of relieving suffering humanity. All of which brings me to the point from which I started this short disquisition. The combination of certain of the elements of Eastern and Western practice seems to result, in the present state of India's development, in the production of a practitioner more widely trusted by the people in general than any doctor trained purely in the Western system. It seems to me, therefore, that the steps now being taken in India to place the indigenous system upon a sounder basis to discourage quackery, and to recognize official Unani and Ayurvedic diplomas conferred by properly regulated and controlled Institutions, is something far more than a mere desire to vindicate Nationalist *amour propre* as against Westernized medical practice. It seems to afford a prospect of a time when it will be possible to find in the majority of the Indian villages private practitioners who, having undergone an inexpensive and comparatively simple form of training, combining certain of the elements of Eastern and Western practice, are amply equipped for the discharge of any duty which is likely to come their way. As is wellknown, one of the greatest difficulties in promoting the health of the Indian masses arises from the fact that there is nothing in India corresponding to the English country doctor. And until we can introduce the invaluable element into the structure of our national machinery for public health in India, it seems almost impossible to bring even the simplest medical relief to the doors of the vast mass of the people.

School Text-Books

The Education Review (December) observes editorially :

Educational text-books have an inevitable tendency to deteriorate into mechanical and soulless publications devoid of life and inspiration. The needs of uniformity and the desire to reach the lowest stages of instruction reduce the books to a level of dull mediocrity which may not always be vividly realized inside educational circles. It is

significant that the Board of Education in England should have appointed a Committee to consider the quantity of school text-books, and the conclusions reached by the Committee must be of considerable interest to India also. The complaint is that in elementary schools only third-rate stuff is provided for the reading of children. It is urged that no standards of truth and beauty are being set up. Schools are not using all that is noblest in literature to help pupils to distinguish what is beautiful, true or helpful from what is third-rate, "sloppy and sentimental or inane." The description would apply with even greater truth to text-books in use in Indian schools, the majority of which are written by people devoid of any literary talent and rely more or less on the official positions of their authors for their introduction and use in schools. An enquiry of the same kind in India would reveal conditions which would astonish those who have any sense of literary appreciation.

It is hour for us in Bengal at least to wake up to the problem. Our text-books for schools are badly written, badly edited, badly printed, and violate every rule of enlightened pedagogy. More light should be focussed on this rather neglected matter.

Indian States and National Solidarity

Prof. K. T. Shah discusses in *The New Era* (February) the much debated question which is exercising the minds of all politicians and political thinkers. Says the writer :

The *sine qua non*, however, of a satisfactory understanding, between the Indian Princes and the leaders of the nationalist sentiment in India, is the necessity for the Princes always to remember that they are where they are, because they represent considerable numbers of human beings. The Princes, if they mean to attain to a satisfactory solution, must sink their own personal aspect of the question into the only acceptable aspect of an understanding between two peoples through their respective representatives. There must be made a distinction between the claims of the Princes personally, and of their States as states, representing thousands or even millions of human beings. The demand of Sir M. Viswesvaraya, a President of the States' Peoples' Conference, for a speedy introduction of the principle of responsibility in the State Governments is by no means an isolated or ill-considered suggestion. The unhesitating support of the Indian States' people would be had to any understanding and solution that may be arrived at, if only the rulers of these States would remember that they are living now in the twentieth century, when the days of absolute personal rule are no more and that their greatest strength and safety lies in an alliance first with their own people and next with the people of British India.

A regrouping of the States, suggests the Professor, combination of the smaller neighbours and assimilation of existing principalities

with cultural affinities will make administration and government easy.

For my own part, I cannot persuade myself that there is any room to-day in India for the Princes to form by themselves a distinct caste, or order, or estate of the realm, with separate personal privileges and immunities. Much less is such a concession possible for the minor Princes and smaller feudatories. All that we can concede to-day with any hope of some permanence, is the recognition of the several States, or their standard combinations, as equal partners in the national life and government; and, as such, their proportionate representation in all our federal or national institutions. In these, the smaller Princes and feudatories may find a place and a voice not utterly out of proportion to their real importance; and for that reason alone, if for nothing else, the suggestion made above needs to be examined, simultaneously as regards the States and the British Indian provinces.

The States, thinks the writer, can easily be assimilated in the federal polity if they are considered as *States*, not *Princes*; and the problem of defining the respective spheres of the Central Government and constituent parts is not so difficult.

Other federations, notably the German Reich, have had similar problems of their own, and have succeeded in solving them by analogous methods. The German Council of State, metamorphosis of the old Bundesrath, is not quite a Second Chamber of the national Legislature. Its legislative powers are limited to sage advice and portentous warnings. But, being composed of the representatives of the constituent governments in the Reich, it speaks with unique authority on all those matters which concern the members of the Reich severally. It can hold up legislation, and even propose laws, which must be placed before the Reichstag by the Reich ministers, even if the latter themselves are not in sympathy with the proposals of the Federal Council. If a similar body were established in India; and if its members were recruited from the governors and chief ministers of the several states and provinces, to each; if, moreover, representatives of certain special interests, or even communities, common to British India and the States, were also added to this body, and its authority enhanced by the presence in it of the principal federal Ministers, without prejudice to the latter's place in the chief

federal legislative body,—the utility and service-ability of such a body would become extreme.

Educated and Uneducated Women

It is gratifying to learn from an "Indian lady" in *The Indian Ladies' Magazine* (January) that education does not create any barrier among the educated and uneducated women as it does among men:

The men (our friends) do wrong to draw a dividing line between educated and uneducated women, as if they belonged to different species. Perhaps educated men feel themselves different from the 'masses'; it is a hopeful augury that women do not feel that. A wish for economic independence and a desire that the inevitable sufferings of life must be borne by individual volition are signs of the spirit of the age; and many uneducated women share these ideas with their educated sisters. There is a strong bond of sympathy between educated and uneducated women in spite of the differences of their opinions on social and political questions. The superstitions, prejudices and narrow outlook of the uneducated women are so natural that one feels that, though they have to be changed, they need not be condemned: the educated woman feels in herself such a capacity for superstition and prejudice and narrowness, that she knows herself ill-fitted to stand on a pedestal and judge her fellow creatures. We cannot help inventing new superstitions of our own, when our loved ones are ill; we are in danger of erecting class barriers in place of the caste ones we have thrown down: and we know we really do not care about the causes for which we hold committee meetings, as we care for those—well—those we really care about! And we ask for so much for ourselves—as much as we can get!...After all, education is not something that makes us entirely different from other women; we do not deserve the praise that has been heaped upon us, nor the blame that is cast at us, for not coming up to expectations. "Education" puts better opportunities in our way of being useful and independent in Modern India; it has also added to our needs and desires and thus multiplied the possibilities of disappointments; it has given us some new ideals; and it has given us the courage to say of our hostile critics, "They say—let them say."

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Lessing

Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, the great German critic and man of letters was born in 1729, exactly two hundred years ago. *The Times Literary Supplement* celebrates his two-hundredth birthday with one of its deservedly famous leading articles. Lessing was, for most of his life, a struggling and ill-paid journeyman of letters. But he made, says the *Times Literary Supplement*:

One serious attempt to advance his mundane fortunes. In 1760, during the Seven Years' War, he became Secretary to General Tautentzien, the military governor of Breslau, one of whose duties was to restore his master Frederick's finances in the good old way by calling in the sound Saxon money and issuing a debased coinage in its stead. Such profitable operations being full of picking, Lessing had his chance, and took it, though not so well as the morality of the day demanded. But having money and being unused to it, he felt that it burned his pockets. Part he spent in collecting a magnificent library (which was sensible), part in playing faro for high stakes (which he said was hygienic). The hours he kept were in themselves deplorable; and they were vexatious to the good baker with whom he lodged. The baker took an odd revenge. He made a new mould for his gingerbread cakes, and had it carved with a caricature of Lessing dressed as a night-watchman, and his name in full—Gotthold Ephraim Lessing—below the effigy. Long after his death the gingerbread Lessing was still being eaten by the small boys of Breslau.

So runs the story; and it is symbolic. Not many men of letters have lent themselves to a gingerbread revenge, or achieved so queer an immortality. But in Lessing there was something, of which gingerbread pictures, clay-pipe figureheads or Toby jugs could, not inappropriately, be made. He was solid. Between him and common reality there was a force of mutual attraction like gravity. He reminds one, in some essentials, of Dr. Johnson. He might have refuted Berkeley by kicking a stone; and the sweat that ran down his face while he sat at the faro table has a sort of kinship with the knotted veins of Johnson's forehead when he sat down to one of his voracious meals. They had their feet not of clay, but on it; they were great men of letters, but we remember them as great men.

That is, if we remember Lessing at all. Even the "Laokoon" seems to be out of fashion nowadays and to have become demoded like the piece of statuary from which it arose. We suspect

that Mr. Babbitt's "New Laokoon" is more familiar to the present generation than Lessing's old one. His discoveries have become commonplaces, his boundaries are landmarks. So also have Aristotle's; to whom, nevertheless, we pay lip homage. But not to Lessing. Yet he was, of all the critics since Aristotle, the most truly Aristotelian; if Aristotle deserves our homage, as he surely does, so does Lessing—and in one sense even more than Aristotle himself, for he first showed the world how to see Aristotle as a master of method, not as a mine of maxims. Since it is not an easy lesson to learn, we need not wonder that criticism has not greatly profited by his example. To use Aristotle's method one needs to be almost an Aristotle—and Lessing nearly was.

He was, in short, a very great critic. Probably the greatest literary critic we have had in Europe—not in virtue of the "Laokoon," though that is possibly his masterpiece, but in virtue of his qualities which are to be discovered everywhere in his work.

And as regards his immediate task,

The dilettante professors who composed cultivated Germany when Lessing entered the arena had to be smitten hip and thigh if a genuine German culture was to have room to grow. Lessing the journalist made fun of them, Lessing the scholar confuted them; and though a professorship was his only hope of security, he refused to join their ranks. The sheer strength of the man who thus, practically single-handed, cleared the path for German literature was prodigious. He created a public and imposed himself upon it; instead of the professor of a university, he made himself the teacher of Germany. "What would you?" he replied to his friends who remonstrated with him for turning back to translation, when the outbreak of the Seven Years' War brought him once more to hardship. "My writings are the productions of a man who is an author partly by inclination, partly by force. I cannot study at my own expense, so I try to do so at the expense of the public." In this spirit, and by this method, Lessing pursued his task. He conducted his search for truth at the expense, and in the eyes of the public.

The Tomb of Sun Yat Sen

A mountain has been chosen as the last resting-place of Sun Yat Sen, China's regenerator. As *The Literary Digest* says:

"Here Lies Sun Yat Sen"—Such is the line, it is said, that might be graved on the tomb of

the "George Washington of China," as Sun Yat Sen, the "leader and sage" of the Chinese Nationalist party, is known and revered. Those who know China and its people, remarks the London *Morning Post*, will understand why the Nationalists have chosen a mountain in Nanking for the burial place of Sun Yat Sen.

Then it proceeds to quote from the *Morning Post* :

Possibly because the Chinese originally came from a mountain country, or possibly to satisfy a highly developed aesthetic sense—whatever the reason, the mountain is a favourite place of pilgrimage in China. It is the house of their dragon : the spirit of rain and of clouds ; of power and of life. There are, according to the sage, five thousand famous mountains under Heaven, and among them there are five peaks superior to all. They are located in the 'five directions' and to them the Chinese have made pilgrimage time out of mind.

That they are five is no accident, for not only are there five directions in China—that is to say, East, South, Centre, West, and North—but there are five elements, Wood, Fire, Earth, Metal and Water, and five colours, to which they correspond—Green, Red, Yellow, White and Black. In short, the Quincunx is a very important geometrical figure in China, and those who would inquire further into this subject, may be advised to read Mr. W. E. Geil's fascinating book, 'The Sacred Five of China' (Murray), which records a Western pilgrimage to those Eastern shrines. It is notable that the Nationalists are adding a sixth, the Purple Mountain, to the Sacred Five, and are spending no less than a million sterling—in contempt of their creditors—on a mountain tomb which shall be worthy of Sun Yat Sen. Thus the new China is designed to begin in the old way as a place of pilgrimage.

American Civilization

Mr. Wickham Steed, the editor of the *Review of Reviews* said the other day that Englishmen must reconcile themselves to the idea that the Americans are after all foreigners. "If", he said, "we go to them as a great foreign nation we shall find that they are the jolliest lot of foreigners we ever met. If we go there thinking they are blood cousins we shall be disappointed." The divergence between Europe and America is still more fundamental. America has been evolving for the last fifty years what we may justifiably call an absolutely new type of civilization, which may in its turn supplant the classical European civilization built up by England, France, Germany, and Italy. An ever increasing number of European scholars are studying this new phenomenon and trying to arrive at some conclusions about it. It was only the other day that M. André Siegfried, the well known

French economist and historian raised a flutter on the other side of the Atlantic by his criticism of the American press in his 'America Comes of Age.' And here comes three other French men of letters with thought-provoking books on American life and manners. Of these, M. Lucien Romier's book, 'Who will be Master—Europe or America?' is the most considerable. M. Romier, says a writer in the *Living Age*, gets at the very root of American civilization in a series of pointed chapters :

"The essence of it all," M. Romier says, 'the European will most often fail to grasp : I mean the magnificent and arduous labour of human regeneration which has been going on and is still going on at the other side of the Atlantic.' And in this vein he continues : 'This is a tremendous lesson which the American example teaches us : the case with which supposedly old races may be rejuvenated when transplanted into a new mode of life. It is an example from which we may derive new springs of hope for all humanity.' He admits—rather, he asserts as one of his major premises—that 'the very basis of American morals' is to 'make money.' But the 'spirit of money-making,' he argues, has wrought a great good in America : historically it has been 'the guarantee of tolerance' and it has produced 'for the first time an almost complete and comparatively happy example of mass civilization.'

It is this 'mass civilization' in which M. Romier is interested. In his discussion of it he adheres to the now rather well known doctrine of dynamic wealth, 'which not only recognizes the existence of the economic masses but organizes all social life in direct relation with the actual nature of the masses ;' which compels us to range ourselves in disciplined battalions for production and consumption. . . . Men seem like the prisoners of a collective passion for consuming, whose increasing wants and capacities they are compelled to satisfy : impersonal links in an endless chain.

Through all his chapters runs a single dominant idea, which is that the United States is a 'social organism rather than a body politic.' In this he discovers the key to a full understanding of our civilization—and, of course, its application to a Europe divided into many nationalities, is obvious. It is precisely because of this 'enfeeblement of her political system,' he argues, that the United States to-day represents the most advanced type of economic society. 'The American conception of liberty means nothing other than the freedom of economic and social activities from obstruction by the whole political game.' Again, he says : 'In academies and schools the particular importance of such or such an episode in the political history of the United States is still being discussed with dreadful earnestness. But the truth is that the American people owes nothing of any significance to politics.' And once more M. Romier strikes his dominant : 'In truth, to understand America we must always bear this fact in mind, that the social structure of the United States does not compose a unified, historical nation, nor a body politic ; it is a community of purely economic origin.'

Europe or America

M. Romier also gives an answer to the question whether, in this impact of the new civilization on the old it will be Europe or America which will in the end win. One of the major results of the Great War is the emergence and the preponderance of the U. S. A. in world politics, world civilization and world finance. Europe seems, for the present, to be playing second fiddle to America. Will this temporary preponderance pass into a permanent hegemony? M. Romier goes on to weigh the *pros* and *cons* of his case :

Examining the present condition of humanity, M. Romier begins his essay by observing in general two main facts which are apparently, but not actually, opposed to one another. Of these, one is the 'universality of material influences,' and the other the persistence of racial and national traits. The Machine Age has found Europe organized in rather small political entities, each with its distinctive culture and each arrayed in economic competition with all the others. M. Romier continues, however : 'Europe has kept her richest heritage, which is her inventive genius. This is, perhaps, due to the fact that she has not only been unwilling to relinquish her old framework but has also preserved the independence of her spiritual and traditional institutions. The problem for Europe is to preserve those supreme and strategic faculties, while at the same time adapting herself to the phenomena of mass life which threaten to become an overwhelming force from now on and to whose conditions America has already adjusted her own civilization.'

Preserved the ancient framework of Europe? M. Romier is careful to show that national boundaries will have to be straddled—as, indeed, they are already being straddled—to create a single economic unit with space in which to move and function on the enormous scale required if the Machine Age is to continue to produce ever more and more goods and to pay ever higher and higher wages and profits. But the nations—the spiritual units—must be preserved.

'The instinct-to-survive of immense numbers of men,' he says, 'drives them more and more toward mass life, and it is impossible to conceive of the endurance of any forms of civilization which would not satisfy the essential needs of masses as such.' And...we observe...a universal tendency toward the seizure of the political field by economic forces.' Again : 'The State, guardian and servant of political ends, is subject to impulses of a very different character.—Under the pressure of economic progress, it assumes more and more the appearance of representing only a combination of interests.' In short, the authority of the State is challenged by the immense power of industry and is already in decay. Nevertheless, the State is not the nation, and...the nation may more effectively defend its existence by holding to the idea of the *Fatherland*, the *Fatherland* being considered, not as the mere community of interests, but as a fountain head of precious traditions, which must be safe-

guarded, and of moral and intellectual impulses whose vigour must be sustained.'

All this is vital to the thesis which M. Romier is developing : that Europe has the native capacity and skill to match the American civilization at every point ; that her present political organization, however, has still to be adapted to it ; but that Europe, unless she meanwhile loses it, has something which can more than offset the American advantage of an earlier start—those old traditions which can save Europe, he thinks, from the perils inherent in the very notion of 'mass civilization,' the dangers represented in America by the 'sex problem,' 'the instability of the family,' and the threatened loss of pure learning. It would be well to consider carefully what M. Romier has to say on this last point. He speaks of that learning—not immediately practical because completely theoretical—which can scarcely guarantee a man his livelihood, but which none the less must precede the applied learning whereon all future progress must be based. He turns to that problem of the re-employment of highly specialized craftsmen after a new invention has made their speciality no longer useful. And he takes up the problem of the new proletariat, pointing to 'the terrible truth...that each and all—owners, engineers, employees, common labourers, all who are simultaneously producers and consumers—are become slaves...bowing before the merciless law of economic return.' M. Romier hopes that with his spiritual heritage to strengthen him, the European may devise a system under which, rather than be dominated, he may dominate the machine to the end that all civilization may not be at the mercy of physical accidents.'

Three Indictments of Fascism

Three recent books on the Fascist regime in Italy are discussed in the latest number of the *Political Science Quarterly* by Professor W. Y. Elliott, of the Harvard University. They are Professor Salvemini's 'The Fascist Dictatorship in Italy' Vol. I; Signor Luigi Sturzo's 'Italy and Fascism' and Signor Silvio Trentin's 'L'Aventure italienne, légendes et réalités'. All three are by Italians and will serve as wholesome correctives to the legendary aspects of Mussolini and Fascism which passes for history in the popular imagination :

The works of Salvemini and of Don Sturzo are of a far more important order, not only because they come from the two most important *émigré* antagonists of Fascism who have escaped to an asylum in England, and not only because of the remarkable literary and scholarly gifts of the two men, but because they join to the intimate knowledge of events of two protagonists in the struggle against Fascism a quite unusual power of discriminating analysis, more objective, at least in the work of Don Sturzo, than one could have hoped from an exiled enemy of the regime.

Salvemini's book is an indictment, often savagely ironical in spite of its restraint, of the myths of the Fascist salvation of Italy from Bolshevism and

economic and political chaos, but most of all of the Fascist "heroism" which applied the most savage coercive measures not only to a badly led proletariat but to "intellectuals" who dared to expose and oppose the Black Shirts publicly. The list of outrages and brutal cruelties is a formidable one, documented with the historian's thoroughness. The climax of the charges is the implication of Mussolini as at least an accomplice after the fact in shielding the murderers of Matteotti although Professor Salvemini presses the charges much farther. It is a book that bases its case largely on the moral question, with a promise to expose what is termed Fascist economic trickery and failure in another volume.

Don Luigi Sturzo, organizer and leader of the Catholic democratic Popolari Party, which conquered nearly one hundred seats in the Chamber in the first elections after its foundation in 1919, has written what is still the most temperate and able analysis of the Fascist conquest of power that has yet appeared in English, focussed largely on the part played by the Popolari. This priest and champion of the peasantry and workers and secretary of the radically democratic Popolari Party did far more in the turbulent years of 1919 and 1920 than did Mussolini (who really made advances to the workers who occupied the factories with a view to an alliance) to kill any possibility of a Bolshevik Italy.

Don Sturzo's book is noteworthy for its historical perspective, for its appeal for a liberalization of the attitude of the papacy, and for its clear grasp of the position of Italy in the whole context of its European setting. As a loyal Catholic, despite his tacit repudiation at the hands of the Church, he approves the element of religious education introduced by Gentile, and the early programme of liberty for the schools. The subsequent Fascist regimentation and suppression of the Catholic young people's societies, however, showed the unreality of the Catholic advantage thus gained. He declares that there was never any connection between the Church and the Popolari, yet he seems to admit that Mussolini's acceptance of religious instruction must have been the final concession which turned the papacy against the active participation of the clergy in politics and which consequently tolled the knell of the Popolari. It is evidently a little painful to Don Sturzo to be accused of having dictated the policy of the party's one hundred deputies. He shows that, in spite of his own repugnance to any collaboration with Giolitti, the Popolari had supported that oldest and shrewdest of the manipulators of ministries. How great a part Don Sturzo had in the final "veto on Giolitti" in 1922, which forced the weak compromise on the Facta ministry, it would be hard to tell. Probably, in any event, Giolitti would have waited as supinely for events to shape themselves as did his lieutenant, Facta.

Don Sturzo prepares the way for a better understanding of subsequent events by showing how Fascism liquidated the unfortunate crisis of the banks which had resulted in the failures of the Ansaldo and of the Banca di Sconto and the crisis of the Banco di Roma. By the formation of the Consortium of Industrial Securities that took over the deficit of about six milliards, the Treasury intervened through the banks of issue (the Banca d'Italia, Banco di Napoli, and Banco di Sicilia) thus

practically expanding the negotiable circulation for trade purposes by that sum, under a tax-free arrangement and guarantee by the Treasury. Naturally industrialists and bankers applauded, and the share-holders of the Banco di Roma were able to sell their shares at a high premium. One is reminded of Hamilton.

The chief value of Signor Trentin's contribution is in the extensive documentation, rare among works either opposing or favouring Fascism, with which he supports his attack upon the economic system imposed by Mussolini upon Italy. The charge that Italy has been, to a very large degree, "colonialized" by huge foreign borrowings, both public and private, is supported by a detailed analysis. The stabilization of the lira at a figure dictated by a desire for prestige rather than on a sound economic basis comes in for examination. His conclusion is that not only have the Fascist "reforms" not improved on an economic situation which was being well handled (contrary to the usual legends) by the parliamentary governments up to 1922, but that actually Fascism has overstrained the economic mechanism of Italy by a debt-service item far beyond its powers and by a protectionist programme for an artificially stimulated heavy industry. In short, while the Minister of Education is forming the minds of Italian youth in the most chauvinistic moulds, the Fascist masters of Italy have bound future generations to an economic servitude of the most humiliating type. The picture is doubtless overdrawn, but it is worth considering as an offset to the usual uncritical eulogies of Fascist finance.

Women in Industry

Democracy of to-day, it is often said, has brought into being a fourth estate. There is a fifth nowadays pressing forward from behind; and it is the women's turn now. In politics, in business, in industry, the influx of women is daily increasing in volume. One of the latest *Bulletins of the United States Department of Labour* discusses this extension of women's activities:

If the men and women of 30 or 40 years ago who were conscientiously trying to stop the onrushing of women's activities could study for a moment the figures which illustrate the trend of their employment in New York State they would die of apoplexy. Here we find women by the hundreds of thousands engaged in practically every trade and occupation; working as longshoremen, as stevedores, as chauffeurs, as plumbers, as electricians, as plasterers, teamsters, and even as undertakers. These Victorians would be equally disturbed at the number of women who are now engaged in practising law, or who have become lumbermen and fishermen. The whole trend of the employment of women is toward wider activity and a greater variety of interest.

In the past, before there were such things as factories and shops and offices, women in their homes were the producers of the world. They helped to produce everything that was eaten and

worn and used in their community. As the factory system developed and machines were invented, these things were taken out of the home and little industrial units were formed in one or two rooms, to produce the things which had formerly been done in the home. As industry has developed, women have left their homes in larger and larger numbers and followed the machines into the factories and now, instead of two or three people gathered together in one little room or one little shop, we see one roof covering thousands of men and women.

The evolution of industry has led to the increased demand for woman's labour. What to-day needs physical strength and long apprenticeship may be to-morrow within the capacity of a 16 year-old girl. New machinery is directly favourable to the employment of women, and in the last 25 years the employment of women in New York State has practically trebled. To-day in this State alone we have over 1,000,000 women who are working for wages. In the past, women have been chiefly employed as unskilled or semi-skilled operators. In addition to the large number still employed in this capacity, now we find them in the thousands doing skilled work in furniture, in steel and iron, in clay and stone and glass. While we have long been accustomed to women in the field of literature, music and art, it is rather surprising to learn that there are in New York some 3,000 artists, 1,000 editors and reporters, 1,000 physicians, and 100 clergymen; that the number of women lawyers in 1920 was twice that in 1910; that finance long considered a non-feminine sphere claims 400 women as bankers, 950 as real estate agents, not to mention the large number of architects, chemists, electrical engineers, and designers. The fact is that the woman of to-day who has school or college degrees does not, as the woman of 40 and 50 years ago or even 25 years ago, wish to settle down to a life of dependence and leisure, but rather wishes to make her contribution toward the economic life of the country and to broaden her interest through the rubbing of shoulders with people in the professions and trades.

The development of the employment of women is not due wholly to the desire of women themselves to enter trades and professions, but is due also to the fact that industry and the professions are very much interested in having women accessible for work. The manufacturers and employers realize that they need woman's work and they are reshaping the policies of their own factories in order to meet the needs of women. As for example, in a small industrial town where it is not possible to secure a sufficient number of single women to work in one of the factories, the manager is employing married women. He realizes that in order to have them and keep them he must arrange his hours so as not to conflict with their domestic duties. The factory does not open till noon on Mondays and is closed all day Saturdays. This is typical of what is going on in many industries to-day in order to secure woman's labour.

The fact is that the woman of to-day goes to work either because of economic pressure or because work interests her. Her income may not be necessary to meet the everyday needs of her family life, yet she feels that their standard of living and of life can be raised by her contribution to the

family income. This is true of women in all classes.

The woman employed in one of our steam laundries says that, yes, her husband makes enough to support the family but she wants something more for her children than she herself had. She wants a longer period in school for them and more recreation. The same point of view is expressed by the professional woman who goes out to work side by side with her husband. These women see the home, not as a circumference but as a centre of family growth and development.

To some, of course, going out to work means an escape from the daily drudgery and routine of housework, but whatever the force that is absorbing women more and more into professional and industrial life, the fact remains that they are going out as co-workers with their husbands and brothers in increasingly large numbers. The opportunities for the employment of women were never so great as they are to-day.

Women by their own ability and capacity for work are breaking down the century-old prejudice and they are coming into their own.

Women in Politics

As a result of the recent enfranchisement of women under twenty-five women voters will now outnumber men voters in England. This does not, of course, imply that the reign of men in politics is over, though democratic logic requires that it should be so. Women voters have not yet produced an adequate number of women political leaders. There are symptoms, however, all the world over that women are taking greater interest in political life than they used to. In America, for example, says the *Literary Digest*, the fact,

That 145 Women now sit in legislatures in thirty-eight States of the Union—an increase of nineteen women members over last year—according to returns compiled by the National League of Women Voters, is considered significant news by the press, although not so surprising in view of the tremendous increase in the women's vote for President and the election of seven women to Congress instead of four. The increase "shows that recognition of the feminine electorate in the choice of legislators is permanent, and the proportion may be looked on to show a steady, if moderate increase," typically comments the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, noting that "pertinent in this connection is the fact that sixty-eight of the number elected had served previously and four were chosen for the fourth time."

"It is not nine years yet since women were given the ballot, yet so completely has the country accepted the idea that only ten of the States are without women legislators," points out the *Schenectady Union-Star*, which voices much editorial comment in saying, "without making a revolutionary change in public life, women who

show aptitude for public affairs have had a salutary effect on city, State, and national house-keeping. Their taking part in politics has not unsexed them."

The ten States which elected no women legislators are Alabama, Delaware, Idaho, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Michigan, North Carolina, South Dakota, and Tennessee.

Politically the 1929 women elected by the States divide: Republicans 100; Democrats 38; no party designation 5; Non-Partisan 2. That Republicans so outnumber Democrats in a country so largely Republican cannot be considered strange in the opinion of the *Hartford Courant*, which adds:

"In this part of the country, at least, the Republicans nominate more women for legislators than do the Democrats. Whether this results in turning the votes of women to the Republican party is not clear, but a Connecticut Democratic newspaper some time ago protested against the treatment the Democracy was receiving from women voters, after all it had done to secure the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment."

"Women are coming along politically, without overdoing it," observes the *Topeka Capital*. Probably few people would have supposed that under the suffrage amendment nine years after its ratification "ten legislatures would meet without a single woman member, and that the total in the United States would hardly equal 2 per cent. of the gross membership of the forty-eight legislatures," remarks the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*. "If, however, the new opportunities are being grasped tardily and with reluctance, not a few of these 145 women are law-makers of uncommon usefulness. The place they have already made for themselves in the State-houses of the country is a promise of a more rapidly increasing representation in coming years."

Liberal Education in America

Has liberal education any place in a democratic society? There are people who are already saying that the rôle of Oxford and Cambridge is played out. Last month, we quoted from an essay in which M. André Maurois attempted to show from a study of the cultural and social needs of the day, that the system of education for which the older Universities stood, were still necessary and vital to the life of English society and body politic, and as long as things remained so, Oxford and Cambridge could also be expected to live and live honourably and usefully. The same question has been raised for a very different society by a challenging book—"College or Kindergarten" by Dean Max McConn of Lehigh University (U. S. A.) A summary of its conclusions and a rejoinder by another distinguished educationist of America appears in *The New Republic*. This is Dean McConn's

appreciation of the prospects of higher education in America:

Mr. McConn's way of dealing with the educational situation is simple and direct. Ninety-eight percent of our youth, he says, do not go to colleges of liberal teaching. And apparently he is content that this should be so. Excepting the possibility that some few may be diverted from professional to liberal studies, the 98 percent are consigned to various forms of vocational and lower-grade training. For the remaining 2 percent he proposes two different colleges: the Gentleman's College and the Scholar's College. The former is to take care of the "superkindergartners," the 1½ percent of our youth who are financially able to go to college, but who do not care to study. The latter is to devote itself to the chosen few, the one-half of 1 percent who have zest and capacity for learning. It is out of these and their happy teachers that Mr. McConn proposes to make his intellectual paradise on earth. It is this paradise which he chiefly delights in planning. Of it he says, "That is what we should have; and, though I am no longer as young as I was, I would give ten years of my remaining portion for the privilege of being a teacher, or even a dean, for one year with such a group."

I am afraid that his Gentleman's College is far more interesting and significant in principle than is his Scholar's College. As we have seen, he finds clattering up the present academic community a majority of pleasant young people, the "superkindergartners," who go to a place of study not in order to study, but because there is no other satisfying place to which they may go. Mr. McConn proposes to get rid of them by providing such another place. And he will attract them thither by appealing directly to their interests. Speaking of such activities as playing games, managing teams, giving plays and concerts and dances, he says: "These activities, I repeat, should constitute in themselves the chief educational instrument, the essential curriculum, in the college for superkindergartners—in what I have previously called the Gentleman's College." And he adds: "Not that I would bar studies entirely from the Gentleman's College. The gentlemen themselves would not desire this.... The essential thing is to abandon the idea and pretence that this aspect of their training is fundamental and of predominant importance.... Once this clear fact is accepted, studies will no longer be allowed to interfere with activities...."

Here we have the element in Mr. McConn's argument which seems to me really significant. He has come to the conclusion that 99½ percent of our young people are incapable of liberal understanding. He finds that human nature and capacity, or rather American nature and capacity, are such that in only one-half of 1 percent can we hope to build up the activities of intelligence and reflection.

Is this estimate of the intellectual situation correct? Mr. Alexander Meiklejohn is more hopeful. He replies to Mr. McConn by saying:

He tells us that a vast wave of material prosperity has been pouring in upon us a flood of externally-minded young barbarians. And we, who

advocate reflection and study, have been quite unable to convert the heathen, to enlighten the barbarians. But why? Are these young people barbarians as such, congenitally incapable of intelligence? Or does the wave of material prosperity which sends them sprawling about us also account for the peculiar state of externalism and crudity in which they arrive? And does the same wave of external success come dashing over us, the teachers, blocking our efforts, enfeebling our activities? As I have said before, it avails nothing to choose between these alternatives by mere *a priori* dogma. The issue must be put to the test of actual trial in actual cases. And in this situation a few typical cases closely studied are worth pages of statistics dealing with unanalysed conditions. We must take young barbarians, drag them in some way out of the rush of external influence, and if possible open their eyes to the state in which they and their fellows have been, as contrasted with the qualities of life which are open to them if they escape the current madness. In such an attempt one success is more convincing than a thousand failures, because it does not take many successes to destroy the myth of the barbarian as such. And if that illusion disappears we can then go on with what has always been the task of the teacher in the midst of a material civilization, namely, that of rescuing the young from the achievements of the old. All of us, teachers included, are as yet too much under the spell of our industrial success to think very clearly as to how that teaching is to be done. But it will never do to draw back before we have begun. A successful people must always be saved from its achievements. From that task its teachers may never draw back defeated.

Whether it can be done or not, says Mr. Meiklejohn, is yet to be seen, for, as he says—"our American teaching activities have yet hardly begun."

A Portrait of Stalin

A recent cable stated that Trotsky has been brought to Constantinople and is now kept under close surveillance in the Soviet consulate. The man who has ousted the lieutenant of Lenin and the once idolized minister of war from power, is Stalin, the present dictator of Russia. He is vividly portrayed by B. Bazhanov, his former secretary in *Vozrozhdenye*, an anti-Bolshevik Russian daily published in Paris. We quote the account from a summary given in the *Literary Digest*:

This strange, mysterious dominator of Soviet Russia, whom nobody seems to know, is pitilessly pictured by his former secretary as a man in whom all human desire is reduced to a minimum, with the exception of his insatiable thirst for power. He lives like an anchorite in two small rooms in the Kremlin, which under the Czarist regime were occupied by servants of the palace, and it is declared that he hardly ever indulges in any

amusements, never dissipates, and steals no money from the Government. Play or recreation of any sort does not exist for him, it seems, and he is said to be a good husband in the sense that, with the exception of his wife, women do not exist for him. As to work, his former secretary avers, that he is not in the least enthusiastic about it, except in so far as it relates to his inexhaustible greed for domination. This informant goes on to say:

"The first impression he makes is that of a reserved, self-possessed and simple man, and, one thinks, probably a very intelligent man. But as one comes to know him a little better, one is deeply astonished: One finds out that he is an absolutely uncultured man! And the more one sees of him, the more this astonishment increases. He is unable to grasp political problems. He is ignorant in economics and finance. He not only does not know any foreign language, but does not know anything about Russian literature, and entirely lacks general education. His thought moves slowly and heavily. There is not a trace of humour in him. During a year and a half of daily contact with him, I only once heard him crack a joke. With a very solemn expression on his face he came up to one of his assistants, a certain Tovstukha, and said: 'Tovstukha, my mother had a goat; well, that goat was exactly like you, only it did not wear spectacles.' And then, apparently very satisfied with his jest, he went back to his study to the accompaniment of Tovstukha's subservient laughter."

He is, generally speaking, Mr. Bazhanov tells us further, just what he appears to be—an uncultured Georgian (Caucasian) peasant, and perhaps it is from a natural sense of self-protection that he avoids meeting both foreigners and Russians, and lives in such mysterious isolation. His subordinates, we are told usually call him "master"—that is to say, master of Russia—and with them he is very unceremonious and "despotically rude" as he is also with the members of his family. We read further that: "He is secretive, shrewd, and revengeful. He never imparts his secret plans to any one... Generally speaking, he never talks without necessity, and for the most part is silent." Is it not a wonder, the question is asked, that a man like that should become master of Russia, should have crushed such Communist leaders as Kamenev, Zinoviev, Trotsky, and others? How did he do it? asks Mr. Bazhanov, who replies as follows:

"The essence of Stalin's method can be boiled down into a few words. It is the appointment of the right men—that is to say, of his supporters—to all the important posts in the country, and, specially, to all the main posts in the party machinery.... As a Secretary-General of the Communist party, it was easy for him to do this, and he has been bent on this work since 1923.

"His guiding principle in the selection of men is characteristic of him. If we consider the present members of the Political Bureau—the ruling party-committee—the leading Soviet bureaucrats, the secretaries of provincial Communist committees, all these Uglanovs, Voroshilovs, Komarovs—leading members of the Soviet Government—it becomes evident that Stalin, year after year, has been systematically eliminating from the power educated and cultured Communists, and has been replacing them in the most important positions with uneducated

ed, untalented men from the lowest social strata. These men are his supporters only because they are personally bound to him, and their very career depends upon him and upon the progress of the Communist revolution, for under any normal regime they would be zeros, complete nonentities."

Prospects of Labour

With a general election drawing near, and the industrial and labour situation not over hopeful, the British Press is naturally invited to discuss the relative merits of rival parties and panaceas. In *The New Republic* for January 16, 1929, an English writer appraises for the American public the economic as well as political aspects of the future of Labour:

There are two things needing to be said at the outset. The first is, that for two years we have been living within the shadow of the great strikes of 1926. The second is that, during the whole of 1928, the labour movement, whether mistakenly or not, has been under the influence of the belief that in the near, perhaps the very near, future, Labour is destined to be again in office, and in office with a parliamentary majority. It is not easy to understand why the rank and file should have moved so decidedly into this stage of assurance as to what is in store for the party; but the fact is unmistakably as I give it. For some time past there has been an air of confidence over the whole body, and people of all sorts who attended the fall conference in Birmingham went back to their places impressed by the fact itself and by the behaviour of the leaders and the lesser men, which implied—so it was said—a plain determination to be ready for the event.

Let us see, however, to begin with, how matters stand on the industrial side and in reference to the labour unions.

The following, he says, are the results on the industrial side of the disastrous general strike of 1926:

We may say, therefore, that, as the more or less definite result of the most cruel experience through which the workers of England have passed during half a century, three main tendencies are to be observed: (1) a condition of anger and despair among the miners, after more than twelve months of stagnation and suffering following the long stoppage; (2) a growing recognition among the "old heavies" that as regards the four industries upon which the supremacy of England was based (cotton, wool, iron and steel, shipbuilding), the balance of power in the world has changed to the disadvantage of Britain and (3) that labour-union leadership must face the facts and strive toward the attainment of an understanding with capital and the working out of a method of co-operation and joint control.

The most striking demonstration of the new mind of labour came at the first of the two important fall conferences, that of the Trade Union Congress at Swansea. There, beyond all dispute, the conservative, the anti-Cook, section was in command. There was only one question under

discussion that greatly interested the outside public. That was the question whether a majority would be given to the executive council which, for some months, had been engaged in negotiations with Alfred Mond (now known as Lord Melchett) on the subject of a definite policy of co-operation between the great employers and the unions. The result at Swansea was never in doubt. The plan, which in the year of the general strike would have seemed merely fantastic, was approved by a decisive majority.

The leaders of the labour movement look upon it merely as a necessary stage in an evolutionary process that is, to them, as inevitable as anything can be. They recognize that the fighting strength of labour has, in the past eight years, been very greatly reduced. They are, moreover, in my judgment, much nearer nowadays to the general programme of the American Federation of Labour than they have ever been before. That is to say, they realize that in this age of neo-technic industry the notion of warfare between the worker and the power which owns the machine is crude and self-destructive. But, above all, they favour the method of negotiation and co-operation, because they are convinced that, in the stage we are rapidly approaching, the governing part of the control of industry must rest with associated labour. This is in the consciousness of the union leaders.

Of the political prospects of the Labour Party he has, not unlike other publicists, very little that is definite to say, the greatest uncertain factor being the vote of the newly enfranchised young women.

As to the hopes of a definite Labour victory, there is, I believe, a difference between the general expectation and the estimates made by the party leaders. The Liberals have been putting out propaganda designed to show that the Labour party has not been winning at the bye-elections, and that, no matter how favourably things were to go for them, they could not hope to make such gains in the national election as would give them half the membership of the Commons. With this estimate I find myself in general agreement, and it is, I understand, not seriously disputed at Labour headquarters. Labour, of course, will hold its own in the industrial sections. It may even have a greatly increased vote.

What the upshot will be no one to-day can predict, for the simple reason that no one can make any forecast about the election that would be worth putting down on paper. The prospect in England is far more dubious than was the prospect in the United States on November 1, 1924, because the possibility of a decisive victory seems to be ruled out. Moreover, we have an enlarged electorate that is more problematical than yours was: for it will contain five millions of women voters who have not hitherto had the right to vote in any kind of election. For ten years our ruling classes have kept the young women of England outside the entire sphere of political responsibility. If at the next national election they are given a sharp jolt nobody will be surprised and few will have much pity for them.

Ancient Afghanistan

By BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI

AFGHANS, THEIR ORIGIN ; ANCIENT INDIAN
CULTURE IN AFGHANISTAN

A LONG the entire north-western frontier of India, on the way to Kashmir and Afghanistan, are valleys which, with their surrounding hills, form the homes of numerous tribes of various origin, and speaking different languages. Right in the north in the Hindu-kush and the western Himalayas live the Darads and Kafirs, whose language belongs to the Aryan family ; in the west are found the Tajiks whose dialect is Persian, while the land to the north of the Tajiks



A Durrani Nobleman

is inhabited by Turki-speaking nomads. The people living in the east of the country are called Afghans or Pathans, while in the south are the sturdy Baluchis and the Dravidian-speaking Brahui clan.

It should be made clear at the outset, that Afghanistan in earlier times did not

include all the territories comprised in the Afghanistan of to-day. *Afghanistan* originally meant merely 'the land of the Afghans,' a more limited area than at present, and included within its limits some districts now independent and some subject to British rule. The country was then but a conglomeration of various districts ; there was no political unity in the real sense of the term, and its component parts were not bound together by any identity of race or language. It was only in the middle of the 18th century, when the Afghans established themselves as an independent nation under a king chosen from their own people, that the country was welded into political unity and came to be known politically by its present appellation—**AFGHANISTAN.**

There was a time when the smoke of Vedic sacrifices rose to the sky on the banks of the Gomai, and the Takht-i-Sulaiman range echoed to the Vedic hymns chanted by the Rishis. The Aryans of the Rig-Veda inhabited a territory which included portions of S. E. Afghanistan (Roh), the N.-W. Frontier Province, and the Panjab.* In the 4th century B. C. when Alexander the Great invaded India, Aryan civilization was flourishing in Afghanistan, Seistan and Baluchistan. After his death the Maurya Empire of Magadha reached up to Herat. Many centuries later saw the establishment of the Turki-Shahi kingdom at Kabul proper, where Hindu (or Buddhist) kings ruled, while the Hindu-Shahi dynasty had the town of Und or Ohind, on the upper Indus above Attock, as their head-quarters. These Shahi kings were probably descended from the Kushan Emperor Kanishka. Muslim historians tell us that in the 10th century A.D. many of the people of Afghanistan were Zoroastrian (fire-worshippers), Buddhist or heathen in their beliefs.† In the plains of Jalalabad and Peshawar and in the vicinity of Kabul can still be found traces of Buddhist buildings. "At Bamiyan nestled beneath the 'snowy

* Rapson's *Ancient India*, pp. 39-40.

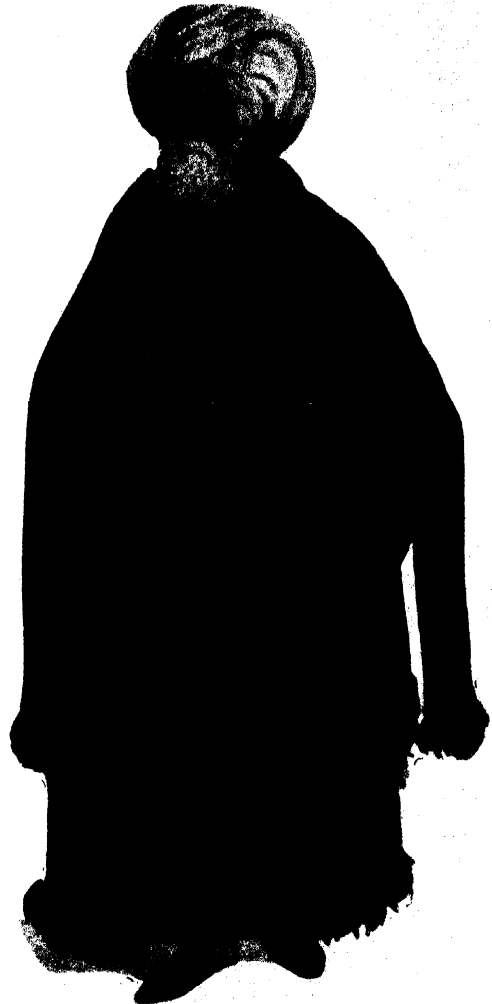
† *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p. 162.

mountains' of the Hindu-kush, . . . still exist in defiance of the ravages of time and of man the rock-cut grottoes and shrines with their far-famed colossal images of Buddha."*

'Krumu', while the 'Gomal' river was 'Gomati' and the modern Peshawar was 'Gandhar', etc. Even to this day we find the echoes of Vedic names in the nomenclature of certain places



A Tajik in summer dress



A Hindki in winter robes

During the Hindu and Buddhist ages the present 'Kabul' river bore the name of 'Kubha'; the 'Kurum' valley was known as

in Afghanistan and the N.-W. Frontier Province.

The first mention of the Afghans in written history is found in the *Tarikh-i-Yamini* (composed in the 11th century by al-Utbi, secretary to Mahmud of Ghazni), and an almost contemporary mention in al-Biruni.

* U. N. Ghoshal's *Ancient Indian Culture in Afghanistan* (Greater India Society Bulletin No. 5), p. 21.

Prior to the 11th century the Afghans were an obscure and savage mountain race. The Turkish rulers of Ghazni had to wage occasional wars against these people, who were then found occupying the Sulaiman mountains (1023). Later they embraced Islam, but the new creed failed to bring about any moral transformation in their character and

Turko-Iranian type is now generally accepted.* But the Afghans believe themselves to be the children of Israel (*Ben-i-Israel*). Burnes records that in reply to his enquiries regarding the descent of the Afghans from the Jews, Dost Muhammad, then the Amir of Kabul, said,—‘Why, we marry a brother’s wife, and give a daughter no inheritance;—are we not, therefore, of the children of Israel?’ †



An Afghan warrior

speech, their tribal organization and their profession of brigandage remaining unchanged. It was probably in the 15th century that the Afghans, after long wanderings from their original home, settled about Kabul.

There is a good deal of controversy over the origin of the name *Afghan*, and the descent of the Afghan people. The races inhabiting Afghanistan—though considerable intermixture has taken place—may be classed under the following heads :—1. Afghans, 2. Persians, 3. Turkish and Mongolian, 4. Aryans of the Hindu-kush. The theory established by Longworth Dames that the Afghan race belongs in the main to the

EXTENSION OF THE AFGHAN POWER OVER HINDUSTAN

Amir Sabuk-tegin (a Turk), the second sovereign of the Ghaznavi dynasty, was the first Muslim king to enlist Afghans as soldiers. His son, the famous conqueror Mahmud, had also an Afghan contingent in his army when he invaded Tukharistan. This is the first mention of the Afghans—then an obscure mountain race—in written history. They were in no higher condition two centuries later when the Ghori power rose to eminence. When Muhammad Ghori defeated Rai Pithora, the Chauhan ruler of Ajmir and Delhi, in the field of Tarain (1192), there were Afghans fighting on both sides, and this fact probably indicates that the Afghan people had not yet been completely converted to Islam.

The history of India during the next two centuries makes little or no mention of highly placed Afghans, and we only find one or two *sardars* of this race enjoying fiefs in Bihar or in the Deccan. With the rise to power of the Slave Kings at Delhi, many Afghans began to join the Indian army. Minhaj-i Siraj's *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* records that Sultan Balban employed 3,000 brave Afghans (1260), in putting down the wild predatory Mewatis, who infested the neighbourhood of Delhi, in the direction of modern Alwar. At the time of Taimur's invasion of India (1399), the Afghans—with the exception of a few soldiers of fortune—still lived as a race of hill-robbers. The shock of Taimur's invasion shattered the fabric of the Delhi monarchy. This was an opportunity for the Afghans, and one of their leaders—Daulat Khan Lodi, the governor of the Doab—quickly gained power and fame for his race. In the 15th century many of the Lodis are seen holding important posts. Daulat Khan himself rose to be one of the most important

* *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p. 149.

† *Cabool* by Lt. Col. Sir Alex. Burnes (2nd ed., 1843), p. 142.

personages in the empire and at one time occupied Delhi in opposition to Khizr Khan. Under the succeeding kings of the Sayyid dynasty of Delhi another Lodi, named Sultan Shah, *alias* Islam Shah, rose to power. His nephew Bahlol began his career as the *faujdar* of the Panjab, and finally in 1450 wrested the throne of Delhi from the last of the feeble Sayyid kings. He was the first Pathan king of Delhi, and the annexation of the kingdom of Jaunpur which he effected was considered by the Afghans as their first great achievement. To induce the Afghans of Roh to settle in India, Bahlol not only gave them lavish cash bounties, but also distributed *jagirs* among them freely. This caused the settlement in Hindustan of many Afghan families, *viz.*, the Lodis in the Panjab, Delhi and its vicinity; the Farmulis in Oudh and Bahraich, the Lohanis in Ghazipur and South Bihar, the Sarwanis in Cawnpur, and the Surs in the Shahabad district of Bihar.

Bahlol was succeeded by his son Sikandar—a fierce bigot, although popular among his nobles (1489). It was during his reign that 'small means enabled their possessor to live comfortably.' His successor, Sultan Ibrahim, who was cruel and vindictive, failed to conciliate his Afghan nobles, with the result that he had frequent conflicts with them (1517). The Afghan nobles began to concert measures for subverting their sovereign, and Daulat Khan, the governor of the Panjab, invoked the aid of Babar, the king of Kabul, against Ibrahim. The wealth of Ind fired the imagination of Babar. Cradled in war as he was, it tempted his adventurous spirit. The rival armies, Turk and Pathan, met in the plain of Panipat (Apr., 1526), where the prize of India has so often been decided. Babar had the advantage of a park of artillery—a weapon of war then unknown in Northern India—which made him victorious at the cost of Ibrahim's throne and life. The Afghan *sardars*, who had been instrumental in inviting Babar to India, had never thought that, unlike Taimur, he would choose to settle in Hindustan and establish a dynasty of his own, and they thus naturally became apprehensive of their future when he made Delhi his capital. Plots were hatched and they succeeded in Humayun's reign in driving out the Mughals, and another Afghan dynasty sprang up under the brilliant leadership of Sher Shah Sur. Unfortunately, Sher Shah left no worthy successor behind him,

and only ten years after his death his dynasty was swept away and the Mughals came back to occupy the throne of Delhi for centuries.



An armed Durrani Villager

After the extinction of Pathan rule in Hindustan, the turbulence of the warlike Afghans increased in the N.-W. Frontier. The Emperor Akbar made the first serious attempt—although with little or no success—to suppress their lawlessness, with the result that Rajah Birbal was cut off in a Swat defile (1586). In fact, the Mughal Government sadly realized that, to maintain peace and order in that hilly region and to keep the

road between India and Kabul open, bribery was a better and cheaper instrument than coercion. The depredations of the hillmen—Afridis, Shinwaris, Yusufzais and Khataks—were, therefore, overlooked and their right to levy toll on the traffic and traders between India and Kabul practically admitted. But even liberal political pensions failed to buy their obedience. Thus, we hear of the risings of the Yusufzais of Peshawar and the Afridis of the Khaibar, the long-drawn fights that ensued, and the ignominious defeats which the



Yusufzai

Mughal commanders had sometimes to bear.

In the 18th century the Mughal power grew very feeble; Delhi could hardly maintain its control over Kabul, and slackness in administration became everywhere manifest. At this psychological moment Nadir Shah, the warrior-king of Persia, struck the blow. He recovered Kandahar and took Kabul. With the whole of Afghanistan in his hands, as a convenient starting-point, he invaded India (1739) and the Delhi King Muhammad Shah made peace with the victor by relinquishing his rights to all parts of Afghanistan.

Nadir Shah pursued a policy of conciliation towards the Afghan tribes in general, and specially favoured the Abdalis and their young chief Ahmad Shah, who belonged to the Saddozai section of that clan. When Nadir was assassinated by the Persians and Khizil-bashes (1747), Ahmad Shah was chosen by the Afghan chiefs as their leader and seated on the throne of Nadir. He made Kandahar his capital and took the title of *Durr-i-Dauran* (Pearl of the Age), and his tribe—the Abdalis—have since then been known as Durranis.

The break-up of the Mughal empire in the 18th century, combined with the invasions of Nadir and Ahmad Shah, gave a further stimulus to Afghan settlement in the Ganges valley, some of their adventurers rose to great power, such as the Ruhela chief Hafiz Rahmat Khan and the Bangash Nawabs of Farrukhabad.

Ahmad Shah extended his sway far beyond the Indus and subjugated the greater part of the Panjab. He invaded India several times and occupied Delhi more than once. The crushing defeat which he inflicted on the Marathas on the historic field of Panipat in 1761 was a turning-point in Indian history.

Thus it will be seen that the Afghans never succeeded in establishing an independent rule in their own country until the middle of the 18th century, and they remained always subject to some powerful ruler of the day: the Turks, the Timuris, the Mughal Emperors of India, or the Safawi kings of Persia. It was about 1750 that their political supremacy at home was assured and they became a ruling race dominating a large population, and then the name of AFGHANISTAN was extended to the whole country.

LITERATURE

Pushtu or Afghani is the language of the Afghans. The existing literature in Pushtu

dates from the 16th century and, though we meet with a few important works in prose,—especially histories, this literature is mainly poetical. Khush-hal Khan, a Khatak chief, is perhaps the greatest poet of Afghanistan, though the Afghans themselves consider Abdur-Rahman to be their best verse-maker. In his struggle against Aurangzib, Khush-hal Khan was betrayed into the hands of the enemy by his own son, but even as a captive the independent poet could still sing :—

I am he who has sorely wounded Aurang's heart.
Khaibar's pass have I made to the Mughals their
dearest purchase.
In every spot have they paid taxes to the Pathans.

** ** **

Of his armies destroyed what account is there ?
The treasures of Hindustan have been scattered
before us.
Swallowed by the mountains has been his ruddy
gold. *

But Pushtu literature seems, on the whole, to be no better than an artificial imitation of Persian models. Real poetic merit is to be met with in the popular poetry of the land, most of which was composed in the course of the 19th century. No heroic ballads describing the great migrations and conquests of the Afghan race, except one relating to Ahmad Shah, are therefore forthcoming.

Though devoid of any literary merit, religious writings, both in prose and in verse, are numerous in Pushtu.

APPEARANCE : MANNERS AND CUSTOMS : CHARACTER

The Afghans are a tall and well-built race, often fair in complexion, with flowing beards—black or brown—and highly aquiline features.

Afghanistan is not a plain ; it is divided into small valleys, and each valley is the habitation of a particular tribe. Quarrelsome, intriguing and distrustful as the Afghans are, they are perpetually torn by the feud of clan against clan and often of family against family. There is the vendetta, or law of retaliation, among them, and almost always an ancient feud exists between neighbouring villages. This constant occurrence of estrangements and affrays and each tribe's living in isolation from others hinder the

formation of any enduring confederacy of tribes. It is said that a famous saint among the Yusufzais left his tribe a blessing and a curse 'That they should always be free, but that they should never be united.' *



Hazara Afghan

Turbulent and unsubmitive to law or discipline, the Afghans are always boastful of their lineage, their independence and their prowess, and each man looks upon himself as the equal of any other Afghan. Every large

* For selections from Khush-hal Khan's poems, see Elphinstone's *Cabul*, pp. 195-97 and Raverty's *Selections from the Poetry of the Afghans*. See also Biddulph's *Afghan Poetry in the 17th Century*.

* Elphinstone, p. 348.

tribe has its nominal chief, who happens to be the head of a particular family (the *Khan-khel*) vested with the hereditary right of providing such a chief. But in practice the chief has but little power, as in every business he is bound to consult and follow the decision of the headmen of the different sections of the tribe.

Speaking of their social organization and character the historian of Aurangzib justly remarks :



Ghilzai in summer dress

"In all their history they have failed to establish any large and compact State, or even any enduring confederacy of tribes. The promise of a career of plunder has held together these born warriors for a time, but they have always separated on the death of the successful leader. The Afghans have never sent any large military force outside except as the mercenaries of some great conqueror, and in their homes they have united only under the stress of a common danger, such as an invasion of their *entire* country. They have never formed a nation, but always clans. Within the clans even, the strict discipline of the Rajput tribal system is wanting. The Rathor or Sisodia obeys his chieftain as a demi-god. . . But the Yusufzai or Afridi follows his chieftain only while it is his interest or pleasure to do so.

"Weak as the Afghans are for conducting distant or long campaigns on a large or organized scale, they are weaker still in diplomacy and internal administration. An ambitious man among them gathers together a number of families and makes himself chief for the time being; another man does the same thing, and, if more successful in rapine, supplants the former. These ever-forming ever-dissolving groups of families are the only effective forces of an Afghan clan for offence or defence; the nominal chieftain merely governs on the sufferance of his followers. This lack of a common head makes it impossible for an Afghan clan to enter into any treaty obligation for the whole body, even if they knew the sacredness of plighted word,—for they have no machinery for ensuring respect for such undertakings from all their members. The family and not the clan is the true unit of Afghan society. . .

"The plains of Peshawar and the narrow valleys embosomed among the rugged hills, yielded too scanty a sustenance for their fast-growing numbers; and the peaceful gains of agriculture were too poor and slow a reward in comparison with the plunder of their more industrious neighbours and of the rich traders passing within easy reach of them. . . Every year this prolific race multiplied, and the growing population, 'more numerous than ants or locusts', and ignorant or contemptuous of peaceful industries, pined for some outlet for their martial instincts. A leader sprang up, pretending sanctity or princely descent, organized a band of young men by feeding them for some time at his own cost, and then swooped down upon the fields of rival clans or the imperial territory below, and recovered his expenses and rewarded his retainers by plunder. The gang held together so long as the stream of booty did not fail; but when it ran dry, or the least inequality in its division was suspected, these natural democrats turned their arms against one another, and the league broke up. But the dissolution of a powerful band in this way gave no enduring peace to the plains. . ."

While they profess to be Musalmans, the Afghans in many respects do not follow the injunctions of the *Quran*. They do not hesitate to practise usury, nor do they scruple to wage war against co-religionists. The idea of tribal organization very imperfectly influences their national characteristic of individualism.

But the Afghans are not without good qualities. They are as democratic as the Arabs, and frank and affable—especially when they have any object to gain. These valiant and hardy men are born warriors, but though audacious in attack, they are easily discouraged by failure. Inured to bloodshed from childhood, the battle field is but a play-ground in their eyes, death has no terror for them, and highway robbery is their hereditary profession. They combine the cunning of

* Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib*, iii. 217-18, 220-21,



Afghan Infantry with Matchlocks

the Iranis (Persians) with the boldness of the Turanis (Central-Asians).



Ghilzai Afghan

Fanatics as the Afghans are, they are passionately vindictive and lack the magnanimity to pardon any one who has offended them. There is a current saying among the people in the N.-W. Frontier Province that a man may perhaps save his life from the attack of a venomous snake or a *must* elephant, but cannot escape the vengeance of a Pathan. History bears frequent testimony to their boldness and bravery, as well as their treachery and brutality. Unlike the Rajput or the Sikh, an Afghan warrior never fights with blind fury; he is an adept in the art of exhibiting a pretended flight to defend himself. But he is not a coward. British military officers say that if there is a tight hole (in a campaign) the Sikh is sure to put his head into it and the Pathan to get out of it!

To defeat them in battle may not be difficult for a foreign power, but to gain their

submission is an impossibility. This is best illustrated by the adage still current among the Afghans that 'A snake, a Shinwari, and a scorpion, have never a heart to tame.' He may bend his head for the moment before an irresistible foe, but would raise it again at the first opportunity.

The notion of equality and an unquenchable love of freedom characterize the Afghan race. They have never in the past submitted to a despotic government but always succeeded in maintaining their natural right. An Afghan told Mr. Elphinstone:—'We are content with discord; we are content with alarms; we are content with blood; but we never will be content with a master.'²



Shinwaris

The Afghans have contributed nothing to the store of Islamic knowledge. They lack the high qualities specially characteristic of the Arabs, the Persians and the Turks, though they have some manly virtues of their own.

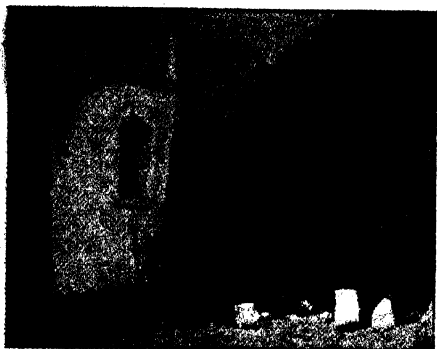
²Dorn's *History of the Afghans*, Preface, vi



Mount Etna's Rivers Of Molten Lava

One of Mt. Etna's worst eruptions began in the first week in November, sending down rivers of fuming, semi-liquid volcanic matter that left several thriving Sicilian cities virtually buried. It is now sending a stream of fiery liquid toward Giarre, a city of 25,000. These molten rivers

They are also cutting off the water supply from these cities. Slowly but inexorably the lava advances. One house after another yields to its terrific thrust. The air in the town [of Mascali] is as hot as a furnace. Where Mascali, a city of 10,000 people, flourished yesterday, there is to-day a molten waste. Only a few heaps of charred wreckage remain. High up on the slope the



Mount Etna's lava engulfing a house are cutting communications, isolating the whole zone from the outside world, and snapping power lines, plunging the entire region in darkness.



Mount Etna's lava flow cemetery, untouched, its marble tombstones showing white through the cinder-laden air, seems to be mourning the death that has overtaken the city



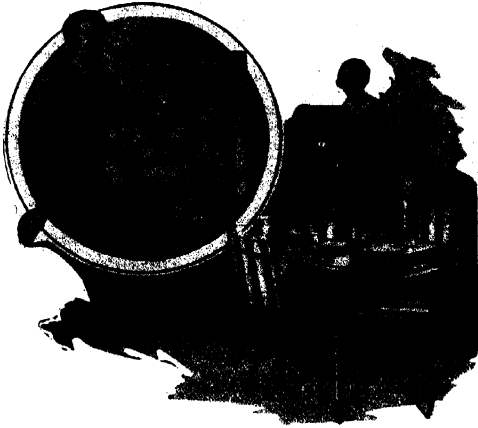
Mount Etna in eruption

below. The belfry of Mascali's main church was the last thing to be submerged in a river of fire. Just before it disappeared it rocked with the lava's mighty force, and its bells rang out mournfully, tolling without a bell-man a death-knell for this Sicilian town.

(The Literary Digest)

Campers' Kit Holds Chairs and Serves as Table

But slightly larger than an ordinary suit-case, a kit for auto campers and other travellers contains folding chairs besides a complete outfit of utensils. The kit itself, when emptied and opened up, serves as a table which provides comfortable accommodation for four persons.



'Camp kit Holds Chair and Serves as Table'

Bridge to Link Two Nations

United States and Canada will be linked by the \$20,000,000 Ambassador bridge between Detroit, Mich., and Sandwich, Ont., which is scheduled for completion by July 1, 1929. Work on the structure, which will have a main span of 1,850 feet between the two chief towers will be longer than any bridge yet built.

The bridge proper will be 7,400 feet long, and the distance from entrance to exit slightly less than two miles. For a short space in the centre, the clearance is 152 feet, so that vessels with stacks or masts twenty feet higher than those now commonly in use on the lakes, and sixty feet higher than those on freighters, can pass under.

Some idea of the magnitude of the bridge can be gained from the quantities of materials required. These included 24,000 tons of structural steel and cable wire, 25,000 cubic yards of concrete masonry, 40,000 barrels of cement, 60,000 square yards of roadway pavement and 8,000 square yards of side-walk pavement. To protect the



"Bridge to Link Two Nations"—The Ambassador Bridge

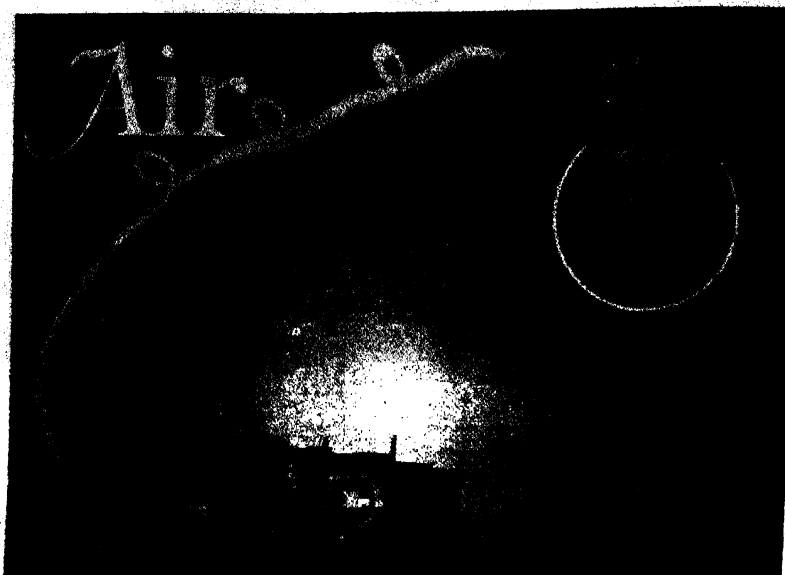
suspension cables from the weather, they are being covered with a film of special material, coated with zinc and several applications of paint, and are then wrapped with a layer of soft wire.

(Popular Mechanics)

Women Of The Air



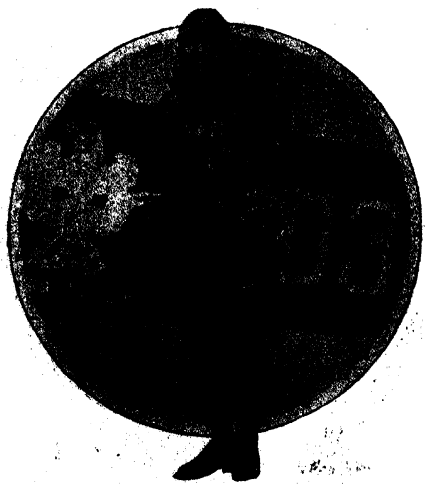
Miss Laura Bromwell, killed while Stunting'



Ruth Law's 'Handwriting' on the Night Sky of Chicago

The history of flying women is more than 100 years old, for it was in 1819 that Mine. Blanchard was killed while experimenting with a balloon. The first international airplane meet, at Belmont Park in 1910, had one woman contestant, Mlle. Helene Dutrieu. The French Government made

her a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour for her daring flights. The first woman flyers were French



Fraulein Thea Raschke—One of Germany's foremost Pilots



Miss Shigeno Kibe—the Japanese Air-woman

and American, but were quickly followed by German and English women. Elfride Riolte, the only woman member of the German flying corps before the war, became a Zeppelin pilot. Mrs. Maurice Hewlett was the first woman to obtain a pilot's licence from the Royal Aero Club of Great Britain. A woman had a hand in building the first practical flying machine, for Miss Katherine Wright assisted and advised her two famous brothers in their work, and later flew with them as a passenger, though she never took up piloting. A Frenchman was the first to fly across the English channel. But an American woman won that honor for her sex. Harriet Quimby's flight from England to France, in 1912, was the marvel of the year. Her career as a flyer was short, covering barely a year, but before her death, in an accident following her return to America, she became the world's best-known woman flyer.

Another famous woman flyer of those days, who retired, was Miss Bernetta Miller, probably the only woman ever detailed to demonstrate a plane before Government officials, and one of the first to make a moonlight flight. Unique in the list of feminine aviators is Miss Lilian Todd, believed to be the only woman who ever invented an air-plane. The plane never flew, because a satisfactory engine could not be found. The series of transatlantic and transpacific flights and attempted flights during the last two summers, while they claimed a toll of several women's lives, turned other women to aviation, just as they brought a rush of boys seeking to learn to fly. Nearly every aviation school in the country began teaching girl students, and quite a number have graduated.

(Popular Mechanics)

The Garden Creeper

By SAMYUKTA DEVI

(16)

MUKTI fell in love with Darjeeling almost at first sight. She did not want to stay at home for a single moment, but wanted to run about all the time, so full of energy had she become. While in Calcutta, it was a painful effort to get out of bed at all in the morning. She liked to sleep late, but owing to her long residence in the boarding house she had to get up very early. But whenever she came home for the vacations, she indulged in this luxury of hers, and would never get up, until her grandmother had called her a dozen times. She did not like the idea of leaving her morning dreams unfinished.

But Darjeeling changed all these. It was terribly cold and she had to use four blankets, still she would not sleep late. The sun sprang up suddenly from behind a high peak, and lighted up the pine forests and streamed through the window panes of Mukti's room. Mukti woke up and gazed awe-struck at the sleeping cloud fairies on their beds of the purple rocks and the fully awakened pine forests taking off the white scarf of clouds from their heads. She could stay no longer in bed, but got up wrapping herself in two blankets.

After that, she would not wait for the

sun to wake her up. Even when the town, the forests and the mountains slept, shrouded in their garments of fleecy white, she would get up, dress herself and come out with a gold embroidered red shawl, round her shoulders. Old white-headed Kanchanjaunga would feel ashamed to be beaten by a slip of a girl, and would take off the veil of clouds from his face. Then the other peaks would gradually disclose themselves and let Mukti gaze at the sleeping cloud children that clung to their necks, as if to a mother's breast. As the light touched them, they too woke up, and discarding all drowsiness, mounted higher and higher up, till they disappeared from sight. Old Kanchanjaunga would blush rosy red at the first touch of light, like a young bride at the touch of her beloved. He disguised himself in robes of various gorgeous hues, so that spectators might forget his age, and take him to be youthful again.

Mukti did not want to enjoy all these wonders alone. She wanted to share them with some one. But if she went to call her grandmother, the old lady would flare up at once, "What nonsense, my dear!" she would exclaim. "I don't like such sentimentalism. What's the use of standing shivering in that piercing cold wind, gazing like a fool at the mountains? I am too old, I cannot go out now." So Mukti had to leave her alone, and

try her father next. She knew very well, that he would rather stay in his warm bed. But one must suffer a bit of inconvenience for the sake of enjoying beautiful scenery.

She knew that if she called, Shiveswar would never refuse to get up. Though a reformer of the extremist school, he had not been able to remove a picture, portraying some goddess or other, which Mukti had hung up in his office room. He had forbidden his wife to paint her feet red with lac, but he could not forbid his daughter and he had even gone so far as to purchase a pair of ear-rings for his daughter, though he regarded all ornaments as signs of barbarism. So in a matter which did not touch his convictions at all, it was apparent that he would never refuse to humour his daughter.

Mukti would enter his bed-room and stroke his forehead saying, "Father, be quick, or you will miss the glorious sunrise and the wonderful play of colours on the Kanchanjangha."

Shiveswar would get up in a hurry, and putting on a thick dressing gown, would accompany his daughter to the verandah.

One day Mukti took a fancy to the Bloomfield Tea Estate and wanted to visit it. She went to her father with her request, who at once agreed to accompany her. Mukti went off gladly and began to make preparations for to-morrow's excursion. Among other things, she packed a very good lunch basket, to take along with themselves.

Mukti could hardly sleep for excitement and she got up while it was still dark. She went and woke up Shiveswar too. Shiveswar had been feeling rather unwell for the last few days, and one of his legs ached, making him very uncomfortable. So when Mukti called him, he put out his head from beneath his blankets, with the intention of telling her that he was too unwell to go. He found Mukti standing by his bedside, completely dressed for going out. She had a gray silk *sari* on and had put on an overcoat to keep out the cold. She had her lunch basket in her hand too. Shiveswar had not the heart to spoil all her preparation. So he got up painfully from his bed saying, "All right darling, I shall be ready within five minutes."

When at last they set out, they found themselves the sole occupants of the road. The mountain peaks could be dimly seen, raising their black heads above the sea of white mist that stretched all around them. As they neared the path that ran winding

down to Bloomfield, it began to clear up. The path was bordered by a dense jungle of undergrowth, among which beautiful ferns could be discerned. Their glowing colours, golden, silver and green, their leaves of various shapes so enchanted Mukti, that she ran along in front collecting them and left her father far behind. Shiveswar walked as fast as he could, because he did not want to let Mukti go alone, but he was no match for his daughter.

Mukti's face had become red with exertion, and she was getting quite out of breath. She had collected a load of ferns by that time and said, "Father, we have come downhill quite a good bit. Don't you see the tea gardens and the coolies' houses quite clearly? Let's sit down here and have something. Then we shall try to climb up again."

Shiveswar flung himself down on the grass, saying, "I am ready enough to sit down, but it is doubtful whether I shall be able to get up again. I am feeling extremely unwell and the pain in my leg has increased a good deal. A rickshaw or dandi would have been a great help."

Mukti felt her heart sinking at her father's words. Not a single being was in sight who could help them. The sky had clouded over, and threatened a shower every minute. She did not know what to do. She forgot all about her own hunger and fatigue.

She thought for some minutes, then said, "Father, you sit and rest here for a bit, I shall walk up to the main road and see if I can get anyone to help us. I may secure a rickshaw possibly."

Shiveswar did not like it much. "Where will you go alone?" he asked. "Let me rest some time, then I shall try to walk up slowly."

"No, father," said Mukti, determined now. "The rain may come down any moment. It won't do to sit idle."

She began to climb up, not waiting for her father's reply. The way seemed to have increased tenfold, since she came down. One could hardly run uphill, still she walked as fast as she could. After more than an hour she reached the Cart Road and sat down on a stone to recover her breath. Having rested, she got up and walked towards the town in search of help.

Fortunately for her, she did not have to go far. At a bend of the road, she found a certain young man sitting by the side of a mountain stream, collecting pebbles. Some he thrust within his pocket, others, which

failed to charm his eyes, he flung into the stream. As Mukti came face to face with him, she found that he was no other than Dhiren.

While living amongst one's own society and one's own folks, it is customary for people to neglect half acquaintances. Months pass, without once speaking to them or taking any notice of them. But it is otherwise in a strange place. There among a host of strangers, even a person whose face alone is familiar, appears as a very great friend indeed. He is the sole representative of one's own circle of acquaintances and one is eager to welcome him as a friend.

Mukti was in great need of a helper. She knew Dhiren slightly and had spoken to him before. So she felt immensely thankful at his sight and called out, "Dhiren Babu, will you kindly come with me for a bit? My father has become very unwell, and is resting down there. He cannot walk and I want help to fetch him up."

Dhiren turned round with a start and gazed at the beautiful apparition. She appeared as a cloud maiden, in her snow white coat, with rain drops glistening on her dark hair and looking with dark troubled eyes at him. Men, in their first youth, are over-ready to play the gallant rescuer to beauty in distress. Moreover, Dhiren knew Mukti, and had already felt her charm. So he jumped up at once, saying, "Certainly. Let's go. Where is he?"

Mukti sighed with relief. She felt as if all her troubles had been lifted off her shoulders by this good and kind young man. So she began to narrate the history of their adventure, quite forgetting that Dhiren was a comparative stranger. At last when they reached Shiveswar the sky had cleared up and a hot sun was blazing.

Shiveswar had been feeling rather anxious about Mukti. He too felt relieved at her reappearance with Dhiren. "Hallo," he said cordially, "whence did Mukti collect you? Did not I see you the other day in Calcutta at her birthday party?"

"Yes sir," said Dhiren, smiling shyly. "I arrived here, only the day before yesterday. I met Miss Ganguli on the road. She said you were feeling very unwell." Shiveswar always felt ashamed of owing to any kind of weakness and he did not like to take any kind of help from others. But he liked the

boy and his shy manners. So he agreed to receive his help without much fuss.

Mukti had left the lunch basket open, in her hurry. It had been lying by the side of Shiveswar ever since. Dhiren looked at it and said, "You don't seem to have taken anything, since the morning. Please have something now, then we shall try to reach the Cart Road. There's no hurry."

"Did you have your breakfast?" Shiveswar asked.

"Oh yes," said Dhiren, "I had a cup of tea, and an egg early in the morning."

"A heavy breakfast, indeed!" laughed Mukti. "You must join us, please."

Mukti arranged the breakfast on aluminium dishes and handed them to the men. As there were only two plates, she arranged her own food on a piece of newspaper. Dhiren felt highly embarrassed at this, but he did not know how to express his objection. Mukti ate on with hearty appetite and made the other two hurry up and follow her example.

After they had finished, Dhiren got up and said, "Now we must see, sir, to taking you up. Do you think you could walk, very slowly, if I helped you?"

Shiveswar was not very confident, but he could not help trying. Dhiren took him by one arm, directing Mukti to take the other.

They started. Shiveswar did very little in the way of walking and Mukti did still less, in the way of assisting him. Dhiren had almost to carry him up. Shiveswar was no light load, it taxed every ounce of Dhiren's strength to pull him along. Lest they should know it, he went on talking, so as to take away their attention from his exertions.

They reached the main road at last, and Dhiren went and secured a rickshaw from the railway station.

When they reached home at last, it had already struck twelve. Mokshada flew into a terrible rage, when this tale of adventure was related to her. She did not even speak to or welcome Dhiren, so angry she was. Seeing that Dhiren was trying to escape unobserved, Mukti ran to him, trying to excuse her grandmother. "It is terribly late, isn't it?" she said. "But I hope, you will forgive us. I won't detain you any longer now. But promise to come to-morrow."

"Yes, yes," said Shiveswar, "be sure to come. You are a very fine chap, and I should like to see more of you."

(17)

Mukti had got up early, that day. But seeing nothing but fog, all around her, she went back to bed, since it was useless to go out when there was no light, and the mountains were completely shrouded in mist.

But early rising had become a habit now, and after waiting impatiently some time for the sun to rise, she sat up again. She felt no inclination for sleep and less for sitting idly on the bed. So wrapping herself well up in a shawl, she went out. She found that though there was no light, yet the morning was far advanced. Her father had finished his tea and was busy with his correspondence. Her grandmother was trying to make the new Pahari cook understand how a certain vegetable dish was prepared. The man stood in front of her gaping, which made the old lady furious. She wondered aloud, why people came to such a place at all. These hillmen seemed no better than animals. Her old cook was nothing but an ungrateful beast. Shiveswar was quite willing to bring him over and had even promised him an increase of salary, but the wretched fellow refused. He was afraid of the cold! But who amongst them had died of the cold?

Mukti looked out of the window. Her eyes met a strange sight. Mountain, trees, houses, everything had been swallowed up, only a sea of white thick mist could be seen. The peak of Kanchanjangha was seen for a moment, but a wave from the white flood passed over its proud head the next instant. Clouds and fog everywhere. Their house seemed to be floating like a huge Ark in this sea. It was no use trying to go out on such a day.

Mukti decided to play the housewife for a while, in order to pass the time. She entered the kitchen and found Mokshada still holding forth. Her rebukes were directed partly to the Pahari cook, Indrasingh, and partly to the absent cook in Calcutta. She was cutting up vegetables and arranging them on various plates and dishes, which were strewn all around her. Their servant, Ram, at a little distance, was trying in vain to cut up a very big fish.

Mukti scented something in the air. So much trouble was never being taken for their ordinary breakfast. So she came up to her grandmother, a bit surprised, and asked, "What's the idea, mother? Why such fuss?"

Mokshada had not yet recovered her equanimity, so she replied a little sharply, "You should know without asking. But none of you ever had any commonsense and I have to look after everything. You are content to make other people render services to you, but never think of showing them any civility. Since you had the politeness to ask the boy to call on you, why didn't you give him something solid to eat? As if a cup of tea is fit to be offered to any healthy man! But you have all become Sahibs and Mems! In our good old days, people at least offered some sweets, if visitors called."

Mukti cut her short by asking, "So you have invited Dhiren Babu to breakfast, have you?"

"Yes, I have," replied the old lady. "But from what I see of your cook's ability, I doubt very much, whether there will be anything fit to eat. From early in the morning, I have been screaming myself hoarse to make him understand what I want him to do and all he could do is to stare at me like an owl!"

Mukti was glad of this opportunity and offered her services. It would serve to pass away this dull morning. "Don't scold him any more, grandma," she said. "I shall prepare the fish, let him do the vegetables. Let me see whether I remember all that you taught me."

"That's right," said Mokshada, highly pleased. "It is our custom to prepare everything ourselves when people are invited. In our young days nobody would touch a servant's cooking. But as you have been brought up according to modern fashions, I don't insist. But you need not remain inside this dirty kitchen. I shall tell the servant to call you when the oven is ready. Here, Ram, get up, leave that fish alone. Go and light the fire at once."

Ram got up obediently enough, and went to perform the task assigned to him. Mukti went up to her room, took off her shawl and put on a short-sleeved blouse of flannel. She wrapped her *sari* tightly round her thin body and thus descended to the kitchen ready for action.

The oven was not ready yet and the servant was fanning the smouldering coals with all his might and main. As soon as Mokshada caught sight of her grand-daughter, she cried out in dismay, "A nice girl you are! You come to cook with a pigtail

hanging down to your knees. Do you want to burn to death?"

Mukti made her escape out of the smoky room and wound up the offending braid of hair in a tight knot on the back of her head. The servant Ram sympathized with her, though his own eyes were running. "Yes Miss, go out. This is no place for you. When the oven is ready, I shall call you."

The house which Shiveswar had rented stood on one of the bigger roads. A path of red gravel led up to the house from the gate, which stood on the road. There was a bit of a garden, too, surrounded by wooden palings so that people might not tumble down from it, into the main road. Wild creepers clung to these railings of wood, covering their bareness with a mantle of green leaves and flowers. Mukti stood leaning against these railings, gazing at the cloud-covered mountain peaks.

Mukti recalled to mind her grandmother's lecture about inviting Dhiren, and laughed to herself. They had at least asked him to tea. Though Mokshada proclaimed that they had not given him anything except a cup of hot water, the facts were otherwise. But Mokshada's manners, on the day of that adventure, when Dhiren had almost to carry Shiveswar home, had been far from satisfactory. Mukti hoped that Dhiren had not taken offence because they had not invited him that very day. He was such an unusual sort of chap. One would never catch him smiling, he seemed to bear all the troubles of humanity on his shoulders.

Suddenly Mukti's face clouded over, as she remembered another face. It had nothing but smiles to show to the world, and it defied all troubles and sorrows. Only once had she seen the—

"The fire is ready, Miss," called out Ram, thus recalling Mukti from the past to the present, with a jerk. She entered the kitchen and became busy with the fish and vegetables. Mokshada was not a person to sit idle. Leaving Mukti in charge of the fish, she went to superintend the work of the new cook.

Mukti finished long before the cook. Her grandmother came back to her, and exclaimed with surprise, "So you have finished! What an industrious girl it is! And look at that hulking wretch. He is still busy with the coals. But since you have finished, why don't you go and have your bath now?"

Mukti was holding out her cold hands

to the friendly warmth of the fire. "It is terribly cold to-day," she said. "I won't have my bath now, I will have it afterwards, when the sun rises and it is a bit warmer." "But you would never appear before a guest in this state!" cried her grandmother with surprise. "You do have queer ideas. Some day you shout for hot water, even before it is morning, and some day you go without your bath altogether. But you go now, wash and dress. A gentleman is coming; he must not take you for a slattern."

Mukti had to get up. "You seem very anxious to please that gentleman," she said with a laugh. "It is you who should dress up, not I. Come, I shall put on a bridal dress, so that Dhiren Babu may lose his senses at first sight and roll down into a *khud*."

"No more of your nonsense," said her grandmother, with a smile. "I know quite well who wants to dress up as a bride."

Mukti went to get ready. Whatever she might say to the old lady for the sake of argument, she had no intention of appearing before Dhiren without her fine feathers. But she did not have a full bath, only washed her hands and face. Her hair, she arranged in a big bun on the back of her head. She stood for a long time in front of the wardrobe, trying to decide what to wear. Dhiren must not think that she had dressed up for him, neither must she appear in anything over-youthful. So after much thought, she chose a dress which certainly could not be characterized as over-youthful.

But there was no sign of Dhiren. Even the Pahari cook finished his work and Mokshada got tired coming in and going out, but the guest was still absent. Mukti sat down on a chair, by the side of a window with one of Tagore's novels in her hand. She too felt a bit worried over Dhiren's non-appearance, but she was careful to hide it from her grandmother.

At last even the absent-minded Shiveswar appeared in the dining-room, ready for his breakfast and asked, "Mother, has not Dhiren come yet?" Mukti left her book and got up impatiently. She was feeling furious with Dhiren. Did he want to keep them waiting till the evening? She went out and began to descend the path, which led to the gate. She had nearly reached it, when some one stumbled against her. The mist was so thick, that she had not seen him coming. It was, of course, Dhiren.

Dhiren grew red with embarrassment. He backed hastily, saying, "I beg your pardon. I did not see you. The fog is so thick, that one can hardly see one's own hands and feet. I must have made you very late for breakfast."

He really had, and Mukti was feeling none too pleased with him. But it was easier to rail against an absent Dhiren, than to scold him when he stood in front of her. So she had to smile and say, "No, not at all. The cook has but just finished. We take it as late as this, every day."

Shiveswar received Dhiren very cordially. They sat down to have their breakfast together, and Mukti began to serve them, according to orthodox custom. Mokshada stood supervising and talking to the guest.

Dhiren was never famous for eating sparingly, his reputation in Calcutta had been quite of an opposite nature. But to-day, he could eat nothing at all. In Calcutta, the cook served them, so they could give their undivided attention to the meal. But here poor Dhiren did not know whether to satisfy his eyes or his palate. A beautiful arm, wearing gold bracelets, constantly flashed before his eyes, distracting his attention wholly from the daintily prepared dishes.

Mokshada had observed his want of appetite. "You are not taking anything at all, my dear boy," she said. "But I cannot blame you, the cooking done by that Pahari is not fit to be eaten. Take some of this fish curry, it was prepared by Mukti."

Mukti served Dhiren and observed with a laugh, "Now grandma, you have placed Dhiren Babu in a difficult position. He will have to eat this fish curry; but it is even worse than the dishes prepared by the cook."

Dhiren was indeed in a difficult position, but in a sense different from what Mukti meant. He wanted very much to praise Mukti's cooking, but did not know how to do it. He was afraid to say anything, after what she had said. He was totally unaccustomed to make pretty speeches to ladies. So simply saying, "This is very good," he bent down over his plate, and ate as if his life was at stake.

Shiveswar laughed. "Are you fishing for compliments, my dear?" he asked Mukti.

She protested loudly against such an allegation. Dhiren ate on, never lifting his head from his plate, and calling himself all the bad names he knew. "What an utter ass, I am," he thought. "I cannot even speak

decently. Mukti must be taking me for an uncivilized boor."

After the meal was over they came and sat down in the drawing-room. "What's the programme now, little mother?" Shiveswar asked Mukti. "Any music, or do you want to talk?"

Before Mukti could reply, her grandmother said, "Talk indeed! Fine subjects you talk on! It makes me drowsy to listen to you. Mukti, why don't you give them a song? You are singing all day, when there is nobody to listen."

Mukti had not the slightest intention of singing before Dhiren, so she felt extremely annoyed at the old lady's suggestion. The young man put on such serious airs! As if everybody and everything were beneath his notice. He must be a very stern critic. "Dhiren Babu would not like any singing now, so soon after his breakfast," she said. "Grandma, you talk to him about your village. He comes from the same place, does not he? Father and I shall constitute a very good audience."

Dhiren had found his tongue at last. "But I should like very much to listen to you," he said. "I am extremely fond of music, and Jyoti told me that you sing very well."

Mukti had no way of escape left. So she went and sat down before the piano, saying, "Jyoti knows a fat lot about it, does not he?"

She took some time to choose the song. Then she sang, and as soon as she had finished, she jumped up lest they should ask her to sing again.

Dhiren too, got up, saying, "I am afraid, I must leave now. I have to go to the Sanitarium, where one of my uncles has put up."

Mukti could not resist the temptation of teasing him a bit. "Oh, that's nothing but an excuse," she said. "You are running away to escape my music. Do you think I cannot see through your words?"

Shiveswar shouted with laughter. Dhiren blushed to the root of his hair, and stammered, "Certainly not. Please don't think that Miss Ganguli. I really have got an appointment," with that he nearly ran out of the room.

Mokshada went out to have her one meal. Mukti stood for a while, gazing out of the window. Then coming back to the middle of the room, she suddenly exclaimed "Look father, Dhiren Babu has left some roses here."

He must have been taking them to his uncle."

Shiveswar smiled. It was not quite clear, why the young man had chosen that secluded corner, where a small table stood bearing

some of Mukti's books. He had left the roses by their side. Besides, Shiveswar thought, young men are seldom in the habit of presenting roses to invalid uncles.

(To be continued)

Afghanistan and Great Britain

By X. Y. Z.

WITH the spread of the Afghan Revolt against the progressive king Amanullah, some people, according to the reports published in the *Times* (London), suspected that the revolt was promoted secretly by the British, because the Afghan king was not willing to side with Great Britain against Soviet Russia. Some publicists suspected and hinted that Colonel Lawrence, who promoted the Arab Revolt against Turkey and was instrumental in the "break-up" of the Ottoman Empire, was the directing genius of the Afghan Revolt. This impression spread in India and other parts of the world because Colonel Lawrence, during the past years had been in India under the name of "Air-craftman Shaw" and he was on special duty in the North-Western Frontier Province, bordering Afghanistan. When the rumour spread all over India that the Afghan Government had offered a very handsome reward for the head of Colonel Lawrence, the British Government thought it wise to transfer Colonel Lawrence,—the simple air-craftman Shaw—to England.

Furthermore, when it was discovered that some Afghan Princes, who were political enemies of king Amanullah, escaped from India to join the rebels, the Government of India had to take drastic actions against some of the Afghan Princes by deporting them to Burma or removing them to the jails of Allahabad. But these special actions of precaution have been interpreted by some as a "pure blind" on the part of the British authorities, as some of the Afghan Princes, enemies of King Amanullah, could safely leave India to strengthen the rebel cause. All these rumours and suspicions can, however, be neither proved nor disproved.

The British authorities have disclaimed all

connection with the Afghan revolt. They have declared that the strictest neutrality was in existence and some British papers have characterized the present British minister in Kabul as the best and most loyal friend of King Amanullah. On the other hand, the Soviet Government authorities and organs were the first to declare that the British were fomenting rebellion against King Amanullah, while he was in Europe, but very few people paid serious attention to these reports on the ground that the British Government accorded the most flattering reception to King Amanullah and Queen Souriya, during their visit to England. Since the outbreak of the revolt the Soviet press have declared that Colonel Lawrence was the guiding spirit of the revolt. This opinion has been accepted as a fact by the German and French press in general.

In its issue of January 16th, the *Times* Berlin correspondent has given the following as the characteristic German view of the Afghan revolt :

The German press considers that King Inayatullah has more sympathy for British ideas than his predecessor, and describes the change as a success for British influence in a sphere where it comes into sharp opposition to that of Soviet Russia. Several newspapers renew the suggestion that the revolt was supported by Great Britain, and some of these attacks are singularly venomous.

The *Kreuz Zeitung* believes that Great Britain has worked steadily to re-establish the regime of British influence in Afghanistan which ended with the accession of King Amanullah in 1919 and is now in sight of success.

The British (it says) have never shrunk from any means of reaching their aim. The more or less "peaceful" conquests of England form an unbroken chain of violence and oppression against weaker nations stretching over 500 years. The process occasionally arouses the indignation of the

whole world—one recalls the trampling down of the Boers—but has always been completely successful. Amanullah's abdication is a new success for this policy. . . . His eagerness for reforms may have caused some internal unrest, but another cause must be sought for a revolt of such magnitude. Great Britain always works unscrupulously and invisibly at the start, makes skilful use of every difficulty in the land concerned, until it sees the moment ripe to take arms "in defence" of its "menaced" territory, and ultimately annexes the weakling. . . . Some day, perhaps, a thunder-bolt will be launched from the yet independent lands, the "spheres of influence," and the "protectorates" and strike the British world Empire on its vital nerve.

The Nationalist *Lokalanzeiger* says:—"Perhaps the flame was fanned from abroad; the British Government has always looked with a jaundiced eye upon Kabul, and feared that Amanullah's example might strengthen the longing for freedom among other princes and peoples now under Great Britain's thumb. Great Britain needs weak and yielding neighbours in India."

Other newspapers take a somewhat similar line.

The *Manchester Guardian* of January 16th gives the view of the French press to the effect that King Amanullah is 'a victim of British vengeance.'

In Paris papers, it says:—

The Afghan ex-King is represented as the victim of a long prepared and patient British vengeance, not only for the defeat that he inflicted upon British arms after the end of the Great War, but also for his unforgivable fault in having anything to do with the secular Russian rivals on the northern gateways of India.

In many papers the legend takes utterly fantastic forms. According to the semi-official "Temps" it was ex-king Amanullah's fixed determination "to make Afghanistan a sovereign and absolutely independent state" that brought him into conflict with Great Britain, which, it says, "always had exercised traditionally a sort of tutelage and strict control over the foreign relations of Afghanistan."

WARNING TO THE NEW KING

"There are," it adds, "reasons to suppose that Amanullah's ardour in desiring to imitate Mustapha Kemal, and the complacency he had for Russian policy, combined with his distrust of the British Indian Government at Delhi, caused the British some uneasiness." Amanullah's successor, the "Temps" concludes, will do well to remember that it is equally dangerous to constitute a menace, direct or indirect, to British security, as it is to affront the fanaticism of Islam tradition.

Nor, again, do "Pertinax," of the "Echo de Paris," or M. Jacques Bainville, in the "Liberté," ignore the supposed role of the redoubtable "Lawrence of Arabia." Discussing the origin of the revolt of Amanullah's subjects, M. Jacques Bainville writes: "Nations are never left alone in this world. Many revolutions have been aided or excited from abroad. Can we exclude the famous Colonel Lawrence, the Warwick, the king-maker of the East, from the events at Kabul? Some

say, yes, others no. But it must not be forgotten that only a few years ago Amanullah inflicted a most cruel defeat on British arms, and that unwisely he afterwards turned to Moscow."

Until King Amanullah abdicated in favour of Inayatullah, who was in turn overthrown by the bandit rebel leader Bacha-i-Sakao, who has assumed the title of King Habibullah Gazi, British papers were rather very cautious about making any comment which might go against King Amanullah. Just as soon as it became sure that Amanullah had to flee for his life and he had no chance to remain the ruler of Afghanistan, some important British leaders have begun to comment adversely about Amanullah as a man. In this connection one must not overlook the most significant article entitled "Truth About Amanullah," published in the *Daily Mail* (Paris edition) of January 20, 1929 and the *Sunday Express* (London) of the same date.

We quote the text of it, as published in the *Daily Mail*:—

THE TRUTH ABOUT AMANULLAH Afghan Ex-King Unmasked

INTRIGUE FOR ATTACK ON INDIA
FULL DISCLOSURE OF PLOT AFTER TEN YEARS
AMRITSAR OUTBREAK AS PART OF PLAN

Remarkable revelations of how the fugitive ex-king Amanullah of Afghanistan, who a year ago was warmly welcomed in England, plotted early in 1919 to invade India and overthrow British rule are made below by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the distinguished authority on India.

Sir Michael, then Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, discloses for the first time the full story behind the rising at Amritsar, which, after Europeans had been brutally murdered, the late General Dyer drastically suppressed, only to lose his command as a concession to the demands of Indian extremists.

As part of the conspiracy, Amanullah was concentrating troops on the North-West Frontier, ready for an invasion, but, with the Indian rising promptly quelled, he found himself faced, not with a rebellious province, but with an army, predominantly Punjabi, of 200,000 men. "An ignoble peace treaty," comments Sir Michael, "was then concluded with Amanullah."

"TREACHEROUS ATTACK"
By Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER.

Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, 1913-19

A year ago all London united to give a right royal reception to the Afghan King Amanullah and his beautiful Queen Souriya.

To-day, as the result of his attempt to hustle the East, Amanullah has lost his crown, and he and his Queen have had to seek safety in flight. How are the mighty fallen!

The throne of Afghanistan has always been notoriously unstable. Every succession, except that of Amanullah's father, our trusted ally, the Amir Habibullah, has been attended by civil war and bloodshed; and Habibullah himself was

murdered at Jelalabad ten years ago because he remained true to his treaty with us.

Throughout the War he steadfastly resisted the overtures of the Germans and Turkish Missions in Kabul and the strong anti-British factions among his own people urging him to throw in his lot with our enemies and invade India.

UNREVEALED PLOT

The conspiracy behind his murder has never been unravelled. Suspicion fell at first on Nasrullah, the murdered Amir's fanatical brother, who at once proclaimed himself Amir at Jelalabad, and perhaps with less reason, on Amanullah, the third son, who, with the help of the army, proclaimed himself Amir, and in a few days established his position.

Nasrullah made his submission without a struggle, was thrown into prison and died, it is said, by strangulation, some years ago. Inayatullah, the eldest son of Habibullah and the rightful heir, having no military backing, accepted the situation. It is to Amanullah's credit that Inayatullah's life was spared. He was thrown into captivity, but was released before Amanullah's visit to Europe last year. The downfall of Amanullah gave him the throne, but after three days he, like his brother, was forced to abdicate when the rebels under Bacha-i-Sakao took Kabul.

CAUSES OF DOWNFALL

Sympathy with the fallen Amanullah and his queen—whose grace and charm won so many admirers here (while her fondness for Western fashions and manners shocked orthodox Muslims in Afghanistan)—must not blind us to the three outstanding facts in Amanullah's ten years reign which were the main causes of his downfall.

1. He usurped the throne by force, excluding his elder brother.

2. To direct attention from his doubtful title and secure the adhesion of the fanatical anti-British section among the Afghans, within two months of his accession he made, in April 1919, a most treacherous attack on British India, then at its weakest owing to the absence of the best part of the British Indian Army.

3. After he had consolidated his position and shaken off British control of the foreign relations of Afghanistan, Amanullah wrought his own ruin by reckless and ill-judged attempts to upset the customs and religion of conservative and fanatical tribesmen, most of whom never paid more than a nominal allegiance to Kabul.

OBSCURE CHAPTER OF HISTORY

Amanullah's invasion of British India in 1919 is an obscure chapter of history on which some light may be thrown by the writer of this article, who was then Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, the province which would have to bear the brunt of an Afghan invasion.

In the spring of 1919, just after the Armistice, all the revolutionary and anti-British elements in India had combined to make a final effort to overthrow British rule, which they believed to have been shaken to its foundations by the terrific sacrifices of the Great War.

The pro-Turkish element among the Muslims headed by the brothers Ali combined with the revolutionary Hindu section led by Gandhi, the Extremist. (All three were later sentenced for sedition). Their object was to create wholesale

disorder and rebellion in Northern India or prepare the way for an Afghan invasion.

GANDHI'S CRUSADE

Gandhi started his crusade of "Passive Resistance," which led to open intimidation, defence of authority, widespread riots, and murders of European and Indian officials in Bombay, Delhi, the Punjab, and Peshawar.

As the result of plans laid by the conspirators all the railway lines leading from Delhi to Peshawar were tampered with, trains derailed, telegraphic and telephonic communications cut, while persistent, and in some cases successful, attempts were made to seduce the Indian troops from their loyalty.

The most serious outbreak was in the Punjab. It began on April 10, when every European in Amritsar whom the frenzied mob could get hold of was brutally murdered. For some days the great cities of Lahore and Amritsar were in the hands of rebellious mobs.

The Government of India proclaimed a state of "open rebellion" in those districts, declared martial law, and directed the local authorities to repress the disorders by all means "however drastic."

CONCENTRATING TROOPS

At this stage it came to our knowledge that the Amir Amanullah was concentrating large masses of troops towards the North-Western Frontier with a view to taking advantage of our difficulties and adding one more to the many successful Afghan invasions of India.

The Indian conspirators had early in April sent emissaries to Peshawar, to the frontier tribes, and to Afghanistan, to ask for outside help in overthrowing British rule.

Amanullah and some of the tribes readily lent themselves to the conspiracy. Suspecting this, we in the Punjab had to make every effort to suppress the local rebellion before the Afghan and tribal invasion could materialize.

GENERAL DYER'S ACTION

And we were successful. The "drastic action" taken by General Dyer at Amritsar on April 15 paralyzed the rebels, though the situation remained critical for another month.

Amanullah, still believing that he would find Northern India in rebellion and ready for him, persevered with his plans. He sent tens of thousands of proclamations into India which were direct incitements to rebel and made violent attacks on the British in Kabul.

The Afghan and tribal attacks on these vital points, the Khubar, Kurram, and Quetta, began at the end of April.

But meantime order had been restored in the Punjab, and instead of a rebellious province ready to welcome the Afghan liberator, Amanullah found himself confronted by an army, predominantly Punjabis, of over 200,000 men.

In a few weeks the Afghans were driven back. Jelalabad was threatened, Kabul bombed by a British Handley Page, and the Amir was humbly suing for peace.

It is worth recalling to the short memories of the British public that the man who dealt the severest blow to the invader by defeating the Afghan Commander-in-chief, Nadir Khan, at

Thall, was the same General Dyer who had smashed the Punjab rebellion a month before at Amritsar. Dyer's reward was the loss of his command, of his military career, and indirectly of his life, for he never rallied from the disgrace inflicted on him to conciliate the Indian extremists.

IGNOBLE PEACE TREATY

In August 1919 the war-weary British Government concluded with Amanullah an ignoble peace treaty, conceding practically all the Afghan demands and enabling them to boast all over Asia that they had won the war. This early success appears to have gone to Amanullah's head and to have stimulated the overweening conceit and self-confidence which have now brought about his sudden and dramatic downfall.

A reign begun by gross usurpation, strengthened temporarily by a treacherous attack on an ally, and culminating in reckless interference with the religion and customs of wild intractable tribes, who abhor the idea of westernization, was foredoomed.

From the above article, on the authority of no less a person than Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the British Government for the past ten years regarded king Amanullah as an enemy of Great Britain. One might, therefore, find it hard to understand why the British Government, entertained him and his wife so lavishly. Perhaps it was an effort to win over an avowed enemy through lavish entertainment.

It was announced that during king Amanullah's stay in London, British statesmen made propositions for an offensive and defensive alliance, so that Afghanistan would prefer to ally itself with Britain and would not throw in its lot with Soviet Russia. But the Afghan king did not respond favourably to this offer; on the contrary, he cemented

an understanding with Turkey and Persia for mutual defence. This action was regarded as hostile to Great Britain, because these three Powers were parties to neutrality treaties with the Government of Soviet Russia.

Though history does *not* always repeat itself, past history often gives rise to even unfounded rumours. Some time ago Lord Ronaldshay in one of his books disclosed the real causes of the Burmese War by which King Thibau was deposed and made prisoner and brought to India. The former Governor of Bengal wrote that the unfortunate Burmese king was actively engaged in concluding an offensive and defensive alliance with France, which was then a rival of Great Britain in South-Eastern Asia. British authorities then picked up a quarrel with Thibau, under the pretence of his ill-treating British merchants etc. and dethroned him to frustrate the project of a Franco-Burmese Alliance which might have been dangerous to British supremacy in India. In the past when an Afghan ruler sided with Russia against Great Britain, Lord Lytton, the then Governor-General of India invaded Afghanistan to frustrate the possible Afghan-Russian combination against Great Britain in India. During the Governor-Generalship of Lord Curzon the British Government sanctioned an expedition to Tibet, because the Tashi Lama and others were intriguing with Russia against Britain. For details, the reader may turn to Dr. Taraknath Das's articles in *The Modern Review* on British expansion in Tibet and on Anglo-French rivalry in South-Eastern Asia.

Prof. Jadunath Sinha's Rejoinder

I am grateful to Dr. Radhakrishnan for his long and elaborate reply to my letter published in the *Modern Review*, January, 1929. He has given a fair opportunity to the public to hear both the parties and form their own opinion in the matter. There would have been no occasion for such an unhappy controversy, if the University office had kept a copy of my entire thesis. I do not exactly remember when I took back the first three parts of my thesis. The last part of it was sent to me by the Assistant Controller of Examinations, together with my thesis for the Griffith Memorial Prize, on the 9th April, 1927. Unfortunately, the University office does not keep copies of theses for verification in such a

contingency as the present. I think, this is one of the reasons why theses submitted to the Calcutta University for research prizes, scholarships, and higher degrees are liable to be appreciated in a wrong way by excessively assimilative examiners, if any.

There is another reason why such examiners, if any, may be emboldened to absorb and assimilate important portions of theses of examinees. Many of these are rejected by the University. Still they may contain some valuable material. Some of them which are accepted by the University are never published, and there is no knowing when others may be published by their authors. And, moreover,

who knows that the material absorbed by such examiners will ever be detected by their real authors? And even if they are detected, how can they prove the fact? Examinees are not expected to take every precaution, so that their theses may not be exploited by their examiners. It was by mere chance that parts of my thesis had been published before the publication of Dr. Radhakrishnan's work.

It was, indeed, never thought likely that an examiner of a thesis would assimilate the work of an examinee. Probably such a thing never happened before. This is really a contingency of an entirely novel character. The authorities of the Calcutta University could never dream of it. So, they did not provide for it. But when there is the least suspicion about it, the University is in duty bound to take necessary steps to preclude such a possibility.

I was really surprised to find that Dr. Radhakrishnan especially borrowed from those parts of my thesis which were submitted to the Calcutta University in 1922 and 1923, though he paid particular attention to the latter (*Vide* my letters published in the *Modern Review*, January and February, 1929.) He also examined the part of my thesis submitted in 1925, but he did not press it very much into his service. His own statement explains this differential treatment. He actually sent the MS. of his second volume to the publishers in 1924, as far as he remembers, though he sent them the final proofs much later, and signed the Preface in December, 1926. (*The Modern Review*, February, 1929, p. 213.)

Dr. Radhakrishnan says, "I have not seen the whole of Mr. Sinha's thesis." (*Ibid.*, p. 210.) The Calcutta University Calendar (1924) will testify to the fact that he was on the Board of Examiners for French and Roychand Studentships in literary subjects in 1922, and necessarily examined my thesis on a philosophical subject in the same year. Dr. Radhakrishnan's report on "Indian Psychology of Perception, Vol II, by Mr. Jadunath Sinha," dated the 28th January, 1924, and the Minutes of the Syndicate dated the 2nd February, 1924, will show that he examined my thesis submitted to the Calcutta University in 1923. Dr. Radhakrishnan says in the above report, "This section brings together a large mass of information. . . . It will be better if the author assimilates the materials gathered, rethinks them and attempts a fresh presentation of the subject." One is tempted to read a meaning into this suggestion. I have shown in my letters that Dr. Radhakrishnan has taken numerous passages from my chapters on *Perception*, of the *Self* (published in the *Meerut College Magazine*, January, 1924), and *Dreams* (published in the *Meerut College Magazine*, January, 1926), which were submitted to the Calcutta University in 1922, and he has also incorporated in his book the complete chapter on *Perception of Cognition*, and many paragraphs from the chapters on *Perception of Space* and *Perception of Jñi* which were submitted in 1923. Thus, when many unassimilated materials of my thesis submitted in 1923 have already found their way into his book, I should certainly be advised by him to attempt a fresh presentation of the subject. However, it was a blessing for me that he sent his MS. to his publishers probably in 1924. Otherwise, if he went on paying

unnecessary attention to the subsequent parts of my thesis also at the same rate, there would have been no necessity for publishing my book at all.

The dominant note of Dr. Radhakrishnan's reply is that the similarity between the parallel passages given in my first letter is, on the whole, too slight to prove anything. There is, indeed, a striking similarity between certain passages, but it is due, in his opinion, to the fact that they are faithful translations of the same texts. He wants to emphasize this point when he says, "Apparently he has brought together the textual matter where resemblances are bound to be striking" (*The Modern Review*, February, 1929, p. 209). "In actual phraseology there is some agreement due to the identity of the texts considered" (*Ibid.*, p. 210). "When two or more writers are using the same texts, there is bound to be similarity in significance, and much agreement in phraseology, if the writers are faithful to the sources" (*Ibid.*, p. 212). "I need not tell Mr. Sinha that the translations of, say, the Upanishads by MaxMüller, Hume, Mead, etc., resemble one another not only in matter but in form, and it would be foolish certainly to rush from this resemblance to a charge of plagiarism." (*Ibid.*, p. 212). Thus he emphatically says that two independent translations of the same texts are bound to resemble each other not only in matter but also in form (*Ibid.*, p. 212).

On this point I beg to differ from the learned Professor. I submit that *faithful translations of the same passage by different persons are very likely, if not bound, to differ in form*. For instance, the difference between Rana Prasad's English translation of Vyāsa Bhāṣya and Vācaspati's gloss and that of Woods is quite striking. I am thankful to Dr. Radhakrishnan that he also practically admits this truth, and emphatically asserts it by implication when he points out that my translation of certain passages (Nos. 4-9) from *Nyāyakandali* is almost a *verbatim* reproduction of Dr. Ganganath Jha's version. (*Ibid.*, p. 211). But if two independent translations of the same passage *must* resemble each other in language, how does he feel sure that my version is not independent of Dr. Jha's? Thus he contradicts himself when he opines at the same breath that two independent translations of the same passage are bound to resemble each other, and also that they can never resemble each other in language. What I mean is that Dr. Radhakrishnan adopts one principle in judging of the resemblances between his versions and mine and adopts the opposite principle in judging of the resemblances between my versions and Dr. Ganganath Jha's. In his own case, in order to rebut the charge of plagiarism, he says independent and faithful translations of the same texts must resemble one another. In my case, however, he holds that as my versions resemble those of Dr. Jha, the resemblances cannot be due to faithful translation done by us independently of each other, but are due to the fact that I have adopted Dr. Jha's versions. May I ask, which of his two principles is correct?

Dr. Radhakrishnan says, "I do not try to give the *exact translations* but only expound the *significance* of the texts" (*Ibid.*, p. 209). If so, there can never be any similarity between my version and his. If one gives *exact translations* of the texts, and the other tries to expound their

significance without giving their exact translations, how can there be any close similarity between the two versions, say, in the parallel passages (Nos. 2, 4, 5 and 7) in the *Modern Review*, January, 1929 (pp. 100-101)? There can never be a close similarity in form between the translation and the interpretation of the same text.

But he clearly recognizes that interpretations and criticisms of different authors are bound to differ, when he says, "The value of a philosophical work depends not so much on the extracts we use as on the interpretative exposition and critical evaluation where the individuality of the writers comes out" (*The Modern Review*, February, 1929, p. 213). In my letters published in the *Modern Review* (January and February, 1929) I have shown how he has freely borrowed not only my translations but also my interpretations, whether they are right or wrong. I shall indicate below how my *wrong* interpretation of Vacaspati's view has been borrowed by him.

He has not only made a futile attempt to explain away the striking similarities between the parallel passages by urging that both of them are based on the same texts, but he has also thrown out a few indirect hints and insinuations. He says, "In our unfortunate land self-praise is subtly sought by the dispraise of others. I hope our younger men at least will grow out of this weakness." (*The Modern Review*, February, 1929, p. 213). It is indeed true that, not only in our unfortunate land, but all over the world, self-praise is sought by some by the dispraise of others. All men, young and old, should outgrow this weakness. But this is comparatively a trifling thing. It pales into insignificance when compared with the moral perversity involved in the violation of a sacred trust by a cultured and honourable man, if and when there is any. I sincerely pray, all scholars, young and old, may outgrow this perversity. The world has yet to be convinced whether a young man wants to advertise himself at the cost of an old, veteran scholar, or to expose an academic fraud of a most serious type for the sake of truth, justice, and academic purity.

Moreover, self-praise is a folly characteristic of youth and age alike. And even those who preach the futility of it may not be free from it. Dr. Radhakrishnan says, "During the time my second volume was in preparation, I had often lectured to the classes on many of the topics discussed in it, including the *Samkhya theory of Self-consciousness* and the *Mimamsa theory of Knowledge*. It is not at all impossible that some of the material contained in it might have found currency before the publication of the work." (*Ibid.*, p. 212). Let me point out, in this connection, that I took my M. A. degree from the Calcutta University as early as 1917, when he was far away from Calcutta and was scarcely known to anybody in Bengal. I had the proud privilege of being a pupil of a great man of encyclopaedic learning to whom I owe all my inspiration in Indian philosophy. It was Dr. (now Sir) Brajendranath Seal who suggested to me the subject of my research, indicated the lines of work in detail, and gave me exhaustive information about the references. It was under his able guidance that I carried on research in Indian philosophy, and was awarded a Premchand

Roychand Studentship by the Calcutta University in 1922 on presentation of a thesis on "Indian Psychology of Perception." Even from Mysore, in the midst of his multifarious duties, he expressed his desire to go through my manuscript before its publication, in compliance with my request. And it is in the light of his fresh suggestions and his "Syllabus of Indian Philosophy" that I have been recasting my whole thesis for publication.

Dr. Radhakrishnan may flatter himself that his fruitful and suggestive ideas are eagerly accepted as gospel truth by all. But with due deference to his knowledge of Western philosophy, I humbly submit there are many who fail to find any source of inspiration in his volumes on *Indian Philosophy*. I do not know how many research students he has turned out up till now. I do not know how many writers on Indian philosophy have been inspired by his lecture-notes or his works on Indian philosophy. At any rate, his knowledge of Indian philosophy was not known to the world till 1923, when his first volume on *Indian Philosophy* was published, and I had already been awarded a Premchand Roychand Studentship in 1922. Moreover, I have been far away from Calcutta for the last nine years, ever since I resigned my post at Ripon College in 1919, long before Dr. Radhakrishnan joined his post in the Calcutta University in 1921. I have never had the good fortune of listening to his learned lectures or talks on Indian or Western philosophy. Still, in the absence of any other plea, if he wants to convince the public that some one already engaged in research under the guidance of a great expert was eager to receive his invaluable ideas from a great distance, though he had absolutely no connection with him, and knew nothing about his knowledge of Indian philosophy, he certainly indulges in the height of self-glorification.

Dr. Radhakrishnan especially mentions his lectures on the *Samkhya theory of Self-consciousness* and the *Mimamsa theory of Knowledge* (*Ibid.*, p. 212), because the *printed* passages of my thesis given in my first letter deal with these topics. He cannot possibly explain away the great similarity between his versions and mine in these passages. And however devoutly he might wish these *printed* passages were blotted out of print, they will continue as unassailable proofs of his achievement. He is too painfully conscious of it. So, he invents the plea of his special lectures on these topics, which unerringly found their way into my thesis! In my second letter I have given more extracts from the *published* portion of my thesis. Will he now add to the number of *special* lectures he delivered in the Calcutta University? I shall expose the utter hollowness of this plea by showing below that he has borrowed *verbatim* more than half of his '*interpretative exposition*' of the *Mimamsa theory of the Self* from Dr. G. Thibaut's work published in 1907, Dr. Ganganath Jha's work published in 1911, and a portion of my thesis published in 1924.

Even supposing I showed no originality at all in my expositions and interpretations, but simply reproduced Dr. Radhakrishnan's ideas and language *verbatim* in my thesis, why did he recommend me at all for a Premchand Roychand Studentship? Or, if at least in some parts of my thesis I had



Durrani Chiefs in Armour

passed off his ideas and even his very 'sentences' repeatedly uttered in his lectures as my own, why did he not point it out in any of his reports to the Calcutta University, especially, when he himself was writing on the very same topics for his second volume? Why did he not accuse me of plagiarism then? Why did he leave room for his being accused of plagiarism by me later on?

Besides, throughout his reply he has tried to show that the similarity between the parallel passages is due to the fact that both the versions are based on the same texts, so that they are independent of each other; and he has not borrowed his version from my thesis. If his versions are independent of mine, it ought conversely to be self-evident that my versions are independent of his. But in a concluding paragraph of his reply (February *M. R.*, pp. 212-13) he turns round and insinuates that my versions are borrowed from

his lecture-notes. If that is his real conviction, why has he taken infinite pains to explain away the similarity between his versions and mine by calling into aid all 'the apparatus of learning' he possesses? Thus, here, again, he contradicts himself, and is inconsistent. But perhaps the wise Doctor holds with Emerson, of course in a Pickwickian sense, that consistency is the bugbear of fools.

The reader will be interested to know that Dr. Radhakrishnan's lecture-notes had been used not only by me, but also by eminent scholars like Dr. G. Thibaut and Dr. Ganganath Jha long before the lectures were actually delivered by him in the Calcutta University!! Will they be accused of 'prospective' plagiarism by Dr. Radhakrishnan? Did these lectures float to them up-stream on the surface of the River of Time? A few samples of their plagiarism are appended below:

PARALLEL PASSAGES

Extracts from Dr. G. Thibaut's English Translation of *Vivaraṇaprameya-saṃgraha* (*Indian Thought*, October, 1907).

1. 1. The Self is an object of cognition, since it is directly perceived; as a jar is.

2. That the Self is both the object of knowledge and the knowing subject, implies no contradiction; for we distinguish in the Self a substantial *dravya* element which is the object of cognition, and a conscious (*bodha*) element which is the subject of cognition.

3. This view, the Prābhākara rejoins, is untenable.

4. For what you call the *substantial* element in the Self is non-intelligent, and hence cannot be a *Self* at all.

5. There thus remains the *conscious* element only; and if you view this as an object of cognition, you cannot rid your view of the two contradictions stated.

6. Nor can it be said that that conscious element is capable of undergoing a change so as to have simultaneously the character of object and of subject of knowledge; for it is not made up of parts. (p. 357).

11. 7. There is no direct recognition of a permanent identical Self:

8. The latter being proved indirectly only by the fact of the recognition of the permanent objects of thought. (p. 405).

[This is not a translation of any Sanskrit passage in *Vivaraṇaprameya-saṃgraha*. It is Dr. Thibaut's own exposition of the Prābhākara theory.]

Extracts from Dr. Radhakrishnan's *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II. (1927).

1. 1. The self is an object of cognition, since it is directly perceived as the jar is.

2. The self is both the object and the subject of knowledge, and this is no contradiction, since we distinguish in the self a substantial (*dravya*) element, which is the object of cognition, and an element of consciousness (*bodha*), which is the subject of cognition.

3. The followers of Prābhākara object to this view.

4. If the substantive element of the self is non-intelligent, then it is not self at all.

5. What remains is the conscious element only and it cannot serve as both subject and object.

6. It is partless, and therefore incapable of undergoing changes so as to have simultaneously the character of both subject and object. (p. 413).

[Here Dr. Radhakrishnan neither refers to *Vivaraṇaprameya-saṃgraha* (V. S. S., p. 54), nor to Dr. Thibaut's English translation of it from which it has been borrowed almost *verbatim*. He has not even mentioned the latter in the bibliography after the sixth chapter in which the above passages occur or anywhere else. He has quoted one passage from it on p. 587 and another on p. 589, put them within quotation marks, and duly acknowledged their source. But, I hope, that will not be cited by the author as the authority for this long extract also.]

11. 7. There is no direct knowledge of a permanent identical self.

8. The latter is proved indirectly from the fact of the recognition of permanent objects of thought. (pp. 409-410).

[This is Dr. Radhakrishnan's 'original' exposition which is almost a *verbatim* reproduction of Dr. Thibaut's. But he has given no reference here.]

Extracts from Dr. Ganganath Jha's *The Prābhākara School of Pūrva mīmāṃsā* (1911).

III. 9. Just as the activities of my body are due to the effort of *my* Soul, so the activities of that other body are due to the effort of another soul (p. 82).

10. Just as the sun, though one only, yet, when reflected in different substances, becomes endowed with distinct properties, so the Soul also, though one only, yet as ensouling different bodies, becomes endowed with diverse qualities; the analogy in this case is not quite correct; as the qualities that appear different are only those that belong to the reflecting medium and not to the sun (p. 83).

11. If the analogy were true, the diverse qualities appearing in connection with the Souls would belong to the bodies ensouled, and not to the Soul (p. 83).

12. Pleasure, pain, &c., are qualities of the Soul, and not of the body (p. 83).

[The first sentence in this extract occurs on p. 82. And the last three occur in one long sentence on p. 83.]

IV. 13. "The Soul is something entirely distinct from the body, the sense-organs and buddhi; it becomes manifest in all cognitions; it is eternal (p. 74).

14. Prābhākara denies that the Soul is of the size of the atom, or of that of the body it ensouls (p. 81).

15. Though the Soul is omnipresent, it cannot experience what is going on in another body; because a particular Soul can experience only that which goes on in the body brought about by the past *karma* of that Soul (p. 81).

16. The Soul is many, one in each body (p. 74).

17. The Soul, in its liberated state, continues to exist as a mere *esse 'sat'* (p. 81).

18. It is not brought into existence by any cause; hence the Soul is imperishable (p. 81).

[This is Dr. Jha's critical exposition of the Prābhākara theory of the Self.]

V. 19. Even though he admits that the Universe is made of constituent parts, and as such it must have a beginning and an end, yet he finds no reason for believing that the Universe, as a whole, had a beginning, or would come to an end (p. 85).

20. The bodies of all men and animals are found to be produced by the functioning of the parents, and not by a supervening agency (p. 85).

Extracts from Dr. S. Radhakrishnan's *Indian Philosophy, Vol. II.* (1927.)

III. 9. As my actions are due to my soul, other activities are traced to other souls...

10. The analogy that as the one sun, reflected in different substances, becomes endowed with distinct properties, the one soul reflected in different bodies becomes endowed with different qualities, will not hold, since the qualities that appear different belong to the reflecting medium and not the sun.

11. If the analogy were true, the diverse qualities appearing in connection with the souls would belong to the bodies and not the soul.

12. But pleasure, pain, etc. are qualities of the soul and not of the body.

[This long extract occurs on p. 409.]

IV. 13. It is entirely distinct from the body, senses and understanding, is manifested in all cognitions, and is eternal.

14. Prābhākara denies that the soul is of the size of an atom or of the body which it informs.

15. Though it is omnipresent, it cannot experience what is going on in another body, since it can experience only that which goes on in the bodily organism brought about by the past *karma* of the soul.

16. There are many souls, one in each body.

17. In its liberated state the soul continues to exist as a mere *esse (sat)*

18. It is imperishable, since it is not brought into existence by any cause (pp. 410-411.)

[This is Dr. Radhakrishnan's own 'original' interpretation of the Prābhākara theory of the Self. He delivered a special course of lectures on the Mīmāṃsā theory of Knowledge, while his second volume was in preparation. (*Modern Review*, February, 1929, p. 212). He has devoted about six pages to his section on the Mīmāṃsā conception of the Self. I have shown in my three articles that more than three pages of this section has been bodily taken from my thesis published in 1924. Dr. Jha's work published in 1911, and Dr. Thibaut's book published in 1907. So, one may reasonably doubt the originality of the remaining three pages also.]

V. 19. While Prābhākara admits that the universe has constituent parts which have a beginning and an end, he holds that the universe as a whole has neither beginning nor end.

20. We do not see the interference of any divine being in the production of the bodies of men and animals, which owe their existence to their parents.

21. Nor can the action bringing about the creation be held to lie in the atoms, which operate under the Will of God : because in all our experience, we never come across any such supervision... as all supervision is found to be done by the Soul over that body which it ensouls (pp. 86-87).

22. The atoms cannot be said to be such a body of God (p. 87).

23. Even if we grant such a 'body' for God, the activity of the body must be due to an effort put forth by him (p. 87).

24. Nor could the *wish* be eternal, as, in that case, the activity of the atoms would be eternal (p. 87).

25. Nor is there any force in the argument that our *Dharma-Adharma* must have for a supervisor a being possessed of intelligence higher than our own. Because the *Dharma-Adharma* must belong to the same intelligent being (p. 85-86.)

26. Any being, howsoever intelligent, can never have any knowledge of the *Dharma-Adharma* of any other being (p. 86.)

27. God could not perceive *Dharma* by his senses; nor could he perceive it by his mind alone, as the mind by itself cannot perceive things outside the body (p. 86.)

28. This supervision cannot be of the nature of conjunction, because *Dharma* and *Adharma* being *qualities* are not capable of conjunction, which is possible for substances only (p. 86).

29. Nor could it be in the form of *Samavāya* or *inherence*; as the *Dharma-Adharma* inhering in other Souls could not inhere in God (p. 86).

[This is Dr. Jha's own interpretation of the Prābhākara's attitude towards God.]

21. We cannot say that the atoms act under the will of God, since in our experience each soul acts on the body which belongs to it.

22. But atoms are not the body of God.

23. Even if we grant a bodily organism to God, the activity of the latter must be due to the effort of God.

24. If the effort is eternal, the atoms would be incessantly active.

25. Nor can we say that there is a divine supervisor of *dharma* and *adharma*, since they belong to intelligent individuals.

26. One being, however great, cannot know the *dharma* and the *adharma* of another.

27. God cannot perceive the imperceptible *dharma* of others through his senses or by his mind, since it is outside his body.....

28. The control is not a case of conjunction (*samyoga*), since *dharma* and *adharma* are qualities and conjunction is possible only for substances.

29. It is not a case of *samavāya*, since *dharma* and *adharma* inhere in other souls and cannot inhere in God (pp. 424-425).

[All that Dr. Radhakrishnan has written about the Prābhākara's attitude towards God is contained in the above extract. And it has been taken in toto from Dr. Jha's interpretation in *The Prābhākara School* (pp. 85-87.) Will Dr. Radhakrishnan say, "Apparently he has brought together the textual matter where resemblances are bound to be striking, leaving out the comments for which alone even the best of us can claim originality, if any?" (*Modern Review*, February, 1929, p. 209.) Here he has 'paraphrased' and 'summarized' certain passages of Dr. Jha, and 'inverted their order in two or three places.' Thus, when there is some 'difference in phraseology' and in 'the development of the argument,' will he claim originality for his version? (*Modern Review*, February, p. 212.) Does originality consist in fusing a number of sentences gathered from different sources into an 'intelligible narrative'? If so, I am afraid, all that he has ever written might be contained not only in the 'unpublished writings,' but also in the published works of many other persons.)

VI. 30. This *atomic substance* must reside in the body ensouled by the cognising soul, as none other could contain the substratum of the immaterial cause of the cognition of which that soul is the *material cause*. The action of this atomic substance in the body—tending to bring about the contact—is due to its coming into contact with the soul which (in every act of cognition) puts forth an effort towards the cognition (p. 35).

VI. 30. The atomic substance which resides in the body ensouled by the cognising self is *manas* and none other could contain the substratum of the immaterial cause of the cognition of which the self is the material cause. The action of the atomic substance in the body which helps to bring about the contact is due to its contact with the self, which, in every act of cognition, puts forth an effort towards it. (In small type, p. 379.)

Here, Dr. Radhakrishnan's version is a specimen of his *specialized* knowledge of Indian philosophy. For he writes in the preface, "To help the general reader, the more technical and textual discussions are printed in small type." (*Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, p. 8). But will the great doctor be very much surprised, when told that even this highly technical interpretation, for which he claims originality, was anticipated by Dr. Ganganath Jha as early as 1911? Or will he say, "When two or more writers are using the same texts, there is bound to be similarity in significance and much agreement in phraseology, if the writers are faithful to the sources," and "it would be foolish certainly to rush from this resemblance to a charge of plagiarism?" (*The Modern Review*, February, 1929, p. 212). In fact, all the above passages (Nos. 9-30) are Dr. Radhakrishnan's original interpretation and critical evaluation of the Prabhākara doctrine, in which, perhaps, his individuality as a writer has completely come out.

Dr. Radhakrishnan has, indeed, referred to Dr. Ganganath Jha's *The Prabhākara School of Pūrva Mīmāṃsā* on p. 386, p. 397, and p. 405. But that cannot be the authority for these passages on other pages. He has mentioned Dr. Jha's work also under 'References' on p. 429. But that does not justify him in bodily incorporating numerous passages from it in his book without acknowledgment. If his usual method is to adopt not only standard translations, but also critical interpretations where available, make slight changes in them here and there, if necessary, and pass them off as his own, he should distinctly mention it in the preface of his books, so that his readers may value him at his proper worth.

Dr. Radhakrishnan has introduced a great deal of technical matter into his reply to mystify the unsophisticated reader. So I am compelled to enter into some technical discussion to show the utter futility of his arguments.

Passages (Nos. 1-7) in my version dealing with the Sāṃkhya theory of Self-consciousness were published in the *Meerut College Magazine* in January, 1924. Dr. Radhakrishnan's version is almost a *verbatim* reproduction of mine. So, he expounds the deep, inner, philosophical significance of the slight changes he has made in his version. He invents the philosophy of *key words*. "Obviously the key words," he says, "are *puruṣa*, *sattva*, *pratibimba*, and *parināma*. I use the word '*puruṣa*' itself in the English rendering, as the word '*self*' is ambiguous and may stand for either the *puruṣa* or the *jīva* (ego), while Mr. Sinha uses '*self*' for *puruṣa*." (*Modern Review*, February, 1929, p. 209). He has generally used the word '*puruṣa*' throughout his treatment of the Sāṃkhya System. But in the above passages (Nos. 1-7) borrowed from my thesis he uses his key word '*puruṣa*' *thrice* only, and imitates me in using the ambiguous word '*self*' as many as *thirteen* times, though he knows quite well that the latter may stand either for the *puruṣa* or the *jīva* (ego). Here he indiscriminately uses '*puruṣa*' and '*self*' in the same sense. So, *puruṣa* is not his key word.

Dr. Radhakrishnan says "For *sattva* Mr. Sinha uses '*mind*' and I use '*buddhi*' itself." (*Ibid.*, p. 209). Let me point out here that I have never used '*mind*' for '*sattva*'. I have used '*intelligence-stuff*' for '*sattva*', and '*mind*' for '*buddhi*'. And he has

generally used '*pure essence*' for '*sattva*', or retained the Sanskrit word. Only in one sentence (4) he uses '*buddhi*' for '*buddhisattva*', once. Thus his statement is incorrect. If '*buddhi*' is identical with '*buddhisattva*', why does he use '*the sattva nature of buddhi*' (2), "*buddhi in its sattva nature*" (3), and "*the pure nature of buddhi*" (4)? Thus, though he himself has used these words, he does not understand even now the subtle distinction between '*buddhi*' and '*buddhisattva*'. Though in the above passages (Nos. 1-7) borrowed from my thesis he is faithful to his key word '*buddhi*', for that is the only change he has made in some of them (2 and 3), he uses the word '*internal organ*' for '*buddhi*' on the same page in his book several times. Thus, '*buddhi*' is not his key word. Again, for '*buddhi*' I have always used '*mental function*', '*mental mode*' or '*mental modification*', and he also imitates me in using the same words, though he never uses '*mind*' for '*buddhi*'. And elsewhere on the same page in his book he uses '*modification of the internal organ*' for '*mental modification*' as many as seven times. But he never uses this expression in the above passages (1-7) borrowed from my thesis. So, his plea of key words completely breaks down.

Let me consider the passages in detail in my version.

1. This sentence is not a translation of any Sanskrit text. It is *my own interpretation* of the Sāṃkhya-Pātañjala doctrine of self-consciousness. Dr. Radhakrishnan has borrowed his version almost *verbatim* from mine. Only for '*self*' he has used '*puruṣa*', and for '*mind*' '*buddhi*'. So, they are bound to be his key words! He is conscious of it. So, he hunts out a mutilated sentence from Keith which conveys the same idea. . . "When the spirit reflects itself in the inner organ, it brings its reflex, and therefore its self, to conscious knowledge." (*The Sāṃkhya System*, p. 107.) With this sentence his version has not the remotest similarity.

2. This sentence is not at all a translation of any Sanskrit passage. It is *my interpretation* of the text—*buddhisattvāgata puruṣa pratibimbāmbanāt puruṣāmbanām* (*Taittvaīśārādī*, III, 35) in the light of *Maniprabhā* and *Bhōjavṛtti*. *Maniprabhā* says, "Anātmākārātravāṇyātravāṇāmātrā-pratibimbāgrāhivā puruṣānām" (III, 35). *Bhōjavṛtti* also conveys the same idea (III, 35). Still Dr. Radhakrishnan wants to prove that this sentence is a mere translation of a Sanskrit passage, and claims originality for his version only by substituting '*buddhisattva*' for '*pure intelligence-stuff of the mind*' in my version. Can he find out a single sentence in *Taittvaīśārādī*, of which it is a translation? Moreover, he has taken infinite pains to hunt out the English equivalents of '*samyama*' from different books, though the word does not occur at all in the above passage in *Taittvaīśārādī*, of which he wants to prove that it is a translation. Besides, he says, "If I depended on the translations, I do not see why Mr. Sinha thinks that I should have rejected the standard ones in favour of his unpublished attempts, when, as a matter of fact, we have English translations of Vyāsa and Vācaspati in both the *Harvard Oriental Series* and the *Sacred Books of the Hindus Series*, which I have mentioned under 'References' on p. 373." (*Ibid.*, p. 209.) Let me show that Dr. Radhakrishnan's version is a *verbatim* reproduction of mine, and not

of that of Rama Prasada or Woods by reproducing all the versions below :

(i) "The *sattva* of the thinking substance depends upon the Self to the extent that it depends on the image of the Self as entered into the *Sattva* of the thinking substance." (Wood's translation, p. 264.)

(ii) "What looks like the objective appearance of the Puruṣa, and becomes as such an object of knowledge, is the reflection of the Puruṣa into the essence of the Will-to-be." (Rama Prasada's translation, p. 229.)

(iii) "Vācaspatimīśra holds that the self can know itself, only when attention is entirely withdrawn from the mental function in which the self is reflected, and wholly concentrated on the reflection of the self in the pure intelligence-stuff of the mind." (My interpretation.)

(iv) "According to Vācaspati, the self can know itself only when attention is entirely withdrawn from the mental function in which the self is reflected, and is wholly concentrated on the reflection of the self in the *sattva* nature of buddhi." (Dr. Radhakrishnan's interpretation.)

3. This sentence brings out the significance of the text in *Tattvavaiśārādī* (*buddhisattvamevatu tena pratyayaṇa samkṛāntapurūṣapratibimbam puruṣacchāyāpannam caitanyam* *lambate*, III, 35) in so far as it throws light on Vācaspati's view as to the nature of the *subject self* and the *object self*. Neither Woods nor Rama Prasada brings out this significance in his English translation of it (*Vide* Rama Prasada's translation, pp. 229-230; Woods' translation, p. 264.)

My interpretation of Vācaspati's view given in my thesis and published in the *Meerut College Magazine* was entirely wrong. Vācaspati agrees with Vyāsa in holding that the *pure self*, or the self in its pure essence, is the *subject* of self-apprehension, and the *empirical self*, or the reflection of the self in *buddhisattva* is the *object* of self-apprehension. He makes it quite clear when he says, "*Ātīyā jaḍaḥ prakāśyate, na jaḍena cītiḥ. Puruṣapratyaya-javacīdātma katham cīdātmanam prakāśayet. Cīdātmaṁ tvaparādīnā prakāśo jaḍam prakāśayati.*" (III, 35). He makes it more emphatic when he explains the scriptural text quoted by Vyāsa (*tejmātāramare kena vijñāyati*) by saying "*Na kena cīdīyarthah*" (III, 35.) Bhojaraja, Rāmānanda Yati, and Nāgēśa also are of the same opinion. I have corrected this mistake in my final manuscript. But unfortunately Dr. Radhakrishnan did not get it at the time of examining my thesis. So, he was compelled to perpetuate my mistake in his book, though he made a verbal alteration in the sentence.

4. This sentence brings out the significance of the Sanskrit text (*na ca puruṣapratyayaṇa buddhisattvatmanā puruṣaḥ drśyate, puruṣa eva pratyayam sātmatvalambanam paśyati*, Vyāsaśāhya, III, 35), by adding the clause "as the mind is unconscious" to its translation. Otherwise, the sentence by itself would not convey its meaning clearly. I always try to bring out the significance of a text having a bearing on the subject-matter. So, here, in order to bring out the significance of the text I have not only 'mixed up' Vyāsa and Vijnanabhikṣu, in the language of Dr. Radhakrishnan, but also Vyāsa and Vācaspati whose characteristic passage I have quoted in the previous paragraph. In fact, all commentators have given the same interpretation

on this point. Can Dr. Radhakrishnan give any other? All the versions of this passage are given below :

(i) "The Puruṣa is not known by that notion of itself, which is the self-same as the objective Buddhi. The Puruṣa only sees that notion of self by himself." (Rama Prasada's translation, p. 228.)

(ii) "The Self is not seen by that presented idea of the Self whose essence is the *sattva* of the thinking-substance. It is the Self which sees the presented idea which depends upon its own self." (Woods' translation, p. 263.)

(iii) "The self cannot be known by the intelligence-stuff of the mind in which the self is reflected ; it is the self which knows itself through its reflection in the pure intelligence-stuff of the mind." (My version.)

(iv) "The self cannot be known by the buddhi in which it is reflected, but it is the self which knows itself through its reflection in the pure nature of buddhi" (Dr. Radhakrishnan's version.)

Does not Dr. Radhakrishnan reject the standard English translations of Rama Prasada and Woods in favour of my 'unpublished attempts'? When he knows full well that there is not the least similarity between his version and those of Rama Prasada and Woods, why does he quote their names to bring greater discredit upon himself?

5-7. In these passages I expound the view of Vijnanabhikṣu. Dr. Radhakrishnan has reproduced them almost *verbatim*. He explains the difference between my version and his in his reply. I have raised the objection of *Karmakartavyavrodha* and answered it in my version. He has excluded it from my version and thus made it entirely his own! I may point out here that there is no English translation of *Yogavārtika*. So, Dr. Radhakrishnan has taken the greatest care according to his usual method, to bring out the sense of the texts without anybody's help (*Modern Review*, February, 1929, p. 209). But if his language happens to be almost a *verbatim* reproduction of mine, he cannot help it! He is conscious of it. So he says, "In actual phraseology there is some agreement due to the identity of the texts considered, but the differences throughout my renderings are striking enough to indicate to the careful reader that they are based on the texts." (*Ibid.*, p. 210). Certainly, here the similarity is most striking but it will require the keen insight of a great thinker to find out the difference!

Thus with regard to the above passages (1-7), he is not indebted to Keith, Rama Prasada, and Woods, whose names he has quoted, but to me only.

8. This entire paragraph is "my own interpretation of Kumārila and Prabhākara's doctrines of the perception of the self. It is not a mere translation of a Sanskrit passage." (*Modern Review*, January, 1929, p. 102). But Dr. Radhakrishnan objects to it. He says, "Mr. Sinha urges that he is giving in his own interpretation, while half the passage is devoted to a quotation from *Sāstradīpikā* and its translation." (*Modern Review*, February, 1929, p. 210.)

Let me point out that barring the Sanskrit quotation, there are five sentences in this paragraph. Only one of them is a translation of the Sanskrit passage. But this also is not an exact translation. It brings out its significance by adding the following

sentence to the translation: "But along with this object-consciousness there is sometimes another distinct consciousness, viz., self-consciousness"; and it has been quoted *verbatim* by Dr. Radhakrishnan. I have not translated the word "*avyaptek*," and he also has left it out. How is it that he has brought out the *significance* of the Sanskrit text which I have quoted and he has used in exactly the same way, by adding the same sentence, and leaving out the same word, and using the same language?

The other sentences in this paragraph are not at all translations of Sanskrit texts. Can Dr. Radhakrishnan hunt out any passage in *Sāstradīpikā* or any other book, of which they are translations? In the first two sentences I have given my own exposition of the Bhāṭṭa Mimāṃsaka theory of the perception of the self, and in the last two I have given my own interpretation of the Bhāṭṭa theory as distinguished from the Prabhākara theory. So, the whole paragraph is my own interpretation which has been reproduced almost *verbatim* by Dr. Radhakrishnan. He has made only two changes. First, he has not referred to the Prabhākara doctrine. Secondly, he has substituted the words "the followers of Kumārila" for the words "the Bhāṭṭa Mimāṃsaka" used by me, and to explain the deep significance of this verbal change he has delivered a learned lecture on the distinction between Kumārila's view and that of his followers, which he might as well reserve for his research students. The Bhāṭṭas and the Prabhākaras are the two well-known schools of Mimāṃsakas. Kumārila Bhāṭṭa is the founder of the former, and Prabhākara of the latter. Strictly speaking, the followers of Kumārila Bhāṭṭa are the Bhāṭṭas, and those of Prabhākara are the Prabhākaras. But generally the words "Bhāṭṭas" and "Prabhākaras" are indifferently used in the sense of "Kumārila and his followers", and "Prabhākara and his followers" respectively. On this point I refer Dr. Radhakrishnan to Dr. Ganganath Jha's *The Prabhākara School of Pūrva Mīmāṃsā* (pp. 22, 38, 40, 45, 66 etc.) with which he has shown his unusually intimate acquaintance. He says, "Mr. Sinha holds that it is the view of 'Bhāṭṭa Mimāṃsaka' which is his designation for Kumārila" (*Ibid.*, p. 210). Here I have quoted a text from *Sāstradīpikā* of Pārthasārathimīśra, a follower of Kumārila, but still the great doctor knows for certain that by 'Bhāṭṭa Mimāṃsaka' I mean Kumārila!

In fact, Dr. Radhakrishnan cannot possibly offer any explanation of his almost *verbatim* reproduction of this entire paragraph from my thesis. So, first, he says that half of it is a quotation and its translation. Secondly, he gives the deep significance of his paraphrasing the word 'Bhāṭṭa Mimāṃsaka'. Thirdly, he picks up the last sentence, and says, "That self-consciousness marks a higher degree of conscious life than the mere consciousness of the object is a criticism with which even a beginner in epistemology is familiar and I have referred to it in more than one place." (*Ibid.*, p. 210). Here he admits that at least the last sentence is an *interpretation*, and he has reproduced my language almost *verbatim*. But he accounts for it by saying that this commonplace criticism is known even to a beginner in epistemology. I admit that not only this criticism but also what is involved in the previous sentence, and my exposition of the Bhāṭṭa doctrine in the first two sentences are known to

every student of Indian philosophy. But I wonder how all these sentences in my thesis containing my exposition, interpretation, and criticism could find their way into Dr. Radhakrishnan's work in exactly the same form!

In this connection Dr. Radhakrishnan points out that my reference to *Sāstradīpikā* (ch. S. S.), p. 482 is wrong. He says, "It is found on p. 349 and not p. 482." The Chowkhamba edition of *Sāstradīpikā* to which reference is made, has only 474 pages and page 482 of it is non-existent" (*Ibid.*, p. 210). I am thankful to him for his correction. But let me point out that there are two editions of *Sāstradīpikā* published by the publishers of the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, one with *Yuktisnehaprapuraṇī* and the other with *Prakāśa*. I am informed by the publishers of the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series that the former belongs to this Series, while the latter does not, though it has been published by them. The former has only 474 pages, while the latter, 622 pages. I have always referred to the latter edition in my thesis. The Sanskrit text I have quoted does occur on p. 482 of this edition, though a *similar* passage occurs on p. 349 of the other edition. There is a difference in the readings of this text in the two editions.

Evidently, Dr. Radhakrishnan is not aware of the existence of *Sāstradīpikā* with *Prakāśa* which contains 622 pages. He has always referred to the Chowkhamba edition of *Sāstradīpikā* which contains only 474 pages, in his *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II. But, then, how does he refer to the other edition of *Sāstradīpikā* (pp. 487-490) on p. 482 of the above work? I have shown in my second letter (*Modern Review*, February, 1929, p. 219) that he has borrowed that part of his exposition from my thesis along with its reference, published in the *Meerut College Magazine*, January, 1924.

Next, I consider the unpublished part of my thesis.

1-3. These arguments I took from *Tarkabhāṣā* and referred to it in my thesis. Dr. Radhakrishnan has borrowed them almost *verbatim* from my thesis, but has not referred them to *Tarkabhāṣā*. He admits that they are *not* to be found in *Nyāyakandaḥ*, and they *do* occur in *Tarkabhāṣā*. He suggests that he has intentionally not referred to *Tarkabhāṣā*, for "the views set forth in 1, 2 and 3 are not materially different from those of 7, 8 and 9 from *Nyāyakandaḥ*, the earlier work." (*Ibid.*, p. 211). But, first, if the former are not *materially* different from the latter, why does he give them at all? Secondly, it would require a rare metaphysical acumen to discover how the first argument

from *Tarkabhāṣā* is involved in any of the arguments from *Nyāyakandaḥ*! Thirdly, the convention has yet to be established that the arguments taken from a *later* work, if they are involved in those of an *earlier* work, must be referred to the latter and not to the former. All scholars should take note of this *new* rule of giving references laid down by the great author.

4-11. As to the arguments from *Nyāyakandaḥ*. Dr. Radhakrishnan points out that the passages (4-9) in my version are almost a *verbatim* reproduction of Dr. Ganganath Jha's English translation of this work. (*Ibid.*, p. 211).

In the first place, Dr. Radhakrishnan here contradicts himself as I have already shown. To

explain away the striking similarity between my version and his in all other places he has repeatedly said that faithful translations of the same passage *must* resemble each other not only in matter but also in form. But now he says just the reverse. Here he points out that because my translation is similar to that of Dr. Ganganath Jha, mine is almost a *verbatim* reproduction of the latter. Thus he sets up two contradictory standards for judging the originality of English translations of the same texts. If he feels sure that my version with regard to these passages is borrowed almost *verbatim* from Dr. Jha's, why does he not feel *equally* sure that his version is borrowed almost *verbatim* from mine with regard to the other passages which are translations of the same texts?

In the second place, with regard to these passages (4-9) only, he has given parallel passages from some other work, on which, he says, both his version and mine are based. He has not been able to give parallel passages with regard to others. Still there is a striking similarity between his version and mine in those passages. This clearly shows that his version is borrowed from mine with regard to those passages.

In the third place, with regard to the arguments from *Nyāyakandālī*, he admits that his version is almost a *verbatim* reproduction of Dr. Jha's translation, and he has acknowledged his indebtedness to him by mentioning his work in the bibliography on p. 247. But he should have referred these passages not to *Nyāyakandālī*, but to Dr. Jha's English translation of it from which these were borrowed. In order to avoid being misunderstood he explains his usual method of translating Sanskrit texts. He says, "Let me explain at once that, in all these passages which are not in quotation marks, I do not try to give the exact translations but only expound the significance of the texts, referring the interested reader to the sources. My usual method is that, when I give the translations, I adopt the standard ones where available, making slight changes here and there where I think necessary and, where there are no authoritative translations, I take the greatest care to bring out the sense of the texts" (*Ibid.*, p. 209). If he adopts standard translations where available, makes slight changes in them here and there, if necessary and still does not refer these passages to the works from which they are taken, he cannot avoid being accused of plagiarism. He has yet to learn how to acknowledge authorities for using published and unpublished works in writing his books.

In the fourth place, my translations in passages (4-9) are based on Dr. Ganganath Jha's. I do not want to imitate Dr. Radhakrishnan in spinning out a philosophy of the changes I have made in my version. But I insist that Dr. Radhakrishnan's version is based on mine, while mine is based on Dr. Jha's. Let me make it clear first, by giving the three versions of passage No. 7.

(i) Though, as a matter of fact, the object has an existence extending over all three periods of time, past, present and future, yet when it is cognised it is cognised as belonging to the *present*." (Dr. Jha's version, p. 214).

(ii) "It may be argued that an object has existence extending over the past, the present and

the future; but when it is cognised, it is cognised as belonging to the present." (My version.)

(iii) "It may be argued that an object has existence extending over the past, present and the future, and when it is cognised it is cognised as belonging to the present." (Dr. Radhakrishnan's version).

This clearly shows that Dr. Radhakrishnan did not care to consult Dr. Jha's translation, but reproduced my version almost *verbatim*.

Secondly, if he borrowed all the passages (4-11) in *Nyāyakandālī* from Dr. Jha's translation, why does his version in passage No. 10, for instance, differ from Dr. Jha's and closely resemble mine? The three versions are given below:

10. (i) "One who holds that cognition is *inferable* from the knowledge that we have of objects, should be met by the following arguments: Does the 'knowledge of objects' inhere in the self, or in the object? It could not be regarded as inhering in the object, as it has been shown that consciousness cannot belong to objects. If it be regarded as inhering in the self, then what cognition is there besides this, which would be inferred from that knowledge?" (Dr. Jha's version, pp. 214-215).

(ii) "It may be argued that cognition is inferred from the 'cognition of objects' (*viśayasamvedanā-numeyam jñānam*). If so, does the 'cognition of objects' (*viśayasamvedana*) inhere in the self, or in the object? It cannot inhere in the object, as it is unconscious. If it inheres in the self, then what other cognition is there, which is inferred from the cognition of objects?" (My version.)

(iii) "If it is argued that the cognition is inferred from the cognition of objects (*viśayasamvedanā-numeyam jñānam*), we may ask whether the cognition inheres in the self or the object. It cannot reside in the object, which is unconscious. If it is in the self, what is the cognition which is inferred from the cognition of objects?" (Dr. Radhakrishnan's version).

This clearly shows that Dr. Radhakrishnan gives here almost a *verbatim* reproduction of my version, and not of Dr. Ganganath Jha's. So, with regard to this passage at least, he is not absolved from the charge of plagiarism.

Thirdly, in passage No. 10 he has imitated me in quoting the same Sanskrit text, though there are many other important sentences in *Nyāyakandālī* deserving quotation. And this Sanskrit text quoted by me and Dr. Radhakrishnan both does not occur in Dr. Jha's English translation of *Nyāyakandālī*.

Fourthly, he has imitated me in his selection of arguments from *Nyāyakandālī* against the inferibility of cognitions. In my thesis I have not given the argument involved in the following sentence:

"*Lingbhāvēn na tīvadārthamātram...jñānamānasyaivānumānaheturam*" (p. 96.) Dr. Radhakrishnan also has excluded this argument from his version.

Lastly, he has imitated me in giving the same *wrong* reference. He says, "Śrīdhara's commentary on VI. 56, which deals with this topic actually runs from p. 96 to p. 98 in Dvivedin's edition (V. S. S.) though the argument last adduced from it occurs on p. 97." (*Ibid.*, pp. 211-212.) Thus he admits that the last argument adduced from

Nyāyakandaī does occur on p. 97. Should he give the reference of the arguments actually adduced by him from a book, or of the other arguments as well with which he is not at all concerned? Besides, the last part of *Nyāyakandaī* under the same sūtra deals with the doctrine of *Svasamvedana* which is entirely different from the doctrines of *Jñātātūnumeyatva* and *Viśaya-samvedanānumeyatva*, which are discussed on pp. 96-97, while the discussion on the former runs from p. 97 to p. 98. So, Dr. Radhakrishnan's reference is *wrong*. And this *wrong* reference he has borrowed from my thesis.

Any one of the above similarities between his version and mine in regard to the passages from *Nyāyakandaī* might be accidental. But I wonder how like me he has borrowed his translations of some sentences from Dr. Ganganath Jha's version, translated other passages independently in the same language, excluded the same arguments of Śrīdhara from his version, quoted the same Sanskrit sentence, and given the same *wrong* reference!

12-40. With regard to the parallel passages from *Prameyākamalamārtanda*, Dr. Radhakrishnan says, "There is not one passage in my version which may be regarded as identical with Mr. Sinha's" (*Ibid.*, p. 212). I cannot understand how he says this in the face of a striking similarity between his version and mine in as many as *fourteen* passages (12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29 and 30). He has quoted the same Sanskrit words within brackets (12, 15, 16, 18, 24, 25, 28, 35 and 36). He has quoted the same Sanskrit texts (26 and 29). He has given the same exposition of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika view as distinguished from the Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṃsaka, the Jainas, the Buddhist Idealists, and the Vedantists (28). How can he explain similarities in so many

points? There is no English translation of *Prameyā-Kalamāmārtanda*, which might be used by both of us. How, then, does he expound the significance of Sanskrit texts in a language similar to mine? If he has paraphrased a few words, summarized a few passages, inverted the order of arguments given in my thesis in two or three places retaining my language, and reproduced almost *verbatim* as many as fourteen passages together with the same quotations, does it prove that he has made them his own? There is nothing strange in it. He has done the very same thing when he has bodily incorporated numerous passages from many other standard books, say, from Dr. Ganganath Jha's *The Prābhākara School of Purva Mīmāṃsa*.

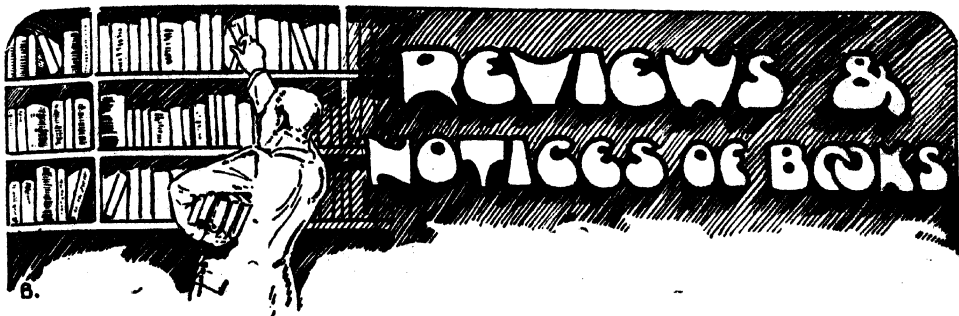
Lastly, I fail to understand how he has drawn his materials from the very same sources about a few topics as I have done in my thesis, though there are many other important works which deal with the same topics. I fail to understand how there is a striking similarity between his version and mine in so many sentences, paragraphs, and pages dealing with the same topics. If the striking similarity between his version and mine is, what he would have us believe, due to the fact that both of them are based on the same texts, why do we not find a striking similarity in the writings of Gongh, Deussen, Prof. Ranade and Dr. Belvalkar who deal with the philosophy of the Upanishads? Why do we not find a striking similarity in the writings of Dr. Das Gupta and Dr. Radhakrishnan who deal with the same topics and draw most of their materials from the same sources in their works on Indian Philosophy? I do not know how long Dr. Radhakrishnan will fail to understand my accusations.

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JADUNATH SINHA

Perhaps there is nothing so dangerous or so evil in its effects, as irresponsible power. That is what Great Britain exercises in connection with India—absolute power, with no one to call her to account. I do not think any nation is able to endure such an ordeal any better than is Britain, but it is an ordeal to which neither rulers of nations nor individuals in private life should ever be subjected. The risks are too great. The wrongs and tyrannies inseparable from it are too serious. England avoids it in connection with her own rulers, by making them strictly responsible to the English people. The rulers of Canada are strictly responsible to the Canadian people. Every free nation safeguards alike its people and its rulers by making its rulers answerable in everything to those whom they govern. But here is the anomaly of British rule in India—Britain rules India but does not acknowledge any degree whatever of political responsibility to the people of India. Whatever freedom or political privileges they enjoy are purely "favors", which she in her "kindness" "graciously grants" to them; she does not for a moment admit that any political freedom or political power belongs to them of right—is their just possession, which they may rightly demand of Great Britain and which she has no right to withhold. Her will is the supreme law; and India must submit in everything.

—DR. J. T. SUNDARLAND
India in Bondage



[Books in the following languages will be noticed : Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telegu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor. M. R.]

ENGLISH

VISVA-BHARATI. SANTINIKETAN. Price Re. 1. To be had at the Visva-bharati Office, Santiniketan.

This is a souvenir of the institution located at Santiniketan. It contains a brief description of the place and of the educational facilities provided in the different departments of the Institution, with 29 illustrations. The letterpress has been neatly printed, and the illustrations, too, except two or three, have been well executed.

A CENTURY OF SERVICE. By Professor Upendra-nath Ball, M. A. Price As. 6, pp. 109. To be had of the Secretary, Punjab Brahma Samaj, Lahore.

It is a survey of the services rendered by the Brahma Samaj during the first hundred years (1828-1928) of its existence. It gives an idea of the religion of the Brahma Samaj, and passes on to describe the social and philanthropic work done by the Samaj. The author devotes the concluding chapter to discourses on the basis of national reconstruction and the renaissance in India. It is a readable and instructive brochure.

THE MEERUT COLLEGE CHRONICLE. By F. Gilani. Meerut College, Meerut, U. P.

As its name implies, this book is a brief history of Meerut College. It was primarily intended to be a collection of college views. It describes the various activities of the college, and includes among other things a college "Who's Who." The portraits and views are well printed and are not a little interesting.

A BENGALI PHONETIC READER. By Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, M. A. (Calcutta), D.Litt. (London), Khaira Professor of Indian Linguistics and Phonetics and Lecturer in English and Comparative Philology in the University of Calcutta, Author of *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language and Bengali Self-taught*. London, University of London Press, 10 and 11 Warwick Lane, E. C. 4. 1928. Cloth. pp. 134. 5s.

This book seeks to represent, as accurately as possible, the pronunciation of that form of the

Bengali language which is employed by the best Bengali authors when writing in the colloquial style, and that is practically the speech of the educated classes in Calcutta. The texts are all taken from standard authors. The pronunciation is that of the author. It may be taken as being typical of the educated pronunciation of Calcutta which is the recognized standard for Bengali. The book contains Values of the Phonetic Symbols, the Bengali Phonemes, Formation of the Bengali Sounds, Details regarding the Bengali Sounds and their Formation, The Sound Attributes (Length, Stress, Intonation), Colloquial Bengali Skeleton Grammar, Texts and Translations, Vocabulary. The work has been carefully and accurately done. Those who want to learn how Bengali is spoken and pronounced by cultured Bengalis will obtain much help from this book.

R. C.

SCEPTICAL ESSAYS. By Bertrand Russell, published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Crown 8vo. pp. 251, Art Canvas gilt, with dust jacket. Price 7s. 6d. net.

Bertrand Russell requires no introduction as a thinker and writer of great ability and fame. His *Sceptical Essays*, therefore would attract the readers' attention by his reputation and a lengthy review would not serve any useful purpose. At least a reviewer may well think that "there was no sufficient ground for thinking he would do any good" to readers by attempting to pull Russell's scepticism out of his book and place it before everybody in a nut-shell. Rather, there is ample ground for holding that the thing is an impossibility. Russell's scepticism like his faith is highly complicated and can be grasped, if at all, only by a close perusal of his essays.

His essays are an attack, some times satirical and generally subtle, on the habits, customs, valuations and way of thinking of modern men. In this he is by no means a pioneer, but the method adopted by him, as well as his keen analysis of human irrationality in many fields,

show great originality. People, for example, have a habit of thinking that whatever they believe in are backed consciously or unconsciously by reason and whatever they desire are born in their mind of irrational urges. "The exact opposite of this would be nearer the truth: the great mass of beliefs by which we are supported in our daily life is merely the bodying forth of desire, corrected here and there at isolated points, by the rude shock of fact." These few lines are characteristic of Russell. He can put the essence of an entire text-book in a few words. The above give us the gist of modern psycho-analysis.

How would the average pretentious "Pragmatist" like the following bit? "A pragmatist on a jury in a murder case," says Mr. Russell, "will weigh the evidence exactly as any other man will, whereas if he adopted his professed criterion he ought to consider whom among the population it would be most profitable to hang. That man would be, by definition, guilty of the murder, since belief in his guilt would be more useful, and therefore more 'true' than belief in the guilt of any one else." Men as a rule cannot be rational, thinks Mr. Russell, for "education, the Press, politics, religion—in a word, all the great forces in the world—are at present on the side of irrationality: they are in the hands of men who flatter King Demos in order to lead him astray."

Mr. Bertrand Russell's essays take up one by one the various dangerous unreasons traditionally sitting heavy on human progress. He is not altogether drastic in his worship of reason; but he expects men at least, not to indulge in things which are proved evils, nor extol to the skies ideas and institutions which have nothing definitely good about them and to adopt whatever the best experts have proved to be of value to man's well-being.

A study of Russell's *Sceptical Essays* will be thorough cure for the modern diseases of over-enthusiasm, over-confidence and well-fed *Laissez-faire*.

LIVING INDIA. By Savel Zimand, with an introduction by "A. E." Published by Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd., Demy 8vo. pp. XVI+280 and twenty-five half-tone plates, cloth gilt, price 10s. 6d. net.

There is now over-production in the field of books on India, thanks to the fashion set by the authoress of "Mother India." Practically every class of writers have come into the field with their supply of information or ignorance to deify or defile India and her civilization. Fiery patriots of the stamp of the late Lala Lajpat Rai, opportunist politicians, dreamy-eyed "interpreters" of India, one-eyed ex-officials and ex-missionaries, dispassionate students of Indian thought and life, indifferent "copy" writers all have come forward to shed light on the Indian situation, to guide the reading world to a true valuation of Indian history, culture and present-day politics. Very few, alas, have given us any new information, a new view point, a real enough picture of India. But Mr. Savel Zimand is undoubtedly one of those few who have studied India with sufficient detachment to avoid becoming a propagandist for this or that side, at the same time, with a rare sympathy that has lent clearness to his vision and depth to his outlook.

The introduction by "A. E." adds special

interest to the book. "My own interest in India began forty years ago," says "A. E." "when I read the Upanishads, the Bhagavadgita, the Buddhist Suttas and other sacred books. But my reverence for the noble imagination in the Upanishads or the wisdom of the Bhagavadgita has never led me to assume that India could be denied from its sacred literature, or that its life could possibly be as idealistic or mystic as the thoughts of its greatest sages. "I was prepared", continues "A. E.", "rather to find that the nation which had the loftiest spiritual imagination must have states of spiritual degradation balancing its highest vision, and this I think might be inferred from that Brahmanical psychology which opposes the Lokas to the Talas, the spiritual states of our being to the sensual states, and from which I infer that with every assent to spirit a new abyss opens which is the dark opposite of the heaven into which the soul has climbed." This, we believe, is a good long distance analysis of the fundamental forces which give shape to Indian habits, customs, desires and institutions. Consciously or unconsciously the author of *Living India* also holds a similar view on India. "A. E." later on in his introduction says, "I have no doubt that out of the ferment in India will come a new renaissance." The author also seems to believe in the possibility of such a renaissance, but may be, renaissance will not come in all fields at once.

The author builds up his picture of India on a basis of correct history. He has not learnt his Indian history from a guide book or an official propaganda text-book. He is a close student of Indian history. A few samples of his interpretation of Indian history will convince one of the truth of this statement. Describing the battle of Plassey, he says, "the success of the battle depended on whether the Indian in the service of the Satrap of Bengal, with whom Clive had closed a secret treaty, would play his part and betray the prince" (p. 20). Coming to the doings of the Hon'ble John Company, he says, the Company made treaties and often broke them, sometimes even forged them. It cheated and robbed, murdered and oppressed, and the people groaned under its domination" (p. 33.) Under the Crown educated Indians "discovered that no matter how marked their intellectual attainments, they could not expect to be treated on the same basis with the white race" (p. 47). The Dyarchical system, says the author, "gives Europeans and other minorities a representation out of all proportion to their number" (p. 58). He is not merely a student of facts. He tries to see deeper. "If one seeks to understand the Indian resentment, one finds a long accumulation of grievances, racial, economic and political" (p. 184). His views on matters connected with Indian history are also characteristic of his scholarly equilibrium. He condemns strongly the British appreciation of Dyer's Amritsar massacre represented by the \$120,000, "fund and endorses a French view that "Amritsar was the equivalent of Louvain" (p. 212). What does he learn from his study of Indian history and what prophesy does he make about India's future history? We read, "On the type of constitution which the Parliament of 1930 decides to grant, on the imagination of British statesmanship, greatly depends whether India will, within the next generation, be incorporated as a loyal member of

the British Commonwealth of Nations. The alternative, as one British writer has rather prematurely suggested, is that she will be added to the lost dominions of the British Empire" (p. 272).

Savel Zimand is a dispassionate reviewer of Indian affairs, who keeps his perspective correct by comparison of things Indian with conditions found in other lands. Caste is not a Hindu monopoly, he says, for there is caste among the Jews, (black Jews and white Jews), Christians, and Moslems. Child marriage is found in most societies in a certain stage of development. What should one say after learning that, "approximately 343,000 women and girls who are living in the United States to-day began their married lives as child brides (of 16 or less) within the last 36 years?" (p. 108). He is not blinded or led astray by British propaganda. "The opposition to various marriage bills to increase the age of consent," says he, "came from the official (British) side." (p. 119). It is a striking tribute that he pays to British statesmanship when he says "communal representation instead of bringing peace brought more war."

What do we learn from Savel Zimand's review of Indian history and life? What, for example, would he have us do to reform our evils? Evils that we magnify many times are often not considered of any importance by him. Let us take the question of the right of Pariahs to worship at temples. He says "To strike for their economic emancipation is more vital than securing equal privileges in temple worship." This is a new way of looking at untouchability and demands the attention of the "Untouchables." What about widow re-marriage? He does not think much could be done here by legislation. "Only the activities of Hindus themselves can change this wretched custom."

There are a few things here and there in this excellent book which may be called mistakes. On page 5, for example, the author describes a scene near a Hindu temple. Among the crowd he notices girls with "ornaments in ears, nose and upper lip."

Ornaments in "upper lips" is not found among Hindus. If some aborigines use them, they are hardly ever found among temple-goers. On page 15, he describes a talk with a Sikh ex-army man who says that Sikhs want only freedom in religious worship, otherwise they have nothing against the British. This statement cannot be held to represent the view point of the average or the majority of the Sikhs. On page 80, the author says, "from this Buddhistic period dates the sanctity of the cow." Is there sufficient historical evidence to justify such a statement? We believe the cow has been a sacred animal for many centuries before the birth of the Buddha.

In print, get-up, and contents *Living India* is a remarkable book. It should be read widely in India and wherever else there are people interested in our ancient land and its destiny.

ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

HINDI

DUKHI BHARAT. By Lala Lajpat Rai, pp. 477. Published by The Indian Press, Allahabad. Price Rs. 5.

A translation of *Unhappy India*. His eminence

as a politician of the first rank, his long and devoted service in the cause of education and social reform, his ceaseless efforts to ameliorate the condition of the weak and the depressed, his influence in high circles, his prolonged stay in Europe and America which gave him such a rare insight into the state of affairs in those continents as to give his opinions the force of authority, all these things combined to make Lala Lajpat Rai one of the very fittest men to deal with the impudent mendacities of Miss Katherine Mayo.

It is no wonder that *Unhappy India* is far and away the best reply to *Mother India* published so far. A more devastating and crushing rejoinder, it is difficult to think of. The discreet silence which Miss Mayo and her friends have been observing ever since the publication of the book, is an eloquent testimony to the fact that, so far as this affair is concerned, the last word has been said.

Lalaji was a recognized authority on those very subjects on which so much stress has been laid by Miss Mayo, and so, he has found absolutely no difficulty in meeting her in her own ground and pulverizing her silly and mischievous conclusions. He treats every argument with a soberness and thoroughness that are really remarkable, placing the "facts" in their true relations, examining them in all their aspects and finally and conclusively proving either, that they are nothing but shameless lies, or that her deductions are entirely wrong. Generally speaking, he has done all this without a trace of ill-temper. Nowhere do we find the desire to deal in retaliatory arguments for their own sake, a blemish which disfigures some of the books written in reply to *Mother India*. Still, we are thankful for the chapters where he has shown that it does not lie in the mouth of a westerner and especially an American to speak of untouchability and sexuality in India. We think, even Miss Mayo is satisfied that she has received the reply that she so much needed.

It will be doing an injustice to Lalaji, however, to think that he has only written a book for the occasion. His deep and sympathetic insight into the aims and aspirations of Indians, his researches into the history of education in India, and his masterly analysis of recent political and social events in our country have made his book of permanent interest to those who want to get a faithful study of India and her people.

Regarding the book under review we have nothing but praise for it. The translation is unexceptionable and the printing and get-up are worthy of the best traditions of the Indian Press.

G.

BENGALI

SHIMAN MAHARSHI DEBENDRANATH THAKURER ATMA-JIBANI (Autobiography of Maharshi Debendranath Tagore). Third Edition. Edited by Satischandra Chakrabarti, M.A., Visva-bharati Bookshop, 210 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Paper, Rs. 3. Cloth, Rs. 3-12. pp. Royal 8vo. 480+eri. with a portrait.

This work contains the text of the autobiography of Maharshi Debendranath Tagore, chronology, genealogical table, sixty valuable appendices and index.

The autobiography of the Maharshi is a classic among Bengali religious books. Considered only as a literary production, too, it is entitled to rank as a classic. Mr. Satischandra Chakrabarti has edited the book with great care. His appendices betoken great industry and regard for accuracy, and evince a reverentially critical spirit. He has rendered signal service to the cause of liberal religion, as well as to that of the literature of Bengal, by bringing out this edition.

R. C.

MARATHI

CHANDRAKANT, VOL. II—*A Gujarati treatise on Vedānt in the form of a narrative by the late Ichharam S. Desai. Translated into Marathi by S. R. Babarekar. Publisher: Gujarathi Printing Press. Pages 744. Price Rs. 5.*

The first volume of this rather bulky but interesting work was favourably noticed in the December (1928) issue of this periodical. The writer has in this volume followed up the subject in its heavier portions, leading to the coveted goal of the Vedantists, viz., the realization of the Brahma through love and the wiping off of the necessity of re-birth. The two volumes together form a valuable addition to the Vedantic stock of Marathi literature.

HYDERABAD AND INDIAN STATES. *By Raghavendra Sharma. Published by the Author. Pages 430. Price Rs. Three. To be had of the Arya Bhushan Press, Poona.*

The premier state of Hyderabad (Deccan) has won a large measure of odium through the criticism of its administration in the press, but judging from the materials supplied in this book supported by facts and figures quoted from the official reports of the State, the criticism does not seem to be unjustified. The administrative system of the State, appears to be rotten to the core and unless a radical change is introduced, it cannot satisfactorily meet with the requirements of its subjects. What these requirements are is clearly specified in a general way in the resolutions passed at the State Peoples' Conferences, a full report of which is also given in the book. In fact, the author, who is a sincere and earnest worker and has made considerable sacrifices, being rewarded with exile by the Hyderabad Government for his enthusiasm in the public cause, has spared no pains to make clear the intricate problem of the Indian States in general and the Hyderabad State in particular, and if Indian Princes would only care to ponder over the contents of the book and try to redress the grievances of their subjects, it will not be long before they find a way to bring happiness and contentedness to their people, provided a will is there to bring about the much-coveted consummation.

V. G. APTE

TAMIL

MAYA MAYO OR A WHIP TO MISS MAYO. *By V. Ramasamy Iyenger. Published by Vasani Book Depot, 244, Mint St., Madras 1928. pp. 403. Rs. 2.*

A mild and effective criticism of Miss Mayo's 'Mother India.' Her damaging exaggerations and generalizations of India's weaknesses, are discussed at length side by side with the forces that are either working or ought to work for the removal of such of the connected evils as exist, and as a result, either the actual conditions are beautifully portrayed or an earnest appeal made to the reader to do his best for the regeneration of the country. One who gets this may have no need for 'Mother India' or its translation to know its contents and this ought to be in the hands of every lover of the country.

BRAHMA-GNANOPADESAM BY A QUEEN. *By Sri Sadhu Ko. Vadi Velu Chettiar. Published by Sri Sadhu Ratna Sarguru Book Depot, 4-34, Nainappa Naick St., Parktown, Madras.*

This is a prose rendering of the stories of Sighuvasan and Kanan of Gnanavasittam, not likely to be appreciated by lay readers.

ROJA DEVI OR THE EIGHTEEN YEARS TREASURE. *By Lalgudi S. Kandasami. Published by L. S. K. Swami Iyer, 116-430, Chittor Road, Gudiyattam. pp. 250. Price Re. 1-8.*

This drama is verbose like a novel; the plot is ill-conceived and badly worked; and the several characters speak and act in the same strain and adopt ingenious devices to introduce themselves to others, making themselves disgusting to readers.

R. G. N. PILLAI

MALAYALAM

TUNCHAT ERZUTTACCHAN. *By Vidvan K. Sankaran Erzuttacchan. Published by V. T. Raman Bhattatiri, Mangalodayam Press, Trichur, pp. 102. Price as. 12.*

A praiseworthy attempt at giving a brief, yet connected, narration of the life and work of Tunchat Erzuttacchan, the father of Malayalam literature.

SRI YESU KRISTU. *By K. John, Mayyanad. Published by the author at Perumattura, Travancore. pp. 92. Price as. 6.*

This is part I of the life of "Jesus the Christ, the son of God," translated from the English rendering of the French book, "La Vie de N. S. Jésus Christ."

Written in good and chaste language.

SIVAJI. *By M. K. Veera Raghava Iyer, M.A., L. T., Head Master, Government Training School, Cannanore. Published by Mr. S. Ramaswami Iyer, B.A., Big Bazaar, Calicut. pp. 102. Price as. 8.*

A short interesting historical play, complete in nine acts, written for his students in the Training School, Cannanore, to be staged.

P. ANUJAN ACHAN

GUJARATI

TATTVAJNAN NA NIBANDHO (Essays on Tattvajnan). *By Manubhai Chandra Vidyavand Pandya, M.A., B.Sc., LL.B., Solicitor, High Court, Bombay. Printed at the News Printing Press, Bombay. pp.*

29. Paper cover with photos. Price Rs. 1-0-0 (1928).

It is creditable to Mr. Pandya, that although he is a busy professional man, he has managed to live into the philosophy of his ancestors and produce valuable essays on the Upanishads and the Vedanta. He has also handled the subject of caste system, Varnasram, and other social topics, and tried to reconcile the old with the progressive views of the present times. The work shows both thought and labour.

KUSEMANJALI. By Maganbhai Chahirbhai Patel, B.A., LL.B., Barrister-at-law. Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad, pp. 124. Thick cardboard. Price Rs. 0-12-0 (1927).

The first edition of this collection of Mr. Patel's poems was published in 1909 and well received here. It has since been recognized as a work fit for study in schools and colleges by Government. The poems are written with great feeling and those dealing with old incidents in the history of Gujarat are stirring. One of them, a patriotic song, anticipating the (Desired) Day in the history of our country was sung with great effect at the Indian National Congress Meeting of 1917.

NIJUSHATAK. By Karyabankar Nav Ratna Shri Giridhar Sharma. Printed at the Gujarati News Printing Press, Bombay, pp. 26. Paper cover (1918).

Kavi Giridhar Sharma lives in an atmosphere

of Hindi and far from Gujarati. In Hindi he has carved out a name for himself but he it said to his credit that he has not forgotten his mother-tongue. He occasionally remembers Gujarati and produces works of note in it. Such is this *samashlokai* translation into Gujarati verse of Bhartrihari's Niti Satak. It is in a way due to the encouragement of his wife that this fine little book has been published. The meaning of the original has been well brought out.

CHUNDADI. By Jhaverchand Meghani. Printed at the Swarashtra Printing Press, Raipur, pp. 24+118. Illustrated cover. Price Rs. 0-10-0 (1928).

The first edition of the book was published in April, a second was called for by August following. This testifies to its extreme popularity. Somehow or other Mr. Meghani has been able to get strong hold over the likes of the people of his province, and some of his books sell like hot cakes. This book is a collection of songs sung by women at the different stages of a Hindu wedding. To the Gujarati reader they strike a familiar note, but the value of the book lies in their ordered arrangement, which at a glance furnishes a faithful picture of the feelings and the occasion which prompt the song. As usual, a thoughtful, considerate and comprehensive introduction adds to the value of the compilation. *Chundadi* is the wedding garment in which the bride clothes herself on the occasion of her wedding. K. M. J.

Comment and Criticism

[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, The Modern Review.]

M. Rolland's Message to Congress An Explanation

From a note in the February number of the *Modern Review* I find that Mons. Romain Rolland's message to the Congress was originally sent to you and that you wrote to the President asking for an appointment to hand it over to him. On receiving no reply you sent the message by registered post. I regret greatly that your original letter to the President should have remained unanswered. I had no knowledge of the fact that you had so written. I imagine that the President must have overlooked it in the rush of Congress week. I trust, therefore, that you will excuse us for this want of courtesy.

Mons. Rolland's message as well as other messages to the Congress will be published soon in the annual volume of Congress activities for 1928.

Yours truly,

Jawaharlal Nehru
General Secretary, All India Congress Committee

Hindi as National Language

May I remove one wrong impression that might have been created by the following sentence in your editorial note, "Mr. Gandhi on the Use of

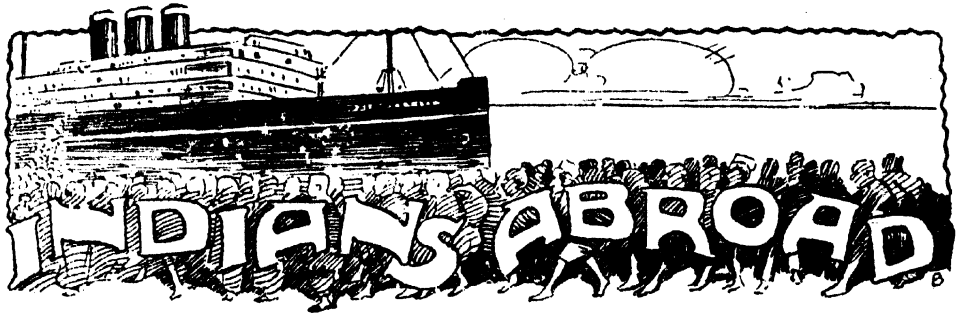
Hindustani," published in the *Modern Review* for February 1929?

"Hindustani is not yet 'the national language.' It may possibly become the *lingua franca* in India in course of time, but we may be permitted to doubt if it will ever replace all the other languages of India which have old and modern literatures of their own not inferior to that of Hindustani."

Now, we do not know of any responsible Hindi author or journalist who has advocated the replacement of provincial languages by Hindi. Indeed, we have repeated this from a hundred platforms that we have absolutely no intention whatever of attempting such an impossible and unreasonable task. All that we want to do is to make Hindi the *lingua franca* of India and we know that we have your sympathy and support in this noble work, though we must confess that a number of our Hindi writers have been, for a long time past, under the wrong impression that you are opposed to Hindi.

Yours sincerely,
Benarsidas Chaturvedi
Secy. Rashtra Bhasha Sammelan.

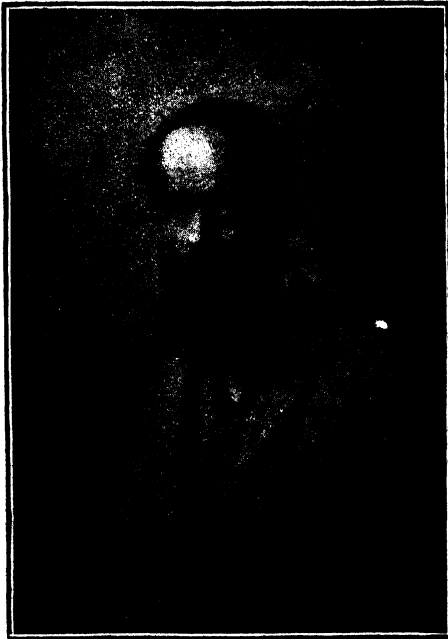
EDITOR'S NOTE.—We are glad to learn from Mr. Chaturvedi that no responsible Hindi author or journalist wants the replacement of any Indian vernacular by Hindi.



By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

Golden Jubilee of Indian Settlement in Fiji

In May 1929 fifty years will have passed when the Indians first went to Fiji as labourers. They were sent under indenture and the memory of that hated system is naturally painful. At first sight it looks rather odd that we should be celebrating the Jubilee of our being sent under indenture



Mr. C. F. Andrews

slavery ! But if we look into the matter carefully we shall surely see that the idea

to celebrate this Jubilee does not rest at all on the indenture system. That wretched system is gone and is gone for ever, never to be revived again. The first item in our programme for Golden Jubilee should be burning of the effigy of indenture slavery in every village in Fiji where Indians are living. Small pamphlets in Hindi, Urdu, Gujarati and Tamil giving the history of indenture system and its abolition may be distributed all over the islands. But when we put this item first we must take care that we do not excite any racial feeling against any particular race. We must also remember that the man who has worked hardest for the abolition of this slavery is an Englishman—Mr. C. F. Andrews and in every meeting in Fiji we ought to pass a resolution of thanks for Mr. Andrews. We must not forget the services of Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Gokhale, Lord Hardinge, Miss Dudley, Rev. J. W. Burton and the late Mr. W. W. Pearson, one of the noblest souls that ever lived on this earth. I hope the Europeans in Fiji will have no objection to join in this demonstration, for most of them should realize that indenture system was bad to the Indians and Europeans alike, as it meant the degradation of both the people. Next item in our programme should be the establishment of Fiji Indian National Congress. The time has come when Indians ought to give their responsible opinion on political questions. No religious or social organization, whether it be the Arya Samaj or the Reform League, has any right to speak authoritatively on the political problems of Indians in Fiji and therefore we require a political organization. Why our people in Fiji fight shy of politics, I fail to understand. Indians are to be given representation on the

Legislative Council of Fiji and they ought to take part in politics.

The third item in our programme should be that of education. In fact it deserves to be put first. An educational conference of Arya-samajists, Christian missionaries, Sanatanists and Mohammedans may be of some use at this juncture. A big effort must be made to remove illiteracy from among the Indians of Fiji. Foundation of a decent good library at Suva and smaller ones in distant districts may be another feature of our programme. A Sarva-Dharma-Sammelan—a conference of all religions in Fiji—may also be held. In a place like Fiji, that is inhabited by so many different races and religions, we must emphasize the points of unity instead of pointing out the differences.

The whole programme should be carried out by Indians in a spirit of brotherliness among themselves and tolerance towards other races—the Fijians and the Europeans. The Europeans of Fiji ought to realize that the Indian has come to stay in Fiji and a policy of distrust will only hamper the progress of the colony as a whole. Uneducated people can be led to terrible disaster by narrow-minded fanatics of the type of Vashistha Muni and the only way to save Fiji from ruin is to help the Indians to become able citizens of that beautiful colony.

One thing more I have to add. A Committee consisting of influential people of different communities—Hindus, Mohammedans and Christians—should be formed immediately to carry out this programme of work.

The Indian Question in East Africa

The following letter was sent to Pandit Motilal Nehru, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. Hridaya Nath Kunzon, members of the Legislative Assembly :

I learn from the papers that Sir Mahomed Habibulla has invited the Party leaders to the meeting of the Emigration Committee to be held on Monday next to discuss the Hilton Young Commission Report. As a worker in the cause of Indians Overseas I put the following suggestions for your consideration :—

1. The Hilton Young Commission Report concerns the future of our people in East African territories, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar and now that a very important decision is to be taken by the British Parliament about the problems of these colonies the Government of India ought not to commit themselves to any definite

line of policy until and unless they hear what our people in those territories have to say on these questions.

2. The Government of India should therefore at once wire to the Secretary, East African Indian Congress, Nairobi (Kenya) for their opinion on this report for the guidance of the Government.

3. There is a possibility of an Indian Deputation coming from East Africa to put their case before the Indian public and the Indian Government. In fact, the Government of India should invite such a deputation.

The action that may be taken by the British Parliament over this Report will affect not only the future of our people in those colonies but will also have a direct bearing on the future emigration policy of India. Therefore, it is all the more necessary for our leaders to be very cautious in this connection.

Hoping that these suggestions will receive serious consideration at your hands.

The decision of the Emigration Committee on this subject will be read with interest by our readers.

EMIGRATION COMMITTEE

KENYA INDIANS AND THE HILTON YOUNG REPORT

New Delhi, Feb. 24.

The Emigration Committee met this evening at 4-30. Besides Sir Phiroze Sethna almost all members were present. The Rt. Hon. Sastri was also present. Before proceeding with discussion on the Hilton Young Commission report Mr. Sastri was requested to inform the Committee what the Indian residents in Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika thought of the Hilton young Commission Report.

Mr. Sastri is understood to have said that though he had met a few of the Indian residents in those places, he could not say what was the general opinion that prevailed among the residents in those places regarding the report. Mr. Sastri suggested that the opinion of the Indian residents in Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika could be obtained as early as possible and after it had been obtained the Emigration Committee could sit and discuss the report. The Committee approved of his suggestion and, it is understood, has taken steps to get by cable the opinion of the Indian residents in those places before the eleventh of March when the Emigration Committee will meet again. — *Free Press*

It is satisfactory to note that the Indian Government have wired to East Africa to ascertain the opinion of our people there but they have given very little time. A conference of leaders of East Africa Indians is essential and such a conference cannot be held within a fortnight in East Africa, where people are living at very distant places. At least a month ought to have been given.

Indians in Central America

Mehta Jaimini writes from Balboa in Panama :—

Panama is 20,000 miles away from India, by sea route, some 45 days' voyage. It is inhabited by various races, and the natives of all the countries

are to be found here. The common language is Spanish but English is also understood. There are some 1,000 Indians in this zone chiefly belonging to Gujarat, Sindh and the Punjab provinces. They are living in Panama, Colon and Christabal and working as shop-keepers, cloth vendors, hawkers, motor-drivers and labourers. Most of them are well off and several are in a prosperous condition, earning daily from 2½ dollars to twenty dollars or more. The average expenses here are 20 dollars per month and so they can save a good deal of money. Indians are enjoying a happy and comfortable life breathing the air of independence. They are eager and desirous to see Mother India free and independent. They have no liking for the Nehru report and wish to see India absolutely independent like America. They don't like to hear religious lectures and are of opinion that India should get freedom not only from political bondage but also from the slavery of the Pandits and the Mullahs, slavery of castes and creeds, of sects and religions.

A Warning

A number of people posing themselves as religious reformers are going out from India every year to the colonies. Some of them belong to reactionary societies in India, which are opposed to all social reform while others are fanatics of the worst type. Their only aim is to get a good deal of money in subscriptions for building temples or for Gita Prachar etc. Our colonial friends should be very careful in dealing with these people. Half a dozen of them will prove more dangerous to Indians overseas than any number of anti-Indian Europeans.

The Field for Social Service among the Indians in Fiji

We are grateful to Rev. A. W. McMillan for the following note on social service in Fiji, which he has written at our request.

The problem of the Indian in Fiji is chiefly a problem of youth. The older immigrants often return to their motherland, and they are more conservative and fixed in their ideas than the keen, progressive Fiji-born Indians. Official figures for 1925 show the birth-rate to be 337 per mille whilst the death-rate is as low as 73 per thousand, and the total increase in the Indian population last year was 2,653, or thrice that of the Fijians. These tens of thousands of splendid, healthy young Indians are in need of guidance. Many of them have not known the benefits of wise discipline and some have grown up familiar with the sordid details of crime and of low moral standards. They are ignorant of many social and religious restraints. There is,

therefore, need for the development of movements such as that of the Boy Scouts. Fiji enjoys much more ease and leisure than is known to the toiling masses of India, and leisure if it is not to prove mischievous, needs to be suitably enjoyed and employed. Games, athletics, music, healthy drama, hobbies, and the right type of constructive wholesome reading are all desirable for a people with a deal of spare time.



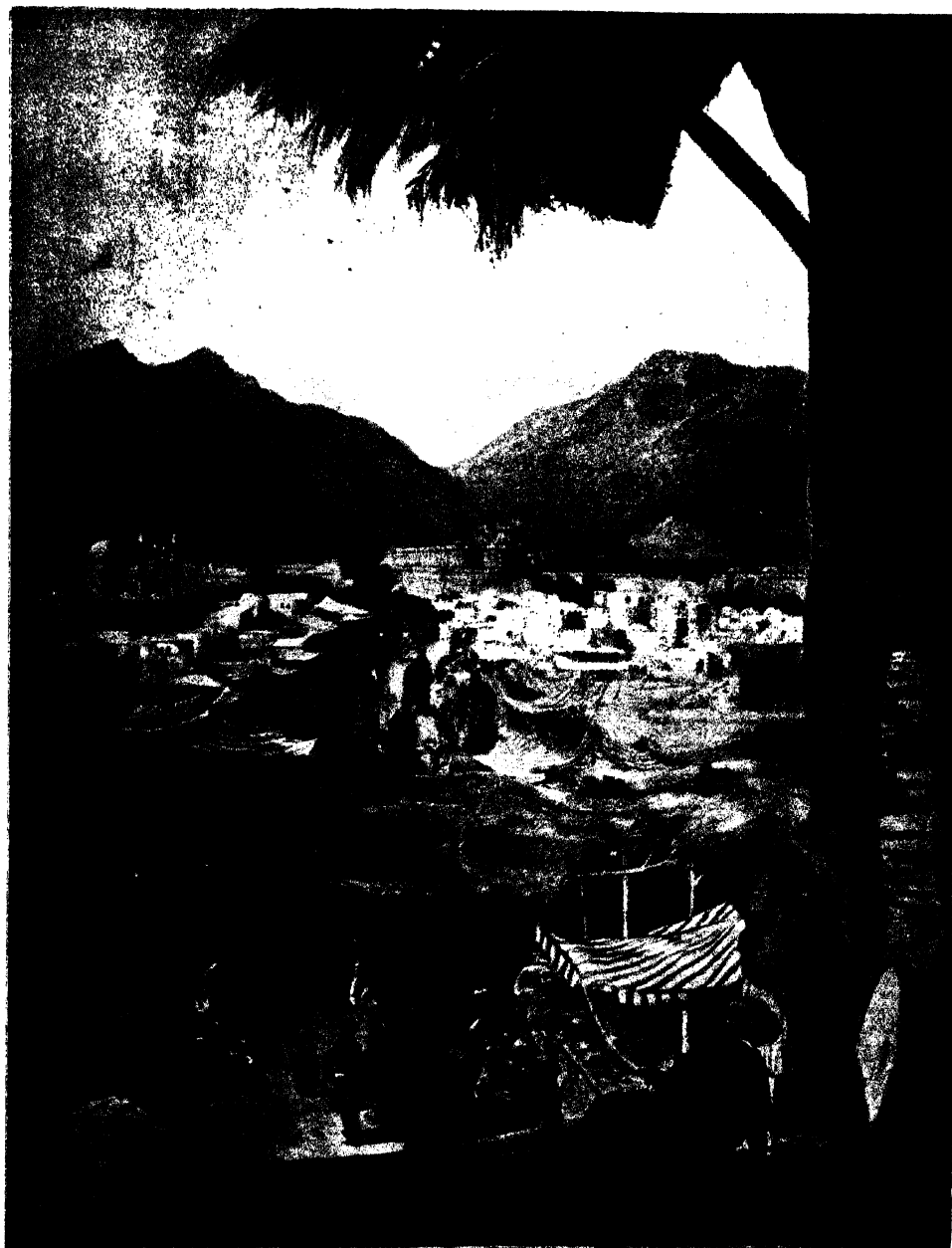
Rev. A. W. McMillan

[More Schools and Hospitals]

There are evidences to show that the Fiji Government is giving increasing attention to the educational and medical needs of the community. For the first time Indian students will now be sent to New Zealand with scholarships available for 6 years at the rate of about £100 p.a., a privilege that has not yet been offered to European boys and girls. As a direct result of the Education Commission which sat in July and August both primary and secondary education are to receive attention. So also two new hospitals which will provide free medical aid for Indians are foreshadowed in the coming year's estimates.

Care of Mothers and Babies

But the climate is healthy and the real need is in the direction of the proper teaching of big girls and young mothers in



The Citadel and Bazaar
Kandahar

the principles of hygiene and infant welfare. His Excellency the Governor stated in one of his letters on the subject :

"Should the Indians make voluntary effort as I hope the Fijians will do, and contribute toward the maintenance of one or more nurses to work independently apart from Christian Mission effort, I shall be prepared to assist in any way possible." Though the death-rate among infants under 12 months is three times higher among the Fijians than the Indians, the latter are losing more babies than they ought because of the ignorance of the women-folk in general and the girl mothers in particular. There is good scope for social service if trained midwives and nurses can be found.

Leisured Woman

A large portion of the Indian problem in Fiji centres round the comparatively larger amount of leisure enjoyed by the women and girls. There are so many tasks common to life in India that are off life's programme in Fiji. Living in houses of wood or corrugated iron there are no floors and walls to be mud-plastered. Wheat does not grow, so flour is bought ready for use. Rice from the fields is often taken to mills for the husks to be speedily and easily removed by machinery. Rainfall is normally so sufficient that there is no toilsome irrigation. Firewood is so plentiful that women do not require to make fuel cakes of cow-dung and chaff. And so it happens that the women have far less work to do than is usual in India. Add to this a noticeable spirit of independence among the women and the fact that man is often afraid to reprimand his wife lest she should run away and choose another partner who will give adequate leisure, money, and jewellery, and the danger to the community is quite obvious, especially in so far as it affects the rising generation of illiterate young women. It is a matter which calls for delicate handling and those devoted to social service need to find a way of so dealing with this new generation of young

women as to enable them to put their care-free lives and leisure time to the best possible use and realize the highest ideals of womanhood.

Whisky Drinking

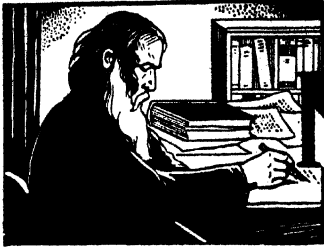
Lastly, reference needs to be made to the growing tendency among Indian young men and prosperous cultivators to become addicted to whisky drinking. The Fiji-born Indian has not been reared in an environment of caste restrictions and prohibitions which have rigidly dictated what he may or may not eat and drink. This new-found liberty without any fundamental guiding principles, can constitute a danger. Furthermore, his race consciousness causes him to chafe against liquor restrictions imposed by Government solely upon racial grounds. These tend to provoke him to law-evasion, to curiosity, or to insist upon his equality with the "white" Partial Prohibition which favours some races and not others is likely to fail. But the real safeguard of the Young Indian will be in maintaining those abstemious customs which India has known for long centuries, and to conscientiously refuse to lower his national prestige by adopting a European habit or fashion which is harmful.

These are a few of the directions in which there is need for social service, though some matters such as child-marriage have not been mentioned. Wrong customs must be eradicated. High ideals must be proclaimed and accepted. Only thus can India's prestige in Fiji be restored, and as one moves amongst these healthy, care-free young Fiji-born Indians, one cannot refrain from calling across the oceans, "they are fine material and worth the best that can be done for them !"

Thus there is a vast field of work in Fiji for the Arya Samaj, the Ramkrishna mission, the Y. M. C. A. and other institutions of this type.

The Illustrations

The colour-plates in this number have been reproduced from the drawings of Major James Rattray published in his *Scenery, Inhabitants and Costumes of Afghanistan*.



NOTES

Hope and National Survival

Many uncivilized peoples have been deliberately exterminated. Others, though not deliberately exterminated, have greatly decreased in numbers or entirely disappeared from the face of the earth owing to contact with various baneful factors of civilized life, such as contagious diseases, alcoholism, etc. Some uncivilized peoples have become extinct or almost extinct, because in the presence of more organized, numerous, civilized and resourceful peoples, they felt depressed, lost joy and zest in life and became despondent.

Want of hope can kill not only uncivilized peoples, but civilized peoples also. For all peoples such conditions of life are necessary as would allow them and encourage them to grow to their full stature, and thus keep the fire of hope ever burning in their hearts.

However gifted a people may be, if they do not possess full political freedom they cannot prove to themselves and to others what they are capable of;—for, in all directions they find barriers set up against full advancement. It is true, in spite of such obstacles Indians have distinguished themselves in literature, art, science, industry, spiritual endeavour, and the like. In statesmanship, too, they have displayed their ability, according to the scope available. But the number of persons who have distinguished themselves in various spheres of life has not been as large as India's vast population would lead one to expect.

Whatever ethical view one may hold of war, in the present stage of human civilization it has been found necessary for national autonomy and survival. That shows that a nation which wishes to be or remain fully free must have men able to fight in the ranks and also men who are able to perform the duties of commanders-in-chief and leaders

of lower rank. This twofold condition India has been precluded from fulfilling in modern times. Hence, Indians might be misled to believe that owing to some inherent defect India cannot possibly fulfil the condition which it has been prevented from fulfilling in recent times. This would be a depressing and hope-killing belief. If from faith in *ahimsa* (non-killing) to its fullest extent, India were to forgo even the right of armed self-assertion or self-defence, still the suspicion would lurk or find entrance into the hearts of her children that they had professed *ahimsa* because they were incapable of *himsa* (killing); for real *ahimsa* is only for those who have the power and courage to kill but freely choose not to kill, from moral and spiritual considerations.

Indian Mussalmans may derive some hope and encouragement from the fact that there are still some independent Muhammadan countries which continue to produce great military leaders and statesmen. This source of hope is denied to the Hindus. For India is at present practically the only Hindu country, and, if Nepal be left out of consideration, as it is perhaps not fully independent, there is no part of the globe where Hindus live in perfect freedom and which continues to produce great military commanders and statesmen.

The Hindus have perforce, therefore, to turn for hope and cheer to the past, which may be as inspiring as the present.

These thoughts flitted across our minds on reading the concluding paragraphs of the third edition of Professor Jadunath Sarkar's *Shivaji* recently published. Says he :

Shivaji was the first to challenge Bijapur and Delhi and thus teach his countrymen that it was possible for them to be independent leaders in war. Then, he founded a State and taught his people that they were capable of administering a kingdom in all its departments. He has proved by his example that the Hindu race can build a nation, found a State, defeat enemies; they can conduct their own

defence; they can protect and promote literature and art, commerce and industry; they can maintain navies and ocean-trading fleets of their own, and conduct naval battles on equal terms with foreigners. He taught the modern Hindus to rise to the full stature of their growth.

He has proved that the Hindu race can still produce not only *jamadars* (non-commissioned officers) and *chutnies* (clerks), but also rulers of men, and even a king of kings (*Chhatrapati*). The Emperor Jahangir cut the *Akshay Bat* tree of Allahabad down to its roots and hammered a red-hot iron cauldron on to its stump. He flattered himself that he had killed it. But lo! within a year the tree began to grow again and pushed the heavy obstruction to its growth aside!

Shivaji has shown that the tree of Hinduism is not really dead, that it can rise from beneath the seemingly crushing load of centuries of political bondage, exclusion from the administration, and legal repression; it can put forth new leaves and branches; it can again lift up its head to the skies.

Shivaji's problems are not the same as ours. But the genius of a race does not copy, though it may imitate. It is fully able to discover new devices adapted to changing circumstances.

India Never a British Party Question !

Speaking at the annual banquet of the Chamber of Shipping in London, Lord Peel urged that "the well-being of India had never been and, he hoped, would never become a party question." Other British politicians have said the same thing before, and they have all expected the world to understand thereby that all British political parties were interested in promoting India's welfare. That India's well-being is not a party question in British politics, is, however, understood in India in a different sense. What is everybody's business is nobody's business—that is believed to be a British proverb. Indians think that no British party is interested in promoting India's welfare. What all British parties are bent upon is the safeguarding of British political and economic supremacy in India.

English Shipping Chamber's Protest Against Haji's Bill

With reference to Mr. Haji's Bill for the reservation of India's coastal trade for Indian shipping, Reuter cables :

The annual meeting of the Chamber of Shipping has unanimously adopted a resolution noting

with grave concern the introduction of legislation in India whereby British shipping would be excluded from Coastal Trade, expressing the opinion that such legislation was economically unsound and would be a deplorable act of racial discrimination and a serious blow to Inter-Imperial relationship and requesting the Government to take steps to ensure that British shipping is not excluded from trade on the coasts of India and Burma or subjected to any disability.

The object of Mr. Haji's Bill is not to injure or destroy British sea-borne traffic in British waters, but to revive Indian navigation and Indian sea-borne traffic in Indian waters. This India has every right to do. Indian shipping has been practically destroyed, and that deliberately, in the interests of British shipping, by an abuse of British political power in India. India has every right to revive what has been killed. If in that process, the wickedly acquired British monopoly in the Indian coastal trade is injured or destroyed, Britain has no right to complain. Usurping monopolists have no just rights. But even if Britain had not practically destroyed Indian shipping, if Indian shipping had decayed owing to natural causes, India would have had an equal right to bring into existence her lost mercantile marine. Maritime nations have generally, at some period of their history or other, taken whatever steps they considered necessary for maritime enterprise and progress. These precedents are in India's favour. But if there were no precedents, even then India would be justified in taking unprecedented steps, either to recover lost ground or for a forward march.

Such legislation is not "economically unsound";—British opinion is utterly untrustworthy in this matter. The raising of the bogey of racial discrimination is quite funny. In India the British people have been guilty of racial discrimination in every sphere of human activity. Indians are only trying to undo the effects of such unrighteous discrimination. If they had tried to oust Britishers from some field of activity in Great Britain or in some part of the British Empire outside the Indian Empire, they could have justly complained. As for the "serious blow to inter-imperial relationship," was not such a blow struck when Indian shipping was destroyed? Why was not such a plea then raised? In the eyes of Indians, no inter-imperial relationship can or should be sacred which goes against India's just rights and welfare. In fact, it is because the inter-imperial relation-

ship has injured India in various ways that the cry for severing the British connection has become so insistent. Even the Dominion-status-wallas would vote for independence if a practicable means for winning and keeping it could be found.

"Viceroy of India"

The new Peninsular and Oriental liner, "Viceroy of India," is equipped with single berth cabins for all first class passengers. This is an improvement. Single berth cabins with bath and water-closet attached, as in some American liners, would be still more highly appreciated.

Protracted Controversies

Protracted controversies are undesirable, particularly in monthlies. Some friends have suggested to us that we should have published Prof. Jadunath Sinha's letters and Prof. Radhakrishnan's replies thereto in the same issue. Though this method has not generally been adopted by us hitherto, it is undoubtedly one means of preventing the prolongation of controversies. It has, moreover, the additional advantage of enabling the reader to follow the arguments of both parties more easily, as they are placed in juxtaposition in the same number of a periodical. Hence we may, in future, adopt this method when practicable and desirable.

It would have been better to close the Sinha-Radhakrishnan controversy in this issue. But the two professors may have something more to say. So, if they like to do so, we shall publish their last observations in the April number, if received early.

Bihar and Orissa Budget

As for all recent previous years, so for the year 1929-30, the estimated receipts and expenditure of the Bihar and Orissa Government are quite inadequate for so large a province with so large a population. We do not know whether the inadequacy of the budget of this province is due to the Central Government appropriating too much of the revenues collected there, as is the case with Bengal. But it cannot be disputed that Bihar and Orissa has too little money to spend for ensuring progress in all directions. Let us take some figures from the

Statesman's Year Book for some recent years at random. We will take the expenditure of some of the provinces having a smaller population than Bihar. The population and expenditure will be shown in lakhs.

Their population according to the Census of 1921 is shown in the following table :

Province	Population
Bihar and Orissa	340
Bombay	193
Burma	131
Punjab	206

Their expenditure in different years is shown below.

Province	1918-19	1925-26	1926-27
Bihar and Orissa	395	563	613
Bombay	1281	1684	1699
Burma	704	1100	1184
Punjab	712	1134	1263

Inter-Provincial and Inter-Communal Unity

According to Reuter, in the course of an address before the London Indian Majlis Mr. Yusuf Ali dwelt on the differences between the provinces of India and suggested an all-India social movement to bring the leading men of the provinces together in order to cement inter-provincial unity and make provincial autonomy a step towards national unity.

It is not quite certain what kind of movement Mr. Yusuf Ali had in view, and whether it would be feasible to start and keep up such a movement and whether it would succeed in accomplishing the object in view. But something similar to it may be done in places like Calcutta, for instance. Here we have men from all the provinces, belonging to different religious communities. It would not be impossible to make arrangements for social intercourse between them at definite intervals. A club may be started for the purpose, or some persons who have adequate resources may undertake the duty. The former would be preferable, but invitations should have to be issued to non-members also. British official non-official patronage would have to be eschewed. The arrangements should be Indian.

Perhaps it may be necessary to have two clubs ; one inter-provincial and the other inter-communal. The object should be entirely non-propagandistic.

The present writer has long felt the need of such social institutions, but has not considered himself equal to the task of starting

them. He had Muhammadan friends in boyhood and youth. Some of them are dead and with others he has lost touch owing to distance and other causes.

Bill against Deferred Rebates

Mr. Sarabhai Haji's Bill for the abolition of deferred rebates has been referred to a select committee. If passed into law, it would give a great stimulus to Indian shipping enterprise, which is greatly needed.

Almost all the shipping companies doing business in India are British. Their usual practice is to issue a circular to shippers to the effect that, if at the end of a certain period they have not shipped goods by any vessels other than those owned by the companies in question, the shippers would be credited with 10 per cent. of the total freights paid on their shipments during that period, and that this amount would be paid to them if at the end of a further period they have continued to confine their shipments to the vessels of the aforesaid companies. The amounts so payable are known as deferred rebates. Though shippers are not bound to patronize any particular company, as soon as they cease to send goods by the vessels of these British companies, they incur financial loss by being deprived of the rebates and may be subjected to other disadvantages also.

The deferred rebate system has been condemned by the Royal Commission on Shipping. Among other reasons for their condemnation of it, they observe that a number of shipping companies combine to secure a monopoly of a proportion of the shipping trade. They effect their object by undercutting their competitors, if any, in freights until they have driven them away.

British Cant of Equal Treatment

All jackals cry alike—so runs a Bengali adage. So all British commercial magnates, whether in Britain or in India, are making exactly the same demand of equal treatment and denouncing what they call "racial discrimination." We neither say nor suggest that they are jackals. For it is too well known that they are lions. A proverb is only a proverb.

Sir William Currie, one member of this leonine race who does his life-work at "home," is reported to have said at the annual meeting

of the British Chamber of Shipping that British shipping and commerce in India do not ask for any privileges; what they want is the same treatment as the British afford to Indian commerce. Similarly Sir George Godfrey said in the course of his presidential address at the annual meeting of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce:—

What happens in Great Britain? Henry Ford with American money may build a motor car factory in Manchester, a Selfridge may open a huge emporium in Oxford Street, or a Lafayette from Paris may choose to compete in Regent Street—and, so also a Chatterjee or Bose might build a cotton mill in Lancashire, or a jute mill in Dundee with Indian money; none of them will be under any disability as compared with their neighbours.

This self-righteous pose of British men of business is both sickening and funny. After Indian shipping and India's indigenous industries have been well-nigh ruined and the Indian people have consequently become impoverished, weakened, depressed and generally incapable of enterprise, and after British shipping, industries and commerce have flourished at the expense of those of India and have reached a position unassailable, or at least very difficult to assail, by Indians, the very righteous, very fair-minded, very just and very impartial British capitalists hold forth on the virtue of equal treatment and say that they want nothing more than equal treatment! If Indians were powerful and wicked enough to obtain political supremacy in Great Britain by recourse to the same methods as the British adopted in India and if they made the same kind of use of their ill-gotten political supremacy to be also economically paramount in Britain, a Chatterjee or a Bose, if equally Pecksniffian with some British capitalists, could also have waxed eloquent on their freedom from racial bias and their insistence on equal treatment for all.

It is not that Indian merchants, traders, etc., were placed at a disadvantage only in times past during British rule. Even at present they do not enjoy the same facilities as their British competitors. The railway rates for goods manufactured by Indian factories and for those manufactured in Britain and imported into India, and the rates for raw materials exported abroad for British and other manufacturers, if examined carefully, would reveal subtle discriminatory methods. The British and other European banks do not give the same facilities to Indian and European men of business, other conditions

being the same. In the mining business, too, there are subtle means of discrimination. In the purchase of stores of all descriptions Government does not extend patronage to Indian and British manufacturers impartially.

Bengal Budget for 1929-30

The Bengal Budget for 1929-30 is as unsatisfactory as that for previous years.

The details reveal many unsatisfactory features. For example, the total expenditure exceeds the total receipts by more than eighty-eight lakhs; the balances are drawn upon heavily to meet deficits; the police grant is higher than last year's by 16 lakhs but the education grant is higher by only four and a half lakhs; and so on.

But the most unsatisfactory feature is the fact that the Government of India has again left the Bengal Government with an utterly inadequate sum of money for a province which is the most populous in India.

Glaring Financial Injustice to Bengal

That too little money is left to Bengal is not due to any such reason as that Bengal is not a good revenue-yielding province. On the contrary, it is a fact that in times past, Britain extended her empire in India with the revenues of Bengal. And even at present, Bengal finances the Central Government to a much larger extent than any other province of India. Speaking at the dinner of the Mining and Geological Institute on the 18th January last, His Excellency the Governor of Bengal said:—

Something like 45 per cent. of the total revenue of the Central Government comes through Bengal, and at the same time she finds herself with scarcely any money to run her own administration.

Some persons are under the impression that it is after the Meston Award that Bengal began to be treated with injustice. That is not so. All along Bengal has been compelled to contribute to the Central Government a much larger portion of the revenues collected here than any other province, and too little has been left for her teeming population. Owing to the financial arrangement and method of account-keeping between the Central and Provincial Governments having changed, there is no easy means of comparison between past and

recent years. But for each particular year, it will be evident from the tables given below at random that Bengal has been all along left with too little money for her administrative purposes, having been despoiled by the Central Government of much larger sums than any other province. Before giving those tables, from the volumes of the *Statesman's Year Book* which are at our elbow, let us remind the reader that, according to the census of 1921, the following provinces of India had the population mentioned against their name:

Province	Population
Assam	7,606,230
Bengal	46,695,536
Bihar & Orissa	34,002,189
Bombay	19,348,219
Burma	13,169,099
C. P. & Berar	13,912,760
Madras	42,318,985
N.-W. F. Province	2,251,340
Punjab	20,685,024
Agra-Oudh	45,375,787

We will now give the revenue and expenditure of each Government. The first year for which a table will be given is 1909, when Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Chota Nagpur formed one province and Eastern Bengal and Assam another.

Revenue and Expenditure in 1909 :

Province	Revenue	Expenditure
C. P. & Berar	3,16,71,693	2,87,50,465
Burma	8,38,53,835	5,09,47,116
E. B. & Assam	4,66,63,299	3,02,54,089
Bengal	18,14,00,971	8,31,52,334
U. P.	10,60,89,249	7,57,54,010
Punjab	6,06,58,874	4,07,26,074
N.-W. F. Pr.	46,26,673	94,75,476
Madras	13,65,12,231	6,68,60,353
Bombay	15,61,83,199	7,45,17,725

Revenue and Expenditure in 1911-12 :—

Province	Revenue	Expenditure
C. P. & Berar	3,77,04,569	3,33,01,543
Burma	8,99,63,994	5,57,62,620
E. B. & Assam	5,02,39,628	4,21,73,648
Bengal	20,64,84,771	7,88,08,312
U. P.	11,09,25,952	7,70,20,815
Punjab	7,69,37,300	5,45,28,045
N.-W. F. Pr.	46,14,420	1,03,86,177
Madras	14,83,11,494	7,98,73,233
Bombay	16,78,62,877	8,91,28,389

Revenue and Expenditure in 1912-13 :—

Province	Revenue	Expenditure
C. P. & Berar	4,08,64,321	3,89,88,686
Burma	9,81,46,290	6,53,85,108
Assam	1,69,34,652	1,81,67,161
Bengal	17,83,88,102	8,08,76,031

Bihar & Orissa	4,29,97,945	3,81,41,888	Burma	10,43,75,000	11,84,01,000
U. P.	11,43,44,916	8,57,84,478	Bihar & Orissa	5,72,01,000	6,13,85,000
Punjab	8,37,39,814	6,19,38,333	C. P.	5,33,51,000	5,94,10,000
N.-W. F. Pr.	51,16,183	1,18,03,876	Assam	2,58,04,000	2,58,87,000
Madras	15,51,66,589	9,04,61,216			
Bombay	18,94,83,279	9,90,86,220			

Revenue and Expenditure in 1913-14 :-

C. P. & Berar	4,18,74,014	3,76,95,370
Burma	10,03,13,700	6,07,55,071
Assam	1,75,97,708	1,64,35,492
Bengal	15,26,71,413	7,18,82,212
Bihar & Orissa	4,27,24,184	3,52,44,482
U. P.	11,15,16,427	9,19,49,261
Punjab	8,32,73,843	5,75,27,421
N.-W. F. Pr.	50,89,797	1,25,77,296
Madras	16,00,99,332	8,55,19,002
Bombay	18,06,65,338	9,84,21,429

Revenue and Expenditure in 1918-19 :-

N.-W. F. Pr.	66,26,856	1,55,04,868
Madras	19,22,59,781	9,96,43,158
Bombay	26,75,07,364	12,81,08,684
Bengal	25,52,34,107	8,54,64,767
U. P.	12,13,62,662	10,23,60,146
Punjab	10,11,73,430	7,12,90,398
Burma	11,90,64,349	7,04,48,279
Bihar & Orissa	4,77,09,200	3,95,89,063
C. P.	4,44,70,472	3,85,01,092
Assam	2,09,65,442	1,89,63,714

During all these years, certain items of revenue, though collected or having their source in Bengal, were not credited to Bengal, making it appear as if Bengal yielded less revenue than any other province. But recently, by still more clever manipulation, it has been made to appear that Bengal has actually yielded less revenue than as many as four or five provinces! For example, take the following tables for the years 1925-26 and 1926-27.

Revenue and Expenditure in 1925-26 :-

Madras	16,59,86,000	16,23,49,000
Bombay	15,78,10,000	16,84,08,000
Bengal	10,64,20,000	10,45,23,000
U. P.	12,97,79,000	12,36,32,000
Punjab	12,20,63,000	11,34,83,000
Burma	10,87,26,000	11,00,04,000
Bihar & Orissa	5,68,17,000	5,63,70,000
C. P.	5,55,57,000	5,44,94,000
Assam	2,57,17,000	2,42,89,000

Revenue and Expenditure in 1926-27 :-

Madras	16,54,03,000	16,17,81,000
Bombay	15,79,80,000	16,99,36,000
Bengal	10,49,80,000	10,81,83,000
U. P.	13,21,85,000	12,74,81,000
Punjab	11,95,30,000	12,63,36,000

If the revenues for the year 1918-19 were compared with those for 1925-26 and 1926-27, it would be inferred that Bengal had suddenly become less revenue-yielding to a much greater extent than any other province. There is a difference of more than fifteen crores of rupees between Bengal's revenues in 1918-19 and 1926-27. In the case of Bombay this difference is a little less than ten crores. In the case of Madras it is less than three crores. These figures do not mean that actually so much less revenue is being collected in these provinces than before. What has happened is that certain heads of revenue have been appropriated by the Central Government. And these heads have been so chosen as to hit Bengal particularly hard. This sort of choice has, on the other hand, benefited some provinces. For instance, it is found that U. P., Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, the Central Provinces and Assam had larger revenues in 1926-27 than in 1918-19.

Those who do not want Bengal's grievance to be redressed have all along contended that she suffers because of the Permanent Settlement of the land revenue, which (land revenue) has been made a provincial head of revenue. What is meant is that, if the land revenue in Bengal had not been permanently settled, her Government would have got more money from that source and thus its total receipts would have been greater than now. But as noted in our last number, p. 285, Sir John Simon has established the fact that the Bengal Government gets only one crore less than what it would have got if there had been no Permanent Settlement. So, if Bengal is to be punished for that settlement (for which, not Bengal, but the Government of India was responsible), the fine ought to be one crore of rupees annually. But an annual fine of 15 crores or so is nothing short of legalized plunder.

In deciding what ought to be the land revenue payable by a province, the net area actually sown in it, not its population, should be the standard. Another thing to be taken into consideration is to what extent it enjoys the advantages of irrigation. Bengal has practically no public irrigation works. Other provinces have large irrigation works. The actual net area sown, e. g., in 1926-27, was in

Madras	33,073,702 acres
Bombay	28,140,610 "
Bengal	23,959,400 "
U. P.	34,301,170 "
Punjab	21,788,478 "
Bihar & Orissa	24,782,200 "
C. P. & Berar	23,132,125 "

Therefore, it is not merely on account of the Permanent Settlement that Bengal yields less land revenue than many other provinces.

Sufferers from "Isolated Independence"

The following countries in the world suffer at present from the disastrous effects of isolated independence and are drafting petitions for being included within the British Empire :

Albania	Bolivia
Andorra	Chile
Austria	Ecuador
Belgium	Peru
Bulgaria	Venezuela
Czechoslovakia	China
Denmark	Japan
Estonia	Najd and Hejaz
Finland	Persia
Germany	Siam
Greece	Tibet
Hungary	Abyssinia
Italy	Liberia
Latvia	Mexico
Lithuania	Costa Rica
Netherlands	Guatemala
Norway	Honduras
Poland	Nicaragua
Portugal	Salvador
Rumania	Dominican Republic
Spain	Argentina
Sweden	Brazil
Switzerland	Colombia
Turkey	Paraguay
Yugoslavia	Uruguay
Cuba	Yemen
Haiti	

This list is not exhaustive.

Of these countries only China possesses a larger population than India. Many of them possess smaller populations than many of our districts and than our cities of Bombay and Calcutta.

Partiality for Bengal

Government is determined to make Bengal dutiful. If Bengal wants universal primary

education, it must pay for it ; for there is no money in the Bengal treasury. If the Central Government appropriates four crores of rupees every year derived from Bengal's monopoly of jute, which crop is produced in Bengal by Bengali peasants, that is because Bengal was created to be fleeced.

Bengal Women's Education Conference

At the recent sessions of the Bengal Women's Education Conference the imperative necessity of an improved system of women's education was urged by many speakers. Lady Boso presided at the first session. The meetings were largely attended by women educationists from the city and mofussil districts. In furtherance of the cultural side of school life, games, handicrafts, music, etc., were discussed on the second day. An exhibition of handiwork done in schools was on view. Miss N. B. Nayak, an Inspectress in Orissa, urged among other things the need for the co-operation of the educated women of the community in visiting the homes. This was also recommended in a paper by Mrs. Jn. De of Bankura, who suggested the organization of Samitis for the purpose.

Mrs. P. K. Mazumdar of Darjeeling condemned the present Matriculation syllabus and urged the necessity of a more suitable type of education for girls. She was supported by Mrs. Kumudini Basu, who emphasized the need for teaching arts and crafts in schools and homes.

Miss Shome spoke of the need for more money for the improvement of Primary Schools.

Miss Verulkar and Miss Roy asked for more friendly co-operation from the Inspectresses. This was supported by Mrs. Latika Basu.

Intercepted Greetings from America

On the day of the inauguration of radio communication between America and India during last Christmas week, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and some prominent citizens of America sent messages to the people of India by that means. If these messages had not been intercepted by our benign Government, they would have reached Calcutta when Indians were assembled here from all parts of the country to deliberate on its political, economic and social problems. We have received a batch of papers containing these messages. There is nothing blood-curdling in them.

Institution of Devadasis Abolished in Madras

In spite of strenuous and wicked interested opposition, Dr. Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddy,

Deputy President of the Madras Legislative Council, has succeeded in getting her Bill for the abolition of the institution of Devadasis passed into law. Thus the shameful fact of some temples being also like houses of ill-fame will soon be non-existent in the Madras Presidency. The Indian State of Mysore was the first to do away with "the dedication of girls to gods." That was done some two decades ago. A similar Act is needed for Bombay. What this dedication means is explained in a pamphlet published by the Naik-Maratha Mandal of Bombay, in which it is said:

In some parts of Bombay and Madras Presidencies and in a few native states in the southern part of the country there prevails a very crude notion in the uncultured minds of some ignorant and superstitious persons that their objects of worship require services of women in the shape of singing, dancing and other sundry duties, which are supposed to propitiate them; and so they employ them to do such services. As married women are either not prepared or cannot conveniently be employed to do such services, unmarried girls are dedicated for this purpose. There are certain castes which alone dedicate their girls to temple services. Once such girls are dedicated to these services they must remain unmarried throughout their lives. In order to ensure this, such girls are made to undergo a kind of fictitious marriage ceremony after which none will marry them, as the notion is that girls who undergo this ceremony are dedicated to their objects of worship and are to be regarded as their wives or maid-servants. Now the castes which dedicate their girls to gods invariably carry on the most nefarious trade of prostitution; and this custom of dedication of girls to gods has been responsible for bringing into existence and perpetuating these castes of hereditary prostitutes. So naturally young unmarried girls who are dedicated to gods carry on the most immoral trade of prostitution. These castes have now been crystallized like other castes which have been differentiated on account of different kinds of trades and avocations, they have been following. All other castes, either high or low, look down upon the castes in which this custom of dedicating girls to gods prevails, and even the so-called lowest castes will never be induced to dedicate their girls to gods and allow them to carry on the most infamous trade of prostitution. For the sham ceremony of dedication does not at all deter either the elders or their girls from beginning their ancestral trade of prostitution as soon as such girls attain puberty. In their hearts there does not lurk even the faintest idea of the sacredness of their position as dedicated women, and they never harbour for a moment any fear of the wrath of their gods for their most immoral pursuit. In short, such dedication has come to mean initiation into prostitution. None, therefore, need associate even the slightest idea of sacredness with such dedication.

The belief in many gods is due to ignorance, but is not necessarily immoral. The dedication of girls to their service was not

in its origin immoral. Their calling should have been ethically on the same level as that of the priests of the gods. But owing to causes which cannot be dwelt upon here, Devadasis came to lead immoral lives. That the British Government is partly responsible for the continuance of this evil custom will appear from the following extract from the above-mentioned pamphlet:

Those poor, ignorant and superstitious families which have fallen victims to this custom depend almost entirely on the gains they make. Certain lands and other allowances have been granted to such families as a recompense for setting apart their girls for the services of gods. If they cease to dedicate their girls to gods for temple services their inams are forfeited.* When the Inam Commission was appointed by our British Government in the sixties of the last century, the *sanads*, which were issued by preceding rulers in the names of the dedicated women, were allowed to be enjoyed by them in consideration of the temple services they were called upon to render. Thus Government is indirectly responsible for continuing the custom.

This custom never existed in the major portion of India, being confined to some parts of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies.

The Hindu Child Marriage Bill

In moving that his Bill to regulate marriages of children among Hindus be taken into consideration, Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda made a well-reasoned and impassioned speech. It contains an analysis of the amount of public support and opposition it has received. Observing justly that "marriage affects the life of a woman more vitally and in a much fuller manner than that of a man," he first asks, what is the attitude of women towards this Bill? The answer is:—

Hundreds of ladies' meetings have been held in the country; district and provincial ladies' conferences have taken place, ladies' associations and sabhas representing different communities have met and passed resolutions on this Bill. Three All-India Ladies' Conferences in different parts of the country have met, discussed and passed resolutions in the matter. But do you find a single instance of such a public meeting of women protesting against the Bill? With a unanimity which is remarkable, almost astonishing, women all over the country have demanded that this Bill be passed and passed without delay. Even the Rajputana Provincial Ladies' Conference, composed in a preponderating degree of Marwari women, which met on the 19th November 1928, emphatically demanded the immediate passing

* In Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddy's Bill provision has been made against such forfeiture. Ed., M. R.

of this Bill. We thus find that half the number of people affected by marriage, and that half, considering the interests at stake, the more important, and as is justly said, the better half, whole-heartedly supports the Bill.

For the rest,

By far the major part of the opinion consulted by Government also welcomes and supports this Bill. Counting the printed opinions circulated by Government, we find that, leaving out of account the report of a Local Government saying that 39 persons were consulted and the majority were against the Bill, leaving also out of account the report of another Local Government that all the officials and non-officials consulted were in favour of the Bill without giving numbers, and taking into account the printed opinions which include 10 out of the 39 mentioned above, and also all reports where numbers for and against are given, and leaving out Madras, opinions from which province are separately analyzed, we find that, out of a total of 167 opinions recorded, 128 are in favour of the Bill. Of the opinions received, only 18 are for lowering the marriageable age of girls to twelve, and of these 18, two do not insist on such lowering. Five ask for thirteen, while three ask for sixteen, and one for eighteen, while the Madras Legislative Council unanimously demand sixteen for girls. As for boys, four people want sixteen (two of these being Europeans) and one wants fifteen.

Whatever the fate of the Bill, there is no room for pessimism. Boys are now married at a higher age than before, even among the illiterate classes. Among the educated classes the same is the case with girls. The illiterate classes are bound to follow suit. Social reformers have thus already succeeded in their efforts to some extent. For complete success only time and perseverance are required.

Age of Marriage Bill in England

The existing law in England allows a girl to marry at 12 and a boy at 14. During the last 12 years there have been in that country 318 marriages at 15, 28 at 14, and 3 at 12. Compared with the number of marriages at these ages in India, these numbers are extremely small. But child marriages were undoubtedly more prevalent in England in times past, when, too, however, England was free and independent and nobody disputed her right to political liberty because of the existence of that injurious custom. Her freedom has enabled England to gradually get rid of it. And now a Bill has been introduced in the House of Lords making 16 the lowest age for a valid marriage. This will deal a death-blow to the custom. There has not been and will

not be any opposition to this Bill in England. In the case of India, there has been some opposition from some Indians, and also from the British Government, though official and non-official Britishers have argued that we are unfit for self-rule because of some retrograde social customs. In this respect, the Governments of many Indian states have been more enlightened and progressive. And it is probable that if the Government of India had been a national Government, it, too, would not have opposed social reform.

Lord Buckmaster admitted in his speech in support of the Age of Marriage Bill in the House of Lords that so far as the law is concerned the situation in England is identical with that in India. He also said that in one respect the situation in India was better than that in England. Perhaps he meant that child marriages in India are in most cases like betrothals, because the parties do not begin to live as man and wife immediately after the performance of nuptial rites. But this should not make us self-complacent in the least.

The Railway Budget

The railway budget estimates for the year 1929-30 anticipate total receipts amounting to 107½ crores and a total expenditure of a little more than 96 crores. This works out at a net gain of more than 11 crores of rupees—of course from the commercial lines; the strategic lines do not pay. However, as on the whole the railways are not a losing concern, and as it is the third class passenger traffic which is most lucrative, the third class carriages and waiting-rooms should receive immediate and adequate attention. Hitherto there has been criminal neglect of the requirements of third class passengers as regards sanitation and comforts. Not that the third class passengers themselves are not a source of insanitation and discomfort. But the railway authorities being more educated ought to make adequate arrangements for the preservation of the health of their most numerous and paying clients and teach them by example and precept to observe the rules of hygiene.

Railway Board Labour Member

The debate on the railway budget has shown that the volume and kind of work

which the Railway Board has to dispose of does not necessitate the appointment of an additional member. It has been argued that the proposed additional member will deal with labour problems. But the man proposed to be appointed has never had anything to do with Labour.

Indians have been urging for a long time past that one at least of the members of the Railway Board should be an Indian. Now the powers that be pretend to believe that that desire can be satisfied by appointing an Anglo-Indian gentleman to the proposed fifth membership, because he is a *statutory* Indian! We do not desire in the least to be uncomplimentary to Anglo-Indians (new style). But as they already hold more posts in the railways than they are entitled to by their numbers and education, it would not be playing the game to give them one of the highest railway posts on the ground of their being Indians of a sort.

Bengal and Railway Profits

Our impression is that more passengers and goods are carried by the railways to and from stations in Bengali-speaking areas than in any other regions in India. In this way also Bengal is a great source of income to the Indian Empire. This may or may not be a reason for allowing Bengal to keep some of this income; but it certainly is not one of the reasons, as the Permanent Settlement is said to be, for doing the greatest financial injustice to the most populous province in India.

Calcutta University Convocation

At the Convocation of the Calcutta University held last month, Dr. Urquhart, the Vice-Chancellor, spoke as follows on the rights and duties of teachers, students and the guardians of students:

We are dealing at least with boys who want to be men, who are on the threshold of manhood, and who cannot, therefore, be subjected to the same kind of discipline as is suitable for school-boys. Analogies in this respect between one country and another are unsafe. In England, for example, at least in the older Public Schools and Universities boys are kept in scholastic and academic leading strings to a later age than in India or in Scotland. Whatever the relative merits of the educational systems may be, the fact remains that we cannot in India or even in the barbarous country of Scotland count upon the same degree of tradi-

tional pressure in the direction of conformity to rule and custom.

To my mind the relation between the academic authority and the student is of the nature of a solemn contract in which the teacher promises to respect the rights and privileges and personality of the student, and, on the other hand, the guardian promises to support the authority of the teacher. The teacher must stand in some sense *in loco parentis*, otherwise he has no continuing of security; he cannot for any length of time stand in opposition to the parent or to the collective enlightened community. If the contract of which I have spoken be broken, and if it be broken, as may occasionally happen, by the academic authority, then the adage that discipline must be maintained at all costs would prove to be mechanical, archaic and peculiarly futile. If we can maintain our discipline only by the persistent refusal to admit that there may have been a mistake, such discipline is not worth maintaining. Guardians may in that case quite conceivably exercise their right of withdrawal from the contract. But what I do urge is that the guardians should play the game; that they should either withdraw their students from the colleges, or if they keep them there, should resolutely uphold the authority of the college. They should not allow them to remain in college, and at the same time actively or passively encourage them either individually or collectively to defy the academic authority. Otherwise the authority of the teacher, an authority which has a greater traditional strength in this land than perhaps in any other, is irretrievably ruined. No satisfactory solution of the acute problem of discipline is possible so long as the relationship between the teacher and the community is one of antagonism or persistent misunderstanding. Discipline, therefore, depends on the satisfactoriness of the general situation and cannot be considered apart from that situation. Thus the duty of the University and of all educated men is so to serve the community that the diffusion of culture may come to mean the establishment of peace and goodwill. Only then will the difficulties of the present situation disappear.

His Excellency the Chancellor drew the attention of the girl graduates to the important part which they may and should play in the spread of education and culture among their sisters.

Reign of Terror in Bombay

Last month, for days there were rioting and bloodshed in Bombay. Men murdered other men in a cowardly and treacherous manner, not because of any personal enmity, but because the murderers and the murdered belonged to different religious communities. The situation in Bombay bears some resemblance to what took place in Calcutta a few years ago. In both places, Government could have speedily nipped the evil in the bud

by rounding up bad characters and other means.

The kidnapping scare, in which, among other things, the reign of terror originated, shows the evil results of leaving the populace in a state of ignorance.

The fury of the mob was in some places directed against the Pathans, because probably many of them are usurious money-lenders, others were engaged as strike-breakers and blacklegs, many others had been employed in Bardoli to break down the passive resistance of the people, and some were notorious brothel-keepers. This is written subject to correction. For we are not fully acquainted with local conditions in Bombay.

A Bombay Paper on the Bombay Riots

The Subodha Patrika comments as follows on the recent bloody Bombay riots :

These riots will no doubt be used as an argument against the Hindu Muslim Unity. Many well-intentioned Hindus who were already inclined towards *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* will believe in it more and more. There is no harm if the Hindus were to strengthen themselves for a purely defensive purpose. Supposing a Mahomedan mob attacks the Hindus, the latter must be in a position to defend themselves, and the Muslims could do the same thing in the case of an attack of a Hindu mob. What we would like to point out is that these riots need not cause alarm in the heart of those who are striving to achieve Hindu Muslim Unity. The riots have been mostly the work of the Hindu Muslim riff-raff of the city. No respectable Muslim or Hindu has joined it. On the contrary, some of the Muslim volunteers have courageously rescued several Hindu families residing in a Muslim locality and the Hindu volunteers have done the same. In spite, therefore, of the mischievous work of some of the self-interested leaders of the Hindus and the Muslims, we may fairly hope that, given a sufficient time, Hindu-Muslim unity will be an established fact.

Such rescue of Musalmans by Hindus and of Hindus by Musalmans was reported in Calcutta also during the bloody communal riots here.

Our contemporary next proceeds to point out a difference between Hindu and Muslim mentality :

Yet there seems to be at present a little difference between the Hindu and Muslim mind, which cannot be ignored. A Hindu is generally loth to kill, whereas a Mahomedan thinks it his religious duty. To kill a Mahomedan is no pleasure to a Hindu and he will try to avoid it as far as possible, whereas to *kill a kafir*, a Mahomedan would not hesitate even to give his life ; therefore, the supreme duty of all peace-makers in the city is to change this mentality wherever it is found and make

Hindus and Muslims feel that the life of every man is sacred and none can do away with it with impunity.

It would not perhaps be scientifically accurate to characterize all Hindus and all Musalmans in the way that the *Subodha Patrika* has done. But the need and duty of changing this mentality, in whomsoever found, are supreme. Hence we agree with our contemporary in holding that

The sacredness of human life which is independent of all religious persuasions is the one thing that ought to be impressed upon all. The military and the police may keep the turbulent elements in the city under control for a while but as soon as this control is removed they might break out in violence again. Moreover, this work does not pertain to the sphere of law and order, but is essentially the work of the religious teachers in the city. Violence is bad, bloodshed is harmful to those who shed it, and a man inflicts an irreparable injury upon his own soul by killing a brotherman, are the things that every religious organization ought to preach from the house-tops.

The Hindu--Muslim Problem

The same paper observes :

The Hindu-Muslim problem is the most vital political problem, but curiously enough it will have to be solved on religious grounds. Religious tolerance or freedom is not quite enough, as we have now realized to our cost. The consciousness of mutual rivalry is so keen both among the Muslims and Hindus that any accidental quarrel could be turned by the machinations of an idle agitator into a Hindu-Muslim feud. What we most urgently need, therefore, is education of the people into purer and more essential forms of religion. Pure Islam and pure Hinduism are seldom at variance with each other and when this is realized there will be no feud between Hindus and Mahomedans. We are, of course, not unaware, when we say this, of certain economic considerations which are involved even in the most bigoted of religious feuds but what we are driving at is that when people will know what pure religion is they will no longer be able to hide their economic motives under the guise of religion, and economic and industrial issues will be fought without mixing them up with any religious considerations, so that whenever there will be any feuds in Bombay they will at least be free from fanaticism, which makes one regardless of the lives of other as well as of one's own life.

Our contemporary suggests that

A conference of the religious leaders of both the communities is absolutely necessary. It may include representatives of other religions also. The function of the conference should be threefold —to fight unbelief ; to bring out the essential unity behind all the divergent creeds and to organize the religious life of both the Hindus and the Muslims on this liberal basis. It is very simple to write about this work but it is the most complex and difficult of tasks to achieve. The Hindu-Muslim unity is the main key to

solution of our national problems and hence politicians and social reformers of all shades of opinions have got to bend their energies to achieve a single object. It may be a bold idea to suggest that there ought to be common churches for Hindus, Muslims, Christians and others all join in worship, but it is the only thing it would bring about inter-communal harmony.

Perhaps the writer is over-sanguine as to the efficacy of religious conferences and common churches, but they would certainly not be valueless. He does not believe in saving real religion out of civics and politics, nor do we.

We see councils and corporations devising plans for plans to promote harmony and goodwill among different communities, but they all prove illures because they do not touch the most vital problem of all, *viz.*, religion. Political solutions of this problem have been tried and found wanting. Let us, therefore, make a new experiment in the way of educating people in the purer forms of religion. Those of our politicians and city dwellers who believe that religion must be left to the politicians and city dwellers are talking about. What perhaps they mean is religious fanaticism and bigotry, which every enlightened person abhors; but to make an attempt to reconstruct our civic and political life on a non-religious basis is, to say the least, futile. We must have a religious basis; only it must be sufficiently broad and liberal to include every shade of belief. Let this conference make an attempt in this direction and we shall live to see the day when the riots of the type we have witnessed during the last two weeks will have completely disappeared.

"The Car of Juggernaut"

When once a nation has been calumniated, and particularly when it is a subject nation whose subjection has to be justified by vilification, the calumny does not easily die out. A belief prevails among Britishers, and that belief is found recorded in Brewer's *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, that "fanatical devotees used to throw themselves to be crushed beneath the wheels of the enormous, decorated machine (the car of Jagannath at Puri), in the idea that they would thus obtain immediate admission to Paradise. Hence the phrase *the car of Juggernaut* is used of customs, institutions, etc., beneath which people are ruthlessly and unnecessarily crushed." In including in its pages this fictitious piece of information Brewer's Dictionary has justified its name of a *dictionary of fables*. That this story about the car of Jagannath is pure fiction was proved more than half a century ago by Sir W. W. Hunter and earlier still by

H. H. Wilson. It is stated clearly in *Chambers's Encyclopaedia*, vol. vi. p. 273 :

The car festival has been currently believed to be the occasion of numerous cases of self-immolation, the frantic devotees committing suicide by throwing themselves before the wheels of the heavy car. *This is, it would appear, a calumny of English writers.* See Sir W. W. Hunter's work on Orissa (1872), in which he carefully examined the whole evidence on the subject, from 1580, when Abul Fazl wrote, through a long series of travellers, down to the police reports of 1870, and came to the conclusion which H. H. Wilson had arrived at from quite different sources, that self-immolation was entirely opposed to the worship of Jagannath, and that the rare deaths at the car festival were almost always accidental. [Italics ours. Ed., M.R.]

Yet we find an article on "The Car of Juggernaut" by F. Yeats-Brown in *The Spectator* of London reproduced in the February number of *The Living Age* of America, in which it is stated :

People sometimes throw themselves under his car when it is harnessed to three thousand pilgrims at his festival at Puri, but not often. When the police are not looking, and where the press of pilgrims is thick, some poor widow may go to her bliss under his sixteen wheels (*her relations may even give her a little push toward heaven*), but on the whole life is safer than it used to be and the police more efficient.

The sentence we have italicised above is a creation of the charitable Christian imagination of Mr. F. Yeats-Brown.

Lawrence alias Shaw alias Smith

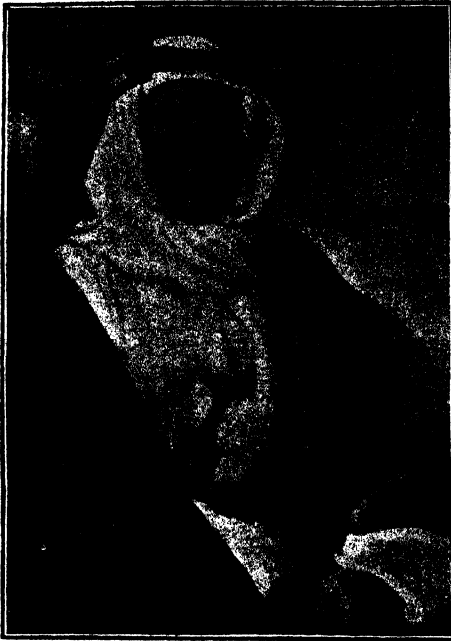
The following Reuter's telegram has been published in the dailies :

LONDON, FEB. 4.

The *Daily News*, in a leader, drawing attention to the mysterious circumstance of the home-coming of Col. Lawrence (Aircraftman Shaw) asks why such a distinguished officer of war-time has been allowed to serve as a simple aircraftman. Why was he conveyed to England in such conspicuous exclusiveness and why was he landed at Plymouth in a naval launch.

The paper suggests that, neither in the interests of service discipline nor in the public interest, should Col. Lawrence continue to masquerade as aircraftman when his identity has become notorious and his activities in the Air Force are a matter of undesirable speculation all over the world.

Reuter also cabled to our dailies here that "Aircraftman Shaw" refused to disclose his identity on board ship, that he took his meals there alone, and that he took his physical exercise at night. When he landed in England newspaper interviewers with cameras chased him in taxis, but he managed to escape, and when he entered his dwelling place he did so hiding his face in his hands.



Colonel Lawrence

It is well known that he had much to do with the breaking-up of the Turkish empire in Asiatic regions inhabited by Arabs. But that was several years ago. Why does he seek to clothe himself in mystery now? And why do the powers that be help him to do so?

Britain's Alleged Violation of Mandates

The following Reuter's telegrams have been published in the dailies:

BERLIN, JAN. 30.

That large sections of the German people are following with growing uneasiness the designs of the British Government to establish a unified Dominion from the various British possessions in East and Central Africa, including Tanganyika, was the subject of an interpellation by a Nationalist member in the Reichstag, asserting that the Hilton-Young Commission's Report showed that the British were planning to annex German East Africa.

BERLIN, JAN. 31.

A further German protest against the Hilton-Young Commission's report was voiced at a meeting of the Inter-Parliamentary Colonial Association in the Reichstag.

Dr. Schnee, ex-Governor of German East Africa, exhaustively reported on Britain's alleged plans

to annex East Africa, which, he declared, were in contravention of the League mandate system.

The meeting instructed Dr. Schnee to acquaint the Foreign Office with the Association's view that the British efforts must be definitely opposed.

BERLIN, JAN. 30.

The Nationalist interpellation in the Reichstag asks whether the German Government is keeping in touch with this 'danger threatening development', and whether it is ready to take the matter up through the German representatives on the Mandate Commission.

A New Offensive against Ceylon Indians

A new offensive, we understand, has been launched against Indians in Ceylon. The battle-cry has been slightly altered to read, no vote for any person who does not have an "abiding interest" in Ceylon. A member of the Ceylon Legislative Council and the Ceylon National Congress, named Mr. Forrester Obeyesekere, has published a statement in the press to the following effect:

Only last Friday Mr. deSilva assured a well-known gentleman in my presence that all Englishmen in Ceylon had an 'abiding interest.' So, whatever the language used at the meeting which might have appealed to the popular sentiment, we are expected to differentiate in regard to the Indians only.

It is quite plain from the above that those Sinhalese—mostly Buddhists, it is said—who propose to discriminate against immigrants, want to favour the British above Indians. This is not only unwise and unstatesmanlike, but also cowardly and snobbish.

"Witch Murder" in America

The Literary Digest writes:—

One of the strangest murder trials in modern times came to a close recently at York, Pennsylvania, where John H. Blymyer, thirty-three, John Curry, fifteen, and Wilbert G. Hess, eighteen, were convicted and sentenced for killing Nelson D. Rehmeyer, an aged farmer whom they accused of having "hexed" or bewitched them. Rehmeyer was beaten to death in his own house after a struggle, robbed, and his body burned, we learn from the news despatches. His assailants say that the killing was not premeditated, the object of their visit being to break the evil spell, or hex, which he was alleged to have put upon them and upon young Hess's family. To free themselves from this, according to their statements, they believed it necessary to obtain from Rehmeyer a book called "The Long Lost Friend," or else to cut from his head a lock of hair and bury it eight feet underground. He was killed, they say, because he resisted their efforts to get the lock of hair.

In an article on the social implications of this "witchcraft murder," in *THE DIGEST* of January 5,

quoted a dispatch to the New York *Evening World* in which Dr. L. U. Zech, coroner of York county, Pennsylvania, is alleged to have said that at least half the residents of the City of York believe in witchcraft. "I never made this statement," Dr. Zech writes us.

Yes, but in Dr. Zech's opinion what proportion of the residents of the City of York believe in witchcraft?

Miss Mayo's country is civilized and self-living.

Military Training for Indian Students

Colonel Crawford's amendment of Dr. Munje's resolution regarding military training of Indian students has been accepted by the legislative Assembly.

The amendment recommends that, with a view to removing the defects in the character and training of Indian youths, as emphasized by the Skeen committee, steps should be taken as early as possible to provide compulsory physical training, games and drill for Indian boys attending schools and colleges between the ages of twelve and twenty and provide and encourage the use of miniature rifle ranges.

Mr. G. S. Bajpai, Secretary of the Education Department, accepting the amendment, pointed out that it was accepted only in the case of centrally administered areas where the schemes would be put into operation as funds permitted. As for provincial Governments, the Government of India could forward copies of the report of the debate and ask them to report to the Government of India in the action taken from time to time.

As for rifle practice, he was glad that Dr. Munje had admitted that what he meant was miniature rifle range practice. The Government of India, therefore, accepted the principle of this portion and it would obviously be the duty of the Government of India in consultation with local Governments to devise ways and means of putting it into practice. Here again the Government of India would ask the provincial Governments for reports of the action taken thereon from time to time.

Practically nothing has been gained by the passing of this amended resolution. Dr. Munje probably accepted this amendment in the spirit of making the best of a bad bargain.

The use of miniature rifle ranges perhaps bear the same relation to the use of rifle ranges provided for the training of actual soldiers as manufactures on the laboratory scale bear to manufactures on commercial scales. Make-believes and toying with weapons are not wanted. If our boys and young men need to know to some extent what fighting actually means, they should have facilities for real military training.

But even this miniature rifle practice

they are not sure to have. What Mr. G. S. Bajpai could promise on behalf of Government was that the scheme would be put into operation in centrally administered areas, which are a very small fraction of the whole of British India, and even that as funds permitted. Funds may not be available for the purpose till the Greek Calends.

As for the provinces, which constitute almost the whole of British India, the Government of India would forward copies of the report of the debate to the Provincial Governments and ask them to report to the Government of India on the action taken from time to time. This is a nice but not too clever, unfamiliar and opaque device to shelve the whole thing. It has been adopted again and again.

Every politically-minded Britisher and Indian knows that Government does not like the idea of our boys and young men being physically fit, still less of their being trained to fight. But in modern warfare bodily strength alone does not count. Nor would *lathis* count in a possible war of independence. So why cannot Government go in immediately for compulsory physical training alone? That would give the European Burra Sahibs in Government and mercantile offices healthier clerks! Possibly if the physical training spread to the villages, there would be a supply of healthier mill and factory hands also for the European owners of mills and factories. But we must not conceal that we want to be our own clerks and coolies.

Want of funds is a stale excuse. For, when British imperial interests are at stake, money is always available. Let us take into consideration the military expenditure of India about two decades ago and in some recent years. In 1908 the military expenditure stood at Rs. 27,97,13,000 and in 1909 at Rs. 28,76,58,980. In 1920 the military expenditure was Rs. 83,22,49,500 (estimate). So the military expenditure in 1920 was thrice as much as that in 1908, exceeding the latter by more than 50 crores of rupees. Yet Government could find these 50 additional crores. 1920 was, it might be said, an abnormal year. But even in recent normal times, say in the year 1927-28, the military services cost Rs. 56,72,49,000. So, taking the military expenditure in the two normal years 1908 and 1927-28, we find that it had almost doubled, though the total revenues of India had by no means increased by a hundred per cent. in the interval. This shows that

Government *can* find means to spend money like water for its own purposes, but pleads the eternal want of pence as an excuse for not remedying the emasculation of an entire people, for which its methods are responsible. It can and should find enough money to give our boys and young men real military training.

Why Military Training is Wanted

Physical training for all our *girls* and boys and young *women* and young men is wanted, because otherwise Indians cannot become a healthy race and cannot attain the average length of life reached in other civilized countries. In India the average is 23 years or so as against 46 to 50 years in many other countries. So if we want to survive in the struggle for existence, either as subjects of Britain or as free people, we must have sound bodies. No doubt, we cannot have them by physical exercises alone. A sufficiency of nourishing food and fresh air, sanitary dwellings, etc., are all needed. There should be a nation-wide movement for securing all these necessities of life.

But why is military training wanted? Is it wanted in order that we may engage in a war of independence against Britain? Here the present writer can speak only so far as his knowledge and personal desire go. Much as we value freedom and independence, we do not, we believe, labour under any delusion as to the means of attaining it. We do not think that even if most of our young men had military training and rifle practice and if they started an armed rebellion against Britain, they would come out victorious in the fight. For in modern warfare the deciding factors are not small arms, but long range big guns, bombing aeroplanes, tanks, poison gases and other destructive chemicals and disease germs spread by bacteriological means. These would not be available to our hypothetically rebellious young patriots. Our belief is that freedom (and if possible, independence) will be won for India by great sacrifices, and by pressure brought to bear on Britain by unarmed means. Of course, if some great military power or powers were to fight Britain on the real or pretended plea of setting India free and if that war led to Britain's expulsion from India, that would be a different matter. But there are no signs yet of such a war. But if such a war ever comes to pass, defeat in

that war would mean to Britain a worse disaster than the mere loss of India.

In any case, Britain's political supremacy in India is sure to come to an end. But even after the loss of that supremacy Britain can retain India's friendship, if she is even now just and friendly. Pretended generosity and the patronizing pose are worse than useless. Few Indians there are who think that Britain has given India any "boon" out of real generosity. Some sort of pressure of circumstance, making such "generosity" expedient or indispensable, has generally preceded such "boons."

India will still be Britain's friend in need, if by an act of supreme statesmanship Britain gives India's youth the same training in national self-defence as the youth of other civilized nations have. If no such friendliness is shown now, Britain need not expect India's help in another great world war, if and when it comes. Of course, if our young men remain as emasculated as now, they cannot be of any immediate use to Britain's enemies also even if our youth went over to them. But the possible enemies of Britain are not numerically deficient in man power, and so they need not count upon the active help of India's rising generation. It would be enough for them if they find a sullen, discontented population.

We repeat again, that, so far as the present writer's knowledge and inclination go, military training is wanted for India's present and future needs. The future need is that India must and is sure to be self-ruling. The power, right and duty of self-defence goes with the power, right, and duty of self-rule. But the power of self-defence cannot be acquired in a day. Preparation is required. Hence for our future needs, we must get ready from to-day. That shows the present need of military training. But that need is felt from other considerations, too.

Timidity is a great defect of character. Wherever it exists, it must be removed. No people are inherently timid. Circumstance may make them so. Hence timidity can be got rid of. Over-civilization is a cause of timidity. Emasculation due to unfamiliarity with the use of arms is another cause. If our young men and women handle weapons frequently and sometimes get wounded and bleed, as they must if they undergo any sort of military training, they will easily shed the shrinking from offensive weapons

and the sight of blood. Moreover, the idea sought to be implanted in them that fighting is something very mysterious and wonderful, will then vanish from their minds. Physical courage will add to their moral courage also. The sense of discipline will go to improve their character.

Bengalis and Timidity

Bengalis have been maligned as being particularly timid. Not many Bengalis it is true, have fought as mercenary soldiers of Britain. But in other kinds of fight, literal and figurative, physical and moral, Bengalis have not given a very bad account of themselves, as the political-police records among other things show. Mr. F. H. Skrine, I. C. S. (Retired), writes in his recently published book, *India's Hope* (W. Thacker & Co., London, 1929):

Considerations of space forbid me to discuss all the allegations made in the *Essay on Warren Hastings*, but I must refer briefly to the charge of cowardice. No quality is so widely diffused as physical courage, and healthy Bengalis possess it in a marked degree. P. 49.

The Evils of Militarism

We are aware of the evils of militarism. But militarism as implied in imperialism and the keeping of foreign peoples in subjection is a different thing from what we are aiming at. We want simply to get rid of the fear of wounds and weapons; we want only to have the power of self-defence. Throughout the ages India, even when she had the power, generally showed no liking for politically subjugating and economically exploiting foreign peoples, which goes under the name of imperialism.

We yield to none in our longing for that golden future when armics and armaments will not be required and will disappear, and when intellectual, moral and spiritual force alone will suffice to keep the peace, not only between nations, but also between the private citizens of the same country. But armics cannot yet be dispensed with, nor can the police force of any country.

For a people who cannot be unpacific even if they want to, for those who are pacifists by compulsion, it would be ridiculous and unreal to join the ranks of the pacifists of countries whose governments and people can and do fight.

Everything in its proper time and place. Let us first have the power of self-defence.

Let us first have the courage and the real ability to die fighting, and then it may become us as a nation to forgo the right of armed self-defence and die, if need be, without fighting as civil protesters and resisters.

Outlawry of War

We rejoice at the very thought that the Outlawry of War may in some near or distant future become an accomplished fact. We can, therefore, share the feelings of the editor of *Unity* (of Chicago) when he wrote in its issue of January 21 last:

The Editor feels sad in prospect of the fact that he will not be sitting in his accustomed chair when the Briand-Kellogg Treaty is ratified by the Senate, and thus will not be able to join his voice to the great vociferation of acclaim which will go up throughout the nation and the world when this event takes place. In anticipation of the hour of ratification, which will probably fall at about the hour this editorial note is printed, the Editor herewith records his jubilation at the culmination of the campaign for the Outlawry of War, which he joined first among all the journalists of America with eager hope and firm conviction, but with no thought of so great a triumph in so short a space of time. He would at this same moment extend the deep and heartfelt congratulations of *Unity* to Mr. Salmon O. Levinson, originator and chief advocate of the Outlawry idea implicit in the Treaty, who has had the ineffably happy experience of witnessing the fulfilment of his hopes at a time when he is still vigorous and strong to continue the work thus happily begun and carry it through under his inspired leadership to ultimate completion.

While many idealists in America want the outlawry of war—our sympathies are entirely with them—in the universities, colleges and schools of America military courses figure largely and conspicuously, as the following extracts from *The World Tomorrow* for February will show:

The increasing influence of the military department in colleges and universities has been so gradual that it is easily overlooked. During the world war the Government organized officers' training corps in most important schools, and after the war it held fast to this arrangement wherever possible. Military training has become compulsory for two years in scores of colleges and universities, high-schools and junior colleges have accepted military units; naval training corps aviation and gas units have been introduced and found favour.

The writer then gives a list of the academic 'credits' given in some universities and colleges for military training, and says: "Hand in hand with the credits granted marches the number of courses offered in Military Science and Tactics."

At Ohio State University this number is the astonishing total of 50. At Mass-

Institute of Technology there are 36. At Michigan University the total is 30. What this means may be understood by counting the courses in the average department of history or English or in the law schools. Very few of these ever reach the total of 50, and only the very best surpass that mark. An illustration will show what is happening. At Mississippi A. and M. College the department of Military Science and Tactics offers 16 courses; the combined department of History and Economics, 8; the department of English, 12.

He adds that closely related to this situation is the emphasis given by college catalogues to military training. Frequently a disproportionate amount of space is allotted to the military department. He cites examples, which lack of space prevents us from quoting.

Before the "military training era" it was not uncommon to introduce statements into school catalogues as to the value of various studies. Educators from many lands and ages were quoted on the value of the classics, history, philosophy, and other academic subjects. All this is now reserved for the military department. Perhaps we lack patriotism, but somehow this praise of the military seems shocking.

The writer adds :

Before closing with the curriculum we ought to note that in some schools the department of Military Science and Tactics is teaching the "elements of international law."

School libraries have also been invaded. At the University of Dayton we are told that "All the latest military publications are furnished the student for his use." At Knox College "a military library and military laboratory have also been installed." At Gettysburg College "complete files of all war department publications are available in unit head-quarters."

Small straws show the direction of the wind. Hence the significance of the following. At Clemson Agricultural College the university book store is called the "Cadet Exchange." At Wyoming University and many other schools the gymnasium has become the armoury. Girls' rifle teams are fairly common, and intercollegiate shooting matches have become well-established sports.

It is only natural and fitting that in the country which does so much for military training, there should also be idealists who are earnestly endeavouring to bring about the outlawry of war. Our past and present *karma*, we sincerely regret, stands in the way of our immediately joining their privileged ranks. But we hope some day to be sincerely active and real pacifists.

Inquiry into Police Assault on Lajpat Rai

Mr. Dwarka Prasad Misra moved a resolution in the Legislative Assembly expressing resentment at what he described as the "insulting reply" of Earl Winterton in the House of Commons regarding Lala Lajpat Rai's death, affirming the belief that

the Lala's death was accelerated by the injury he received at the hands of the police and expressing the opinion that the Boyd inquiry was unreal and was instituted to whitewash the crimes committed by the police.

An amendment of the resolution was moved by Munshi Ishwar Saran, who urged that a committee should be appointed by the Government consisting of the Home Member, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas, Sir Abdul Qaiyum, Mouly Mohammed Yakub and Munshi Ishwar Saran to inquire into the allegations which had been made regarding the assault on Lala Lajpat Rai, leader of the Nationalist Party in the Assembly and its effect in causing or hastening his death. The Munshi requested that instructions should be issued to the proposed committee to submit its report within a month of its appointment.

The mover of the original resolution and many leading non-official members made very strong but quite justifiable speeches. In spite of the opposition of the Government party the amendment was carried by 57 votes against 45. Let us see whether effect is given to the resolution.

Compulsory Resignation of Bengal Ministers

The following extracts are taken from reports of proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Council published in *The Mussalman* :

Charges of bribery, jobbery and corruption, specially in the administration of the Excise Department, were levelled against the Hon. Musharruff Hossain, at the Bengal Council during the discussion of the non-confidence motion. The issue raised, said Mr. Atiquallah, was neither a political one nor a constitutional one, but was pre-eminently an ethical one, and they wanted to purify the atmosphere of this Council, which had been much polluted.

Maulvi Nurul Huq Chaudhury, moving the non-confidence motion, charged the Minister in charge of Excise Department with corruption in respect of three main heads (1) in relation to members of this House, (2) in the administration of the Excise Department and (3) in the distribution of patronage.

The Hon. Raja of Nashipore was attacked in the motion because he had accepted joint responsibility with the Hon. Nawab Musharruff Hossain.

The result of the voting on the No-Confidence motion announced in the Bengal Council was received with great satisfaction. Division being challenged, the voting resulted as follows : No-confidence motion in Nawab Musharruff Hossain—for 65 and against 59. No-confidence motion in Raja of Nashipur—for 62 and against 59.

Sir Abdur Rahim, explaining his position, said that the Hon. Nawab Musharruff Hossain was neither fit for the responsible post intellectually nor could he boast of any moral claim, as the charges of bribery and corruption brought forward by the honourable members stood there uncontradicted.

Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta, explaining the Congress Party's attitude in course of his forceful and

impressive speech, said:—"We who are opposed to Dyarchy attack the Ministers and the Ministry."

Mr. Sen Gupta added that the charges of corruption had not been denied and no gentleman could possibly support such corrupt Ministry. He made it clear that there was no communal issue before the House. "We never make any distinction between the Hindus and Mahomedans when they are guilty of dishonesty or suspected of dishonesty"—said Mr. Sen Gupta.

Concluding Mr. Sen Gupta said:—"If you turn out one of the Ministers, you are bound to turn out the other, as he (Raja of Nashipur) has accepted joint responsibility and has not repudiated the charges nor has he dissociated himself from the allegations made."

Separation of Burma from India

An Associated Press message states that Mr. U Ba Pe, leader of the People's Party, moved in the Burma Council an adjournment of the house to consider the question of the separation of Burma from India. He urged separation on financial grounds. The motion was carried without division. Neither the Government members nor European non-officials took part in the debate. The very brief report of Mr. U Ba Pe's speech given in the papers does not make it clear what exactly his financial grounds were. In the days when Mr. G. K. Gokhale was the leading financial debater in the imperial legislative council, he showed that the Burma administration did not pay its way, and that happened year after year. Indian money was spent for developing Burma. What Burma's exact financial position is to-day, we do not know. But the figures given in *The Statesman's Year Book* for 1927 and 1928 show that in both those years Burma's expenditure exceeded her revenue.

India, no doubt, benefits by connection with Burma in several ways. Some Indian clerks and a very small number of higher officials there are Indians. Even now, if Burmans can do these jobs, Indians will no longer get them, as Burmans are preferred. Similarly in European mercantile offices, if Burmans can do as well the work done by Indian clerks, there is no reason why the former should not replace the latter. For effecting these changes separation of Burma from India is not required. Then there are some Indian lawyers practising in Burma. Supposing separation is effected, those practising now will have to be allowed to go on, though rules may be made to prevent new recruits from India going to Burma. But in any case, barristers cannot be prevented from practising in Burma, so long as it

remains a part of the British Empire; and the number of Indian barristers is not small.

The vast majority of Indians in Burma consists of labourers and, in smaller numbers, traders and merchants. Burma herself cannot supply labourers. They must be imported either from India or from China. But even the European exploiters of Burma would not prefer Chinese to Indian labour. And the Europeans cannot and will not take to petty trade in Burma. What they want to monopolise in that country are its large scale industries and commerce. These they are already masters of to a very great extent. But some Indians, too, have a small share. Some of them have taken to agriculture also. But by separation from India, Burmans will not be able to oust the biggest exploiters of their country, *viz.*, the Europeans.

What Europeans dislike most is that the presence and activities of Indians has been making the Burmans politically self-conscious and active. And economic awakening has been following the birth and growth of political consciousness. Europeans hope that if Burma were separated from India this political and economic peril, as they deem it, would and could be eliminated. It is perhaps a vain hope. For the leaven has already worked too long.

However, if the Europeans' hope were fulfilled, what would be their gain would be the Burmans' loss.

For these reasons it would have been wise on the part of all Burmans to wait till the winning of Dominion Status for considering the question of separation. Standing alone Burma cannot perhaps win Home Rule. It has been openly asserted by some leading Burmans themselves, like the reverend Bhikshu Ottama, that the separationists have taken their cue from interested Europeans, and that the majority of Burmans do not want to be dissociated from India. By such dissociation Burma would stand to lose more than India, if the latter would lose at all to any appreciable extent.

Expected Result of Agricultural Commission

Provision has been made for a non-recurring expenditure of 25 lakhs and a recurring grant of 7.25 lakhs for the creation of the Central Council of Agricultural research recommended by the Royal Commission on Agriculture.

We remember to have read in the papers that among the recommendations of this

Commission there was one which wanted all peasants and farmers and their womenfolk to be educated. It is to be presumed that as the result of the complete and very expeditious carrying out of that recommendation the entire agricultural population of India of both sexes has now become learned in all kinds of lore, particularly agricultural lore, and that they have fully mastered and followed in practice the results of all the researches carried on by the Government agricultural establishments in the various province of India. For, banking facilities have always existed whereby they have always been able to finance their agricultural operations. So our farmers and peasants and their wives, having exhausted all the scientific and up-to-date methods of agriculture hitherto discovered, applied to the Government of India to give them the benefit of newer knowledge and methods. Hence the Central Council of Agricultural Research has been created in response to that demand. Its members are to be imported from Britain, because that Island is the most progressive agricultural country in the world. And, of course, there is also unemployment among agricultural experts there. We should protest and start a No-Tax campaign if agricultural machinery also be not imported from England in large quantities.

Hindu Law of Inheritance Amendment Bill

The Hindu Law of Inheritance Amendment Bill as amended by the Council of State has been accepted by the Legislative Assembly.

The Bill provides that a son's daughter, daughter's daughter, sister and sister's son shall in order so specified be entitled to rank in the order of succession next after a father's father and before a father's brother provided that sister's son shall not include a son adopted after sister's death. The bill refers only to the Hindu males dying intestate and to those who but for the passing of the Bill would have been subject to the Mitakshara Law in respect only of property and it applies to such persons in respect only of property of males not held in coparcenary and not disposed of by will.

Some justice has been done to Hindu women, though not as much as could be desired. The ancient Hindu Laws of Inheritance were juster to them.

In this world of the living, near Hindu female relatives are more loving and practically helpful than distant male relatives. There-

fore it is natural that the former should have preference as regards inheritance.

Those living Hindu males who have natural feelings, unworped by superstition, would welcome the Bill.

It is to be regretted that some leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha, which has for its object the rejuvenation and preservation of the Hindu community, opposed this Bill. The Hindu community cannot be strengthened and preserved except by full justice to its women and its lower classes, who form the majority.

Welcome to Mr. Srinivasa Sastri

By his eloquence, learning, culture, tactfulness, statesmanship and personality, Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri has raised India in the estimation of the people of South Africa. The cordial and enthusiastic welcome which he has been receiving in many places is fully deserved.

United Provinces Budget for 1929-30

In the United Provinces Legislative Council, Mr. A. W. Pim, acting Finance Member, summarized the anticipated financial position of that province in 1929-30 thus :

With an opening balance of 18 lakhs we anticipate revenue receipts of 13 crores 7 1-2 lakhs and debt head receipts of 3 crores 37 1-4 lakhs, totalling 16 crores 62 3-4 lakhs. Against this we propose to spend 12 crores 39 lakhs against the revenue head, and 3 crores 81 1-2 lakhs against the debt head. The total closing balance will then be 42½ lakhs composed of 15½ lakhs under the Famine relief fund and 26 1-2 lakhs under provincial resources, including the balance under the United Provinces Development loan.

The position of Agra and Oudh is thus better than that of Bengal. In some details, too, the U. P. Budget for 1929-30 is better than the Bengal Budget for the same year. In Bengal the increase in police expenditure is much greater than the increase in educational expenditure. But in the United Provinces, the position is reversed. There under the head of "Police," the increase is 2½ lakhs, but under that of "Education" it is 5 lakhs.

ADDENDA

The article under the caption "Realism and Humour in Music" on page 315 is by Leland J. Berry.

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RAJAH TODAR MAL
From an Old Painting



THE MODERN REVIEW



VOL. XLV
NO. 4

APRIL, 1929

WHOLE NO.
268

India on the March

By ROMAIN ROLLAND

Another Indian Symphony from the Beethoven of European thought! About five years ago, Mon. Rolland gave us his *Mahatma Gandhi* the heroic symphony of the tragedy of Action. Now after two years of prolonged study he has come forward with eyes radiant with unusual inspiration to make us listen to his new improvisation—Ramakrishna-Vivekananda, which I am sure, all India will listen with rapture and gratitude. In communicating the original French text Mon. Rolland requested me to suppress a few sections in the present chapter giving as he said too general summary of his original book. But confident that no one will misunderstand him in this summary presentation of details I preferred to publish the chapter in its entirety.

KALIDAS NAG

I

I have dedicated my life to the task of reconciliation among men. I have striven to bring it about among the peoples of Europe, between, more especially, the two great enemy brothers of the West. I have been attempting the same task, for the last ten years, for the East and the West, and I should like to do the same thing for the opposed spiritual modes—reason and faith—for which the Occident and the Orient are, wrongly as I think, supposed to stand. It would have been more accurate, perhaps, to say, for the different modes of reason and faith for which they are supposed to stand, for, both the one and the other are distributed almost equally

on the two sides. But people in general hardly suspect it.

It is not out of regard for any abstract principle that I have followed this line of action. I have done so because it was the line in which my life was cast.

Circumstances have so ordered it that, from my very childhood, I had continually to pass from one camp of thought to another opposed to it, and this has given me the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the weakness and the strength of both, with the blind prejudices as well as the noble purposes of their existence and of their will to survive.

First of all came—I was a child in a French province then—the daily frictions between catholic conservatism and anti-clerical republicanism, which reached their harsh climax towards 1880, when I went to Paris, and developed, at last, into a chronic quarrel between the laical spirit and the spirit of the Church, between an intolerant faith and a system of free-thought which was not less so. Then came the great conflict of the years following 1895 between Christians and Jews, between nationalists and internationalists, succeeded by the threatened collisions between my mother country and the hereditary enemy who was not always so—the enemy of Fashoda became, as everybody

knows, the cordial ally in the gigantic struggle in which Europe committed suicide—and, last of all, comes the wrestle between the White Race, enfeebled but still greedy, and Asia which makes its sudden appearance upon the world stage, where Europe has forced her to come, after having insulted her in the first instance, and then, armed her.

I have always maintained that in all these conflicts each side remained ignorant of the other, of his true nature, his rights and reasons.

Since the close of the Great War, I find myself united with friends whom I greatly esteem, in a common desire to defend liberty and find some remedy for social injustice. But in this, as in previous struggles, it is my lot to find that there are few among these friends with whom I feel myself really in unison, for, I am, and always was, essentially religious in the liberal sense of the term, though wholly emancipated from the bondage of any exclusive article of faith.

Now, I find, on the one hand, people whose hearts are in religion, who keep themselves shut up within the four walls of their chapel, who not only refuse to come out of their prison (it is their right not to, they say!) but would, if they could, deny the right to live to all who live outside; and on the other, my companions and associates, who have, most of them, cast off their religiosity (it is their right—they, too, say!) and are, often, to judge from appearances, too inclined to think it to be their mission to combat and to deny the right of existence of persons who are religiously-minded. The result of it all is the futile spectacle of a systematic attempt to destroy religion by men who do not perceive that they are attacking something whose nature they do not understand. A discussion of religion based on the mere husk of historical and pseudo-historical texts, which time has rendered barren or covered with its own excrescences is of no avail. Such a process may be likened to an attempt to explain the intimate phenomena of mental life by dissecting those physical organs which are only their vehicle. This confusion of identifying the power of the intellect with the organs through which it expresses itself, which our rationalists make, seems to me to be as illusory as the confusion common to the religions of bygone ages of identifying the powers of magic with the words, the syllables and the letters in which they were expressed.

The first condition of knowing, judging, or, if anybody is so disposed, of combating any or all religions is to have experimented the fact of religious consciousness upon oneself. Not even those who have followed a religious vocation, are qualified to speak of it, for, if they are sincere, they will recognize, that religious vocation and religious experience are two separate things. There are many highly respectable priests who are believers from submissiveness or from prudential and indolent motives, who have never felt the necessity of a religious experience, or, not possessing the strength, have shrunk from gaining it. In contradistinction to these, are the numerous persons who, while believing that they are free from all religious beliefs yet live immersed in a kind of supra-rational state of the mind, which they style Socialism, Communism, Humanitarianism, Nationalism, or even Rationalism. It is the quality of the thoughts, and not their object which points to the source from which they have sprung or permits us to affirm whether or no they emanate from religion. If our thoughts turn intrepidly to the quest of truth at any cost, if they apply themselves to it with wholehearted sincerity, ready for any sacrifice, I shall call them religious, for, it is activity of this kind that presupposes faith as a goal of human effort, as something which rises above the life of the individual and at times above the life of the society that be, and even above the life of entire humanity. Even scepticism, when it proceeds from natures which are vigorous and true to the marrow of their bones, when it is an expression of strength and not of weakness, marches with the same glorious army of religious souls, while your thousands of cowardly believers, in creeds clerical or laic, who do not believe because they choose to believe, who only wallow in the stable in which they were born and chew the comfortable cud of their convenient beliefs before racks filled with hay, have no shadow of a right to bear its colours.

We know the tragic words about Christ—*he who shall be in agony till the end of the world*—I do not, for my part, believe in a single personal God nor, above all, in the God of the only supreme sorrow. But I do believe that in all that there is in this world and in man of joy and sorrow and in all the varied aspects of life there is a God in perpetual birth. The entire creation is renewing itself every moment. Religion

never a finished product. It is ceaseless action and the will ceaselessly to strive. It is the springing of a fountain, never a stagnant pool.

I belong to a land of rivers. I love them like living creatures, and I can sympathize with the spirit of my ancestors who offered them milk and wine. Now, of all the rivers, the most sacred is that which gushes out, eternally, from the depths of our being, from its rocks and sands and glaciers. This is the primeval force. This is what I call religion. It is common to art and to action, to science and to religion: to all belongs this spiritual stream which flowing out of the lark, depthless wells of our being, glides down the inevitable slope to the Ocean of Life, conscious, realized and dominated at last. From it, the water rises again, as vapour to the clouds in the sky, which, in their turn, feed the sources and, thus, the cycles of creation go round and round. From the spring to the sea, from the sea to the spring, it is the same energy—the Being without beginning or end, whom, it is of no moment to me, whether men call God (if so, what God?) or Force (what Force? If it is Matter what manner of matter is this that contains in it the energies of the Soul?) Words, words! The Unity, the living and vital unity and not the Unity which is only abstract, is the essence of it all. It is this that I and the great believers and the great unbelievers worship, and, consciously or unconsciously, carry within us.

II

To her, to the Great Goddess Unity, gathering in her golden arms the diversified sheaf of polyphony, I dedicate the new work I am bringing forward to-day.

For a century, in New India, this has been the target at which all the archers have shot their arrows—the sea into which have flown in one Ganga-like stream all the torrents of personalities which have surged up from the antique energies of the land. Whatever the difference as between them, from the distance they present the appearance of a majestic *road in motion*. Their goal is the same: Unity of mankind through God. And at each relay of the team unity grows larger and gains more and more in precision.

From the beginning to the end, it is the question of co-operation, on a footing of equality, of the East and of the West, of the powers of reason with those—not of faith in the accepted uncritical sense which the word

has come to bear among exhausted nations in a servile age—but of an intuition vital and penetrating, like the eye on the forehead of the Cyclops which completes, but does not render unnecessary the other two eyes.

A splendid procession of heroes of Spirit—at the beginning and end of which stand two geniuses of vast sweep who have covered the whole range of the thought of their times: Ram Mohun Roy and Aurobindo Ghose—the former dead these hundred years, and the other still in his prime, both of them accomplishing the synthesis of the highest cultures of Asia and of Europe.

Ram Mohun Roy (1774-1833) brought up in the court of the Great Mogul, where the official language was still Persian, learnt Arabic when he was a child and read Aristotle and Euclid in that language. Though a Bengali of orthodox family, nurtured in Islamic thought, well versed in Sanskrit, Bengali, Hebrew, Greek, Latin and English, a Rajah and the ambassador of the Emperor of Delhi in England, an energetic reformer in perpetual conflict with the religious and social prejudices of his own people—he left, after sixty years of heroic labour, deep in the furrow the ploughshare of his famous Brahmo Samaj, whose centenary India is celebrating this year (August 25, 1828). This Universal Church, the abode of the One Almighty, open to all without distinction of colour, caste, nationality or religion, is the *Magna Charta Dei*, the Divine Magna Charta which has inaugurated a new era for Asia and India.

But the unity which this prince of the Spirit built up was the unity of an *élite*, like him aristocratic, of which the Tagores, after him, are the noblest representatives. In their *Brahmo Samaj* they claimed to unite, while dominating over them by virtue of their grand idealism, the purest aspirations and the bluest bloods of the religious thought of Europe and Asia.

With the great Keshub Chunder Sen (1838-1884), the stream widens, the first floodgates of red blood open: of the blood of Christ, the blood of *all the Ancients of the human race, prophets, saints, martyrs, sages, apostles, missionaries, philanthropists, of all times and of all lands, all the heroes of charity and of truth*, (among whom scientists have their due place) *for all of them are bearers of messages from the Heaven which is within man*. Keshub brings to India the message of the *New Dispensation* which, in his mind,

formed the sequel to the gospel of Jesus, and was meant for all mankind. But an aristocracy was also the basis of his unitarianism, which, to those more democratic than Ram Mohun Roy, appears nearly equivalent to the unitarianism of our great Western intellectuals who at the time when, at the Sorbonne, they made God and Reason march together, imposed upon all a rigorous deism, modelled on that of the Bible, and excluded from its tenets both absolute monism, which it readily treated as atheism, and popular polytheism, which they tried to explain, from the intellectualist's standpoint, as the symbol of the attributes of a sole God.

Such a radical reforming movement, marked as it was by too pronounced a stamp of the West, brought in its wake a national and popular reaction in the movement which Dayananda Saraswati (1827-1883) inaugurated. To the *Brahmo Samaj* he opposed the *Arya Samaj* (1875) which was founded on principles as pure, but drawn exclusively from the thought elements of the race, rigorously boiled down and re-organized, whether it would submit to the process or not, into a vigorous and severe Hindu monotheism.

Between the two monotheisms of Keshub and of Dayananda there remained the great jungle of millions of gods and the formless nameless Being—the Absolute.

Now, it was, at the same epoch, that the decisive step was taken by Ramkrishna, a simple seer with an unlimited heart. He brought the waters of God to all these brooks and rivulets. He excluded none from it, neither the myriads of humble or the shining little gods, nor the great god of India, Islam or Galilee, nor God, the Father (or the Mother)—nor the shoreless and the bottomless Ocean—Ineffable Unity.

His sacred thirst for the Divine drunk at them all. He said smilingly, "Let others, yet others come too! All the doors are open to future gods, for, all that were, that are, and that shall be, are One."

That incarnate Unity, which Ramkrishna realized by the sheer genius of his heart alone, which he himself was, and which through him became the Voice of a new catholicity found its St. Paul, though one of a more ample and encyclopaedic mind, in Vivekananda, his great disciple (1863-1902). In his writings and in his preaching, he has taken up the message of the master and reshaped it with his own passion and intellectual grip. He has not only erected to the Unity of the Human Spirit,

a monument of philosophy in which Western science and Vedantic truths seek to be harmonized, and from which no form of free-thought, be it negation itself, is excluded, he has put an end as well to the separation that existed among his own people between action and meditation, and he has founded an order which resembles those of the earlier, heroic days of Christianity devoting itself equally to the service of god and to the service of erring, suffering mortal men. This order, the Ramkrishna mission, whose high aim is to produce *the complete man* by the *three-fold culture of the heart the head and the hand*, and whose *sole object is to harmonize and bring about the co-operation of the diverse faiths and doctrines of the universe* has created a constellation of monasteries, schools, and institutions for social service, whose polestar, the *Advaita Ashram* situated on the Himalayan snows, is consecrated to the absolute monism of science and of abstract Vedantism and to the reconciliation, on this high plateau of Spirit overlooking all the alleys of knowledge of the East and the West.

Yet this is not all. Here comes Aurobindo Ghose, the completest synthesis that has been realized to this day, of the genius of Asia and of the genius of Europe. Saturated with modern science and the wisdom of Hindu scriptures, of which he is the learned and bold interpreter in India of to-day, writing and reading Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, English, French and German, the former leader of the Bengali revolutionary school of politics, now living in retirement at Pondichery where, for twenty years, he has concentrated his energies on the examination of the wisdom and the science of India, he has brought a new message to his countrymen, which completes those preceding it, and which, in order to harmonize the spiritual energies of India with the activism of the West, turns all the energies of the mind to ever-increasing action. The West which has been complacently picturing to itself an Orient passive, static, quietist will be surprised to see India surpassing us very soon in the zeal for progress and of activity. If with Ramkrishna, Vivekananda, and Ghose, she retires, at times into the farthest retreats of her thought, it is only to take a spring and bound forward, farther to the front. An Aurobindo Ghose is inspired by unshakable faith in the unlimited powers of the soul and in human

progress. His acceptance of the material and scientific conquests of the European mind is complete. But he considers them as the starting point of a new departure. He wishes for India that she should utilize these methods and go beyond them, for, he believes *humanity is going to enlarge its domain by the acquisition of a new knowledge, new powers, new capacities, which will lead to as great a revolution in human life as did the physical science in the 19th century.*

It means the deliberate, methodical incorporation in the body of positive science, of intuition, the scout and the advance guard of the mind, of which logical reasoning is the main force, the instrument of consolidating its conquests. No more a break in the continuity between divine unity and toiling man, no more any question of renouncing Nature as illusion in order to liberate oneself in God. We liberate ourselves fully only by accepting the primordial Nature with virile joy, by marrying and taming her. There is no abdication, no blind veil. From the heart of the Unity which has been conquered, from the calm and tie-less Being, the totality of Life, the Cosmic Sport in all its varieties are embraced by our energies with full knowledge and open eyes. God acts in and through men. Liberated men become, in body and in soul, the *channels through which God acts in the world.*

Thus, the fusion of the completest possible knowledge with unrelaxed activity becomes more and more perfect in the profound and heroic religious life of India, whose revival we are witnessing to-day. And the last of the great *Rishis* holds in his hand, in firm, unrelaxed grip, the bow of creative energy. It is an uninterrupted flow, from far yesterdays to the to-morrows which are farther still. All the spiritual life of history is nothing but one—the *One who is ever on the march.*

We have just begun to understand the tremendous journey which the human mind has made in these two centuries, since the *Aufklärung* of the 18th century. It has liberated and emancipated itself from the old classical synthesis which had become too narrow, with the help of a destructive, revolutionary, rationalistic criticism. Then came the experimental and the positive sciences with their unbounded hopes and resources and their infinite promise, to be followed towards the close of the 19th century, by

their partial failure and a sort of earthquake and sinking of the ground, which shook the structure of thought to its foundations, and last of all, the uncertainty of scientific laws, the entry of Relativity into the arena, and the incursion of the Sub-conscious. Old rationalism, menaced by it, passes from the attitude of offence to that of defence. But old faiths which reason has undermined cannot find their old foundations, on which they might build again.

Here comes the promise of an era of new synthesis in which a broader rationalism, conscious of its limitations, will ally itself with a new intuitionism resting on surer grounds. The United effort of the East and the West will create a new order of thought more liberal and more universal. And, as it always happens in such creative ages, the immediate result of this new spiritual orientation will be an afflux of strength and audacious confidence, an activity which will animate and nourish the spirit, and a renovation of individual and social life.

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high :

Where knowledge is free :

Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls :

Where words come out from the depth of truth :

Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection :

Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit :

Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever-widening thought and action—

Towards that goal we are making our way in the midst of tempests, guided by our stars.

III.

But we have not come to that yet. For the present, let us go back to the personalities who have opened to us the road to the new point of view, from whose vantage ground we can descry the unperceived unity of human thought and of the human herds jostling against one another in the arena.

I am going to recount the life stories of Ramkrishna and Vivekananda.

The subject of this book is threefold, yet one. It comprises the story of two extraordinary lives—one, half-legendary, the other truly epical—which have unfolded themselves before our eyes in our own times, and the account of a powerful system of thought at once religious, philosophical, moral and

social, which India has brought forward from the depths of her past, and is offering to-day to Humanity.

Though the human interest, the fascinating poetry, the charm and the Homeric grandeur of these two lives are sufficient, as you will all find, to explain why I have spent two years of my life in exploring and tracing their course and making them accessible to you, it is not mere curiosity that has prompted me to undertake the journey. I am not a dilettante. I do not bring to jaded readers reasons for flying from themselves, I ask them to discover themselves, to seek and find the Self, naked and profound, without the mask of falsehood. I have made for myself a company of these seekers. It does not matter to me whether they are dead or living, and limits of ages or nations do not count with me. For the bare soul there is neither East nor West: these are but outward trappings. The whole world is its home. And this house, built by all, belongs to all.

I hope, I shall be excused, if, in order to make intelligible the intimate processess of thought out of which this book has come, I have for a moment put myself on the stage, but I have done so because it was convenient to cite my case as an example, and not because I believed myself to be in any way exceptional. I am one of my own people. I represent thousands of Western men and women who have not the means nor the time to express their thoughts. Every time that one of us speaks out from the depth of his heart and with the object of liberating himself, he enfranchises, at the same time, thousands of living silences. It is the echo of their voice, and not my words that I ask you to listen to.

I was born and I passed the first fourteen years of my life in a district of central France where my family had been settled for centuries. My lineage is exclusively French and Catholic, without a tinge of foreign connections. And the early environment in which I was almost hermetically sealed till my sojourn in Paris, was that of an old Nivernais district which permitted no alien influences to percolate into it.

In this locked up vase, shaped from the clay of Gaul and its blue sky and the water of its rivers I found all the colours and the impressions of the universe. When later in life, I followed, staff in hand, the roads and alleys of thought, nowhere did I find anything that was strange to me. All these varied

aspects of the mind which I had seen or divined were, from the very beginning mine. Outward experience in this case only completed the realization of states of mind, of which I had the consciousness, though not always the key. Neither Shakespeare, nor Beethoven, neither Tolstoy nor Rome, none, that is to say, of the masters on whom I had been nurtured, revealed to me anything but the 'Open Sesame' of my subterranean city, my Herculaneum, which sleep under the beds of its lava. I am convinced that it slept within the breast of many of those who live around me; only, they ignore its existence as I did. Few venture beyond the first stage of the digs laid out for their daily use by their practical wisdom, manipulating its necessities with economy, or beyond the will of those master minds who have forged the unity, by turns Royal and Jacobin, of France. I admire the structure. Historian by profession, I see in it one of those masterpieces of human effort enlightened by intelligence. *Aere percunius*. But after the ancient custom which required that in order to make the work endure, the living body of a man should be walled up in the masonry, our master architects have entombed in their work thousands of palpitating souls. People no longer see them under the facing of marble and Roman cement. But, at times, I seem to hear them, and under the noble roll of the liturgy of 'classical' thought, the man who listens, may hear it, too. The ritual on the high altar takes no account of them, but the faithful who follow, that docile and distracted crowd which rise and kneel at the prescribed signs, ruminate in their dreams on those other herbs of St. John. France is rich in souls. But the old peasant woman hides it, just as she hides her money.

I have just recovered the key of a lost staircase which leads to some of these proscribed souls. The stairs in the wall, coiled like a serpent, rises from the profound depths of my Self to those high terraces whose forehead is crowned by stars. None of the things I saw there were to me sights unknown. I had seen them all before—I knew this very well—but I did not know where I had seen them. I had more than once recited from memory, with its lapses to be sure, the lesson in thought which I had formerly learnt—from one of my old, old selves was it? To-day I read that lesson again in its clarity and fulness, in the book which is held out before me by that unlettered genial soul, by the man

who knew every one of its pages by heart Ramkrishna.

Him I present to you, in my turn, not as a new book, but a very old one, which all of you have gone through, though many might have stopped only at the alphabet. At bottom, it is always the same book that one reads, only the script varies. But eye ordinarily remains fixed upon the rind, forgetting to bite at the kernel.

It is always the same book. It is always the same man. The eternal Son of Man. Our son. Our God born again. At each of his returns he reveals himself just a little richer of the universe.

With the differences that time and place makes Ramkrishna is a younger brother of our Christ.

We may, if we like, show, as free-thinking exegesists are trying to do to-day, that the doctrines which Christ preached were current in the Oriental world before his time, and sown abroad by the thinkers of Chaldea, Egypt, Athens and Ionia. Yet we can never prevent the personality of Christ, (it does not matter whether it is fact or only legend—these are but two orders of the same reality) from prevailing rightly in human history, over the personality of a Plato. It is a monumental and a necessary creation of the soul of humanity. It is its finest fruit grown in one of its autumns. The same tree has produced by the same law of nature life and legend. They are both of the same living flesh, and the emanation of its vision, breath and moisture.

I bring to Europe, which ignores it, the fruit of a new autumn, a new message of the soul, the symphony of India, which bears the name Ramkrishna. It can be shown, as

we shall try to do, that this symphony, like that of Beethoven, is built up of hundred musical elements of the past. But the master spirit in which all these elements are brought together, and who organizes them in a supreme harmony is always the man who gives his name to the work, though generations might have toiled upon it. And it is he, who from his victorious signpost, marks out a new era.

The man whose figure I am invoking to-day was the crowning glory of two thousand years of spiritual life of a people of three hundred millions. Dead, these forty years, he is the soul which animates modern India. He was neither a hero of action like Gandhi, nor a hero of art or intellect like Goethe and Tagore. He was a little village Brahmin of Bengal, whose external life passed within its narrow frame-work, without stirring events and outside the political and social activities of his times. But his spiritual life embraced the multitudinous throng of gods and men. It formed a part of the very source of divine energy, of Shakti, of whom Vidyapati, the old poet of Mithila sings.

There are very few who reach back to the source. This insignificant villager of Bengal, who listened to the message of his heart, has found his way to the shores of the inner Ocean. He has wedded himself to it, thus realizing the couplet of the Upanishad :

"I am older than the radiant gods. I am the first-born of the Essence. I am the artery of Immortality."

I wish to bring to the ears of fever-stricken Europe, which has murdered sleep, the pulse-beat of this artery. I wish to sprinkle its lips with the blood of Immortality.

English Residents With Mahadji Sindhia

By JADUNATH SARKAR, M.A., C.I.E.

MAHARAJAH Mahadji Sindhia rose from the position of a village headman (*patil*) to that of the dominating force in the politics of Upper India for nearly one generation. The more deeply the original records of this period are studied, the

more clearly does the greatness of his character come to light and win our admiration for his sense of reality in politics, his accurate perception of the forces of the age, his unfailing judgment of the character of men, and his power of choosing the right

instruments for his purposes and giving them his full confidence and perfect latitude of action. As a mediator between the English and the Peshwa, and later between the Emperor of Delhi and the rest of India, Sindhia was the pivot of Indian politics, and this position of unique importance and power he used for the good of all parties.

Only a small portion of the contemporary records concerning him has been printed, viz., the state-papers of Warren Hastings ending early in 1785, edited by Forrest (with a few letters of Cornwallis in Ross's *Cornwallis Correspondence*), and the Marathi despatches from Hingane, the wakil at Delhi, to Nana Farnavis, published by Parasnis (supplemented by "echoes" in Khare). But there are four other sources in manuscript, namely, (i) a very large mass of despatches and news-letters in the Imperial Record Office, (ii) the Persian memoirs (*Ibratnamah*) of Fakir Khair-ud-din, who was the confidential adviser of Shah Alam II.'s heir, (iii) collections of Persian news-letters now in Puna, and (iv) Marathi despatches preserved in private possession at Kotah and other places.

The earlier dealings of the English with Mahadji Sindhia, ending with the conclusion of the first Maratha War, are known to students of Warren Hastings's administration. In this paper I shall try to illustrate the later relations between these two Powers.

DAVID ANDERSON

We know that Col. Muir concluded a peace between Sindhia and the English Government in October 1781 (Forrest's *Selections*, iii. 813). On 5th November following, Hastings sent from Benares Mr. David Anderson on a deputation to Mahadji, after delegating to him "the full powers and authority vested in me (W. H.) by the Governor-General and Council for the purpose of negotiating and finally concluding a treaty of peace between the Company and the Maratha State." (Forrest, iii. 821.) With Mr. David Anderson went his brother Lt. James Anderson as his assistant. David wrote from Sindhia's camp on 27th February, 1783, reporting the ratification of the treaty with the Maratha State after a long delay. Extracts from his diary in Sindhia's camp in June of that year have been printed by Forrest (iii. 976.)

David Anderson's position was a very difficult one, because the English rejected the Maratha claim to *chauth* from Bengal

Bihar and Orissa and at the same time declined to make an offensive and defensive alliance with Sindhia. Happily, Tipu Sultan, the most disturbing factor in Indian politics at this time, was a menace to the English and Maratha Governments alike, and therefore Sindhia did not find it politic to break with the English. Mahadji's chief minister, the Bhao Bakhshi, was of a conciliatory disposition and he loyally co-operated with Anderson in promoting peace and amity between their masters.

David Anderson became in time a warm supporter of Sindhia and used to promote the latter's interests whenever consulted by the Governor-General. Mahadji, in his turn, had a great liking for him. [*Ibratnamah*, iii. f. 60.]

JAMES ANDERSON

At the end of 1783, D. Anderson's weak state of health, due to a recent dangerous illness, induced him to resolve on a voyage to Europe. But early next year Hastings decided on a visit to Lucknow, and he called David to his side, as he had a high opinion of his capacity. James Anderson succeeded his brother as English Resident with Sindhia. A curious example of the punctiliousness of the decadent Mughal Court is given by Khair-ud-din in his account of James Anderson's first audience with the heir-apparent of Delhi (on 20th Nov. 1784). The Hindu Mahadji, the Christian Anderson and the Muslim Shahzada had three different dinner hours and it was long found impossible to choose a time when all three of them could be brought together without inconvenience to any of them! [*Ibratnamah*, f. 68.]

Major Browne had been appointed as English Resident with the Delhi Emperor in March 1783. Two years later, the acting Governor-General, Sir John Macpherson, recalled Browne to Calcutta, ordering James Anderson to look after the British interests in Delhi, as Sindhia now virtually controlled the Emperor. Browne took leave of Shah Alam II on 19th April 1785. In his despatches he wrote against Mahadji as a man of rough temper and utter faithlessness. [*Ibrat*, f. 75.]

Sir Charles Malet was appointed by Hastings, subject to Sindhia's consent, British Resident at Puna for the purpose of arranging an alliance against Tipu Sultan. "And in order that he might receive complete instructions in the general line of his negotiations and be enabled to establish a

concerted plan of correspondence with our minister at the Court of Mahadji Sindhia, he was ordered to go immediately to the camp of Sindhia, at Agra, as on his way to Calcutta."* [Forbes.] He reached Sindhia's camp near Mathura on 17th May 1785 and lodged with James Anderson. He had his audience with Mahadji on the 20th of that month, and with the Emperor on 5th June following. (It is amusing to compare his accounts of these interviews as given from the English side in Forbes and from the Mughal point of view in *Ibratnamah*.) The object of Sir Charles Malet's mission to Mahadji Sindhia having been accomplished by the conciliation of that chieftain to the establishment of his embassy at the Court of Puna, he received orders early in July to proceed to Calcutta, there to receive the requisite powers and instructions from the Governor-General... He left Agra on 21st July for Cawnpur, the nearest military station belonging to the E. I. Co." (Forbes, ii. 433.)

CAPTAIN KIRKPATRICK

In November 1786, Captain Kirkpatrick succeeded James Anderson as British Resident in Sindhia's Court. He was by temperament less tactful than the Andersons in dealing with a man of Sindhia's character and position. A petty brawl between their followers led to a rupture between him and the Marathas, but the breach was quickly closed by Lord Cornwallis's wisdom and strength. I describe it below from *Ibratnamah*.

On 24th January 1787, a washerman of Rajah Deshmukh [Mahadji's son-in-law and commander] was washing clothes on the bank of the Jamuna at Delhi, when a sepoy of Kirkpatrick's escort came there for his bath and forbade the man to wash clothes there. The man did not listen to him. High words passed between the two. The sepoy hit the washerman on the head with a stick. Rajah

Deshmukh's Maratha followers crowded on the bank, seized the sepoy and beat him severely, breaking his arms and legs. The Company's sepoys brought their wounded comrade away to Captain Kirkpatrick, clamouring for justice. The Captain ordered them to seize the offender, on hearing of which the Maratha soldiers prepared for battle... Then Kirkpatrick thought better of it, and wrote to Rajah Deshmukh demanding that the offender should be arrested and sent to the English for punishment in their presence. Murar Rao, the steward of Rajah Deshmukh, replied that he would hold an inquiry and when the originator of the riot was traced he would be delivered to the English.

Kirkpatrick, on getting this evasive reply, immediately left Safdar Jang's mansion where he was quartered, and marching out of the city encamped at that Nawab's tomb, six miles outside. Next day, Murar Rao visited him for settling the dispute. But Kirkpatrick persisted in his original demand, and wrote to Mahadji, complaining against Rajah Deshmukh. On the other side the backs of the Maratha sardars were also up; it became a point of honour with them to protect their countrymen who were involved in the fracas on the river-bank.

Kirkpatrick, after a few days' halt, marched from Delhi straight to Sindhia's camp and demanded the punishment of the offenders. The Maharajah delayed and wrote to the Governor-General against Kirkpatrick. After vainly waiting for over a month, Kirkpatrick left Sindhia's camp for Farrukhabad, entrusting his duties to Mr. Macpherson.

Meantime, Sindhia's letter had reached Lord Cornwallis, then on a journey to Upper India. The Governor-General wrote a grave letter of advice to Kirkpatrick, which the latter rightly took to be a reflection on his diplomatic skill and patience. The Captain's reply, dated 16th March 1787, is a very long document, explaining away all the charges against him and reviewing the situation. It contains a sketch of Sindhia's character drawn by an acute if hostile observer. He writes:—

"A continuance of the misunderstanding which has hitherto unhappily subsisted between Sindhia and me, when combined and co-operating with other fears and suspicions, which are constantly excited in his mind by the most frivolous circumstances, would have a tendency to increase the natural jealousy and distrust with which he views all our

* His journey is described (from the diary of his surgeon Mr. Cruso) in Forbes's *Oriental Memoirs*, 2nd ed., ii. 488–421. Leaving Surat on 12th March 1785, he reached Agra (*via* Ujjain and Gwalior) on 9th May and was lodged in the Taj Mahal. The object of the visit was (as Khair-ud-din bluntly puts it) to get Sindhia's permission for Malet's embassy to Puna. Mahadji delayed giving his assent, as direct negotiations between Bombay and Puna would have lessened his own importance as the recognized mediator between the English and the Peshwa's Government. But Anderson's tact overcame his objection.

proceedings. That our personal differences, however, should produce such an effect as this, is owing entirely to the peculiarity of his character...

"My sole claim on him has been for such a return of respect and attention as I judged due to my situation and essential to the honour and interests of your Lordship's Government.

"Your Lordship may confidently rely on my proceeding with the utmost caution ... I never under any circumstances proposed taking so strong a measure as the formal

quitting of Sindhia's camp; and as to threatening him, on any occasion with the resentment of our Government... Your Lordship does not think it possible for me to be guilty of so outrageous and unwarrantable a conduct."

Next year (1788) William Palmer became Resident with Sindhia, and when Mahadji went to Puna (1792) on the visit from which he never returned in life, Palmer continued to stay in Sindhia's territory at Gwalior, Ujjain and other places.

Some Observations On American Industry

By JAGADISAN M. KUMARAPPA, M.A., PH.D.

(Formerly known as John J. Cornelius)

THROUGH continued efforts to solve the problems presented by natural and environmental conditions, each country makes its unique contribution to the achievements of man. In her attempt to solve the economic problem offered to her, America is ushering in a new era in industry. Since the World War she has made tremendous progress in the economy of business and industry, and has come to occupy the foremost place among the industrial nations of the world. A critical study of the growth and development of industry in America reveals several contributing factors without which, one may safely say, America could never be where she is to-day in the world of power and wealth. An attempt is made in this article to make a brief survey of the factors which have contributed so largely to American industry and to her national prosperity.

Although the United States of America is about twice as large as India in area, yet its population is only one-third as large. Being sparsely populated, America imports from Europe practically all of the labour she requires. Thus in the economic development of America, European labour has played and is playing a very significant part. Nevertheless, such alien race groups give rise to many serious problems from the

point of view of national unity. The low-class European immigrants bring with them different languages, customs and habits. In fact, there are more languages spoken in America than in India. Hence even culturally one finds tremendous dissimilarity in different sections of the United States. In this respect India is very much better off than America, since in spite of her many languages India has a well-founded cultural unity. The heterogeneous population of America has given rise to the serious problems of assimilation of the alien elements and of the preservation of American ideals and traditions. Indeed, it is these problems which have ever been at the bottom of the American immigration policy. By restricting immigration, America hopes to assimilate the unassimilated and to lessen the problem of the alien element in her national life. But it is interesting to note how every step taken by the American Government to restrict European immigration has had its inevitable effect on the development and character of American industry.

Let us take, for instance, the present immigration policy of the United States and its effect on labour from Europe. Northern Europe has been and is still supplying mostly skilled labour, and Southern Europe, largely unskilled labour. But inasmuch

the present immigration policy favours both European immigration, it tends greatly to restrict unskilled labour. When the supply of unskilled labour is decreased in the face of increased demand for it, it is nothing but natural that the wages for manual labour should rapidly increase under such conditions. Such shortage of labour compels the American employer to economize in utilizing human labour and to find other substitutes for human agency. This necessity has become the mother of the enormous mechanical devices and inventions and of the rapid mechanization of the American industry. Thomas E. Robertson, Commissioner of the Patent Office, remarks in his annual report that the grand total of patent applications reached 116,951 during the last fiscal year. This is about 3,000 greater than the total of the previous year. With every period of restriction of foreign labour, the American industry puts forth fresh efforts to adapt itself to the changes in the labour market by substituting the very latest machinery and equipment. So much so, that to-day machinery has been so perfected in America that the most complex manipulations are carried on unaided by human hands.

A visit to an ordinary bakery, for instance, makes one marvel at the amount and the nature of the work an American makes his machinery do for him. It mixes the flour, bakes the loaves, sorts them according to different weights, wraps each artistically in water-proof paper and seals them. A visit to an American farm will show to what an extent complicated processes are now being carried on by machinery. For instance, every year there are more than 100,000,000 acres of corn grown in the United States. The work of harvesting it is a tremendous job and one that costs the farmers of the country somewhere between Rs. 900,000,000 and Rs. 1,200,000,000 each season. A farmer can plough from five to fifteen acres a day depending almost entirely upon the equipment he puts into operation.

With two-row and four-row cultivators travelling at the rate of four miles an hour, he can cover thirty-three acres and sixty-five acres respectively in a ten-hour working day. The corn grower now harvests his corn with a labour-saving mechanical corn-picker and husker pulled by tractor. The mechanical picker not only reduces the number of men required to harvest the corn, but also,

under most conditions, cuts the cost of the work about in half. Similarly the shortage of labour compels the American farmer to do his ploughing, levelling, sowing, binding, thrashing etc., with the aid of machinery. Machines even dig potatoes, peanuts and so forth; they also milk his cows, separate the cream, churn butter and do for him a thousand other things. Similarly the lady of the house finds a shortage of domestic labour, and of course, the machine must come to her rescue. Machines now wash her linen, iron her clothes, clean her rugs. Every detail of housework is thus being carried on now by the use of machinery.

Such mechanization of life and the enormous home market have resulted in mass production,—the most marked characteristic of American industry. In her home market America enjoys an advantage such as few other countries in the world enjoy. Europe, for instance, is divided up into small states, each jealous of its neighbours; they have been greatly influenced by the social philosophy of Hobbes, Darwin and Nietzsche. Many of the European thinkers have gladly accepted the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest as the normal and cardinal principles guiding their social, political and commercial life. Being jealous and suspicious of its neighbours, each state raises insurmountable tariff walls and suffers from unparalleled international rivalries.

The United States, on the other hand, is entirely free from such barriers within the continent. That is to say, though the United States is governed by a high tariff policy in its relation to the outside world, yet, unlike Europe, she enjoys an exceptionally vast home market controlled by the policy of free trade. It will be difficult to find another such market anywhere else in the world. Such a situation is bound to develop more the spirit of co-operation rather than that of suspicion. Further, it enables a factory or industry to be situated at the point most favourable to its growth and expansion, and at the same time enjoy the benefit of the whole market of the continent. Such an excellent combination of the use of machinery and of so vast a market could not but result in mass production.

There is another advantage which the United States enjoys over the old world. The small European states have their own civilizations, characteristic tastes and age-old customs. That means that industry in Europe

must produce a great variety of articles to meet the differences in tastes and refinements of culture. On the other hand, the United States has a population of about one hundred and twenty millions of people who are so much alike in their habits and modes of living. Such uniformity renders the requirements of the people very similar and consequently greatly limited is the demand for variety. This national tendency to uniformity is intensified by a system of unconscious education or scientific publicity for the purpose of increasing the consumption of the goods produced. Nowhere else in the world are the principles of advertising studied so thoroughly and applied so scientifically as in the United States. In fact, a practical science of publicity has now been developed with the aid of economists, psychologists and scientists, and there is hardly a university to-day of any decent standing that does not offer courses in publicity and advertising. The tremendous effort put forth by businessmen to increase the consumption of their goods has resulted in raising advertising not only to the level of a science but also to that of an art.

A sight of the electric displays of signs and advertisements in any of the main streets of American cities, a glance over the pages of American journals and magazines or at bill-boards and placards in stations and subways will clearly show how America has made advertising an art. These advertisements declare the excellences of the wares advertised. Shaving-creams, chewing-gums, tooth-brushes, auto tyres, salaad dressing, washing machines, vacuum cleaners etc. etc., are advertised in varying colours, attractive pictures and telling expressions. Frequently even sex is played up to arrest the attention of the passer-by. The buses, street cars, subway trains etc., carry all kinds and sorts of posters. Even in the movies they are displayed between films. Radio stations maintain themselves on fees paid by firms and companies for advertising their goods between different items of the broadcasting programme. Thus advertisements are used by American business for the purposes of educating the public and controlling its tastes.

Such control of the tastes of the people through scientific advertising facilitates standardization and mass production. To what an extent the American public

standardized is well described by Sinclair Lewis in his *Main Street* thus: "Nine-tenths of the American towns are so much alike that it is the completest boredom to wander from one to another. Always, west of Pittsburg, and often east of it, there is the same lumber-yard, the same railroad station, the same Ford garage, the same creamery, the same box-like houses and two-storey shops. The new, more conscious houses are alike in their very attempts at diversity; the same bungalows, the same square houses of stucco or tapestry brick. The shops show the same standardized nationally advertised war s; the newspapers of section three thousand miles apart have the same 'syndicated features'; the boy in Arkansas displays just such a flamboyant ready-made suit as is found on just such a boy in Delaware, both of them iterate the same slang phrases from the same sporting-pages, and if one of them is in college and the other is a barber, no one may surmise which is which."

Though standardization, from the economic point of view, is a profitable means of production, yet from the point of view of human personality one entertains grave misgivings as to its value. Where business standardizes the individual and limits the fuller development of his personality in order to produce goods on large scale and sell them at reduced rates for the purpose of profits, it is there one notices the predominating spirit of materialism in America. It must also be pointed out that such limitation of human personality is brought about in the interest of those wealthy few who control industries. It is this aspect of capitalistic industrialism of the West, and particularly of America, that Mahatma Gandhi unsparingly condemns. He seeks greater freedom for creative personality in the economic life of the country, but this is the very thing which a captain of industry considers a serious handicap to big business. Only when the consumer is standardized and the producer is reduced to a mere automaton can there be large scale production. At the Ford factory, for instance, one sees men spending their whole life-time doing nothing else but piercing holes in tin plates or tightening up the screw at the same place. Man is thus made to take his place "as part of the huge machinery, but that is, indeed, the place for man in this new doctrine of production."

The shortage of labour and increased

wages have brought about another interesting feature in American industry. In order to meet the high wages demanded by labour, the American industrialist searches for ways and means of increasing the individual output. To this end he constantly keeps improving his methods of production by more efficient use of power and labour. When the author was at the Ford factory in Detroit, he was told that the factory turned out about 6,000 cars a day. It must be mentioned, however, that a working day at Ford's meant 24 hours, for Ford kept up then three shifts of eight hours each. He was also informed that by improved methods of efficiency Ford was able to produce then 3,000 cars, where the same number of men before the introduction of such improved methods were producing only 2,000 cars.

According to a review prepared by Dominick and Dominick, since the beginning of the century the output per worker in the United States has increased approximately 57 per cent. while the quantitative output has increased 108 per cent. It must be kept in mind that with every improvement in the machinery to increase the individual output, the worker has also to speed himself up to the speed of the machinery. Thus work becomes more intense and automatic, and the nervous strain much greater. It is interesting also to note that all of the advance in individual output pointed out by Dominick and Dominick has been accomplished along with a reduction in working hours. Between 1909 and 1923 the average time per week in factories was reduced by 11 per cent. and the Department of Commerce estimates that as compared with the beginning of the century the reduction is at least 15 per cent. Whether the worker is fit to enjoy any leisure he may get after such strenuous, mechanical work, is a question which few find it possible to answer at present.

Along with the adoption of efficiency methods has come about specialized management. There is now a notable trend toward guidance of important commercial and industrial enterprises by men educated in the science of business. In many instances these men have succeeded managing executives of the self-made or rule of thumb type who used to be in charge of business enterprises. American industry is not controlled to-day by one general manager attending to the activities of its various departments, but by a group of 'experts' as they are called.

Departments such as the purchasing department, employment department, department for the study of markets etc., are now under the management of departmental experts. Such scientific management and the application of up-to-date business technique have resulted in the elimination of waste and increased production.

There are many Research Bureaux which critically study the various phases of the country's commercial life, make important surveys and offer valuable suggestions dealing with distribution, production and labour turn-over. The findings of a research bureau is published by the American Chamber of Commerce under the title "Simplification and Standardization: A means of reducing Waste." Out of the many illustrations given of simplification in this instructive and interesting booklet one or two may be mentioned. According to an investigation it was found that there were 78 sizes of baskets for picking grapes and that they could well be reduced to 11 to meet all the requirements. Similarly it was found that the 175 kinds of automobile wheels could be reduced to four standard sizes; 210 different shapes of bottles could be brought down to 20 standard shapes. Immediately those suggestions were followed up and waste in the production of so many useless varieties was eliminated. Though often such suggestions come from experts employed by the state, yet captains of industry are ever ready to take advantage of such suggestions based on careful research. This is a clear indication that a wholesome spirit of co-operation exists between the state and private enterprises in the United States.

Now that production is on a large scale, America is concentrating her attention on scientific distribution. Taking retailing as a whole, it is said that on the average the price doubles between the producer and the ultimate consumer. This tremendous waste is due to the large number of small retailers many of whom have had no scientific training in conducting business. In certain cases the waste is due, of course, to too many retailers in the same line of business. Another source of waste is the undue number of middlemen whose profit and cost of doing business add to the price the consumer must pay. How great this waste in distribution is, is indicated by Dr. Julius Klien, Director of the United States Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce; according to him the waste is conservatively estimated

to be between Rs. 21,000,000,000 and Rs. 24,000,000,000.

At present some determined attempts are being made to reduce the cost of distributing goods. The greatest progress has probably been made by the chain store system. According to figures gathered by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, the sales of the chain stores have doubled in the past eight years, while the department stores have gained only 31 per cent. during the same period. This growth in sales of the chain stores is largely due to the low prices at which they can sell because of the successful fight they have waged against all kinds of waste in distribution. These stores, because of their combined buying power, buy direct from the manufacturer, thus saving the middleman's profit and cost of doing business. The most important development in the future of mass retailing will come through the formation of chains of department stores. They can, says Mr. E. A. Filene, proprietor of a leading department store of Boston, well include 50 to 100 stores with combined sales of a billion, even two billion, dollars a year. Each department of each store must in turn become a chain of similar departments. If such combinations are brought about, he says, distribution costs can be cut 25 and perhaps 50 per cent. Drug stores are also trying to bring about a co-operative chain in order to cut down distribution costs and increase sales. 1,000 retail Drug units are to be combined into an independent combination to be known as the Drug Service Corporation. This chain will have a stock turn-over of from Rs.60,000,000 to Rs. 90,000,000 this year. The Corporation will provide a perfect service jobbing system to its membership, and will manufacture a complete line of merchandise to be controlled and distributed by the members of the Co-operative Chain.

Similarly for the sake of economy, elimination of waste and reduction of distribution costs, and in order also to withstand the strong competition which has developed in many lines a large number of mergers have been developed. Last year was really a "year of mergers" in trade and industry in the United States. Mergers in such important lines as motors, oil, chain stores, dairy products and railroads have been brought about. The main advantage of these mergers are said to be the elimination of superfluous sales

agencies, economies in manufacturing, and in many cases, the acquisition of strategic sales locations and nationally known trade marks.

Some Companies have started mail order houses for distribution. Outstanding among these are Roebuck & Co., and Montgomery Ward & Co. Enormous increases are reported in this type of retail distribution. They are now trying to augment their strictly mail order business by the addition of numbers of retail stores of various types. Montgomery Ward & Co. report a total of more than 8,000,000 customers in all States of the Union and in many foreign countries. This company is pushing plans embracing the opening of retail department stores in 1,500 towns with a population of 5,000 or more. By the end of this year it is expected that more than 200 of these stores will be in operation; additional and larger units are planned for the larger cities. Gross sales of both the mail order houses have grown with remarkable steadiness in the last five years. Sears, Roebuck & Co. reported total sales in 1923 of Rs. 636,621,812, this aggregate increasing to Rs. 775,026,708 in 1925, while in 1927 the total sales were Rs. 878,781,771. Montgomery Ward & Co. reported sales in 1923 of Rs. 403,933,308; in 1925, they increased to Rs. 552,287,967, while in 1927 they went up to Rs. 607,211,907. The new steps taken by these companies are expected to effect even greater sales in the future.

An interesting contribution to scientific distribution is made by one of the research organizations to aid the business of the concern involved. This was the division of sales territories along non-geographical lines. This particular concern is interested in plumbing supplies, and has every wholesaler of these lines in the country charted. In establishing its salesmen's territories it utterly ignores lines which divide states and counties. The territories are arranged solely in relation to the number of jobbers in a given area, and the buying habits of the population. For example, the western part of Vermont is tied up with New York State because users of plumbers' supplies in that section buy them in the latter State. This situation is duplicated in other parts of the country, where it has been found through research that the avoidance of strictly geographical divisions of territories makes for more efficient and less costly distribution.

Through such methods of efficiency, mass production and scientific distribution, America

has come to hold the foremost place in the industrial world within a short period of time. Among the favourable developments which have characterized the period since the World War are the introduction and development of new industries, the expansion in volume and output of the older industries, the perfection of methods of developing efficiency, cutting out waste, speeding up deliveries of goods, the knitting together of business activities of every kind into larger and more harmonious units. More and more the corporate industries of the United States are becoming the property of the public; more and more are individual citizens investing their wealth and their savings in corporate securities. It is estimated that about 15,000,000 men, women and children to-day own stocks or bonds of one type or another, while millions more are indirectly affected by such ownership.

This new era in American industry is in its first stages only. The coming decade will witness its expansion and extension far beyond its present stage. With the vast broadening of corporate activities, the machinery for carrying on the business of the country has grown in equal ratio. Banking facilities for the financing of this modern business giant have become immensely greater than ever before; investment banking for the mobilizing of capital has become one of the gigantic clogs in the wheel of American life. And all other activities necessary to serve this economic giant, such as engineering, auditing, research and statistical facilities have all been enlarged and made scientific. Thus America is bringing about a silent revolution in industry, and her methods have already begun to penetrate into other parts of the world and revolutionize their industrial life.

There is much for countries which are less developed industrially to learn from America's economic organization, but one should not be blind to the shortcomings and limitations of the methods of American industry. We must keep in mind that machinery cannot produce everything and naturally, therefore, any system that depends on it wholly must be limited. At the present time the Americans are interested only in producing those things which can be turned out in great quantities with the help of machines. The result is that an economic situation has been created in the United States where the cost of anything hand-made is tremendously expensive, and, as a recent French writer has pointed out, such high cost of hand-made articles contradicts the general principle that prices are lowered by standardizing the product.

But the most serious objection to the American system is the one raised by Mahatma Gandhi, namely, that standardization is unsuited to a whole group of industries which seem to depend mainly on the creative genius of the people. Mass production destroys the value of an article where distinction is not only the main purpose but also the expression of the creator's individuality. But wherever the machine can succeed, there American genius will succeed with it. Wherever artistic ability and individual skill, not maximum output, are demanded, there American genius, as one finds it to-day, will fail. America has perfected her machinery to that extent that where or large scale production is required, she is able to produce goods at low cost and pay high wages. America's abundant natural resources, her enormous capital, her shortage of labour, and her vast home-market have contributed largely to this unique character of American industry.

American Diplomacy At Its Best

By Dr TARAKNATH DAS, Ph. D.

1
THE success of the American Revolution and the establishment of the Republic of the United States of America was due to the will of the American people to

fight for liberty and the remarkable, diplomatic sagacity of the founders of the Republic, especially of Benjamin Franklin, the greatest of American statesmen.

At the outset, the American people were

not seeking absolute independence from British rule, but they wanted freedom within the British Empire. Those who advocated absolute independence were in a minority and they were classed as "American Rebels"; while the majority of the American people were "Loyalists" and were opposed to separation from Britain. The far-sighted minority, seeking absolute independence, had a very difficult work before them, when they attempted to convert the majority to the cause of American Independence. These wise statesmen did not follow any dogmatic method to convince the people of America that Britain would never willingly give up the special privileges enjoyed by the British Parliament, British ruling-class and merchants; but they followed indirect methods, and in course of time made the American people see the wisdom in the programme of American Independence.

Statesmen like Benjamin Franklin and others advocated that the American people should petition the King so that they should not be deprived of their natural rights of freedom. Various petitions were presented to the British King, which were ignored. Then it was decided by these wise statesmen that they should send deputations to the British Court to plead the American cause. It is a historical fact that the members of the American delegation were insulted and sneered at when they tried to argue the case of American freedom before the rulers of the British Empire. Thus the American statesmen proved that presenting petitions and sending deputations to the King and His Court were futile and they by an indirect process made the liberty-loving people of America realize that in order to gain their freedom they should fight.

These statesmen also realized that the American people could never defeat the mighty power of Great Britain, unless they were helped by other Great Powers, and Britain also was completely isolated in World Politics, so that she would not receive any support from any quarter against the struggling Americans. In this they succeeded. This achievement of American diplomacy is the greatest in its whole history. Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, Life of Beau Marche, Diaries of John Adams, the writings of Jefferson and of Thomas Paine, Diplomatic History of American Revolution by Wharton and other works should be studied by all who wish to understand the

foundations of American diplomacy at its best. The American statesmen of the Revolutionary era—the founders of the Republic of the United States of America—were never isolationists. They sought foreign alliances to promote American independence; but they refused to be entangled in such foreign alliances which would force America to fight for other nations which might be against her genuine interests. They wanted to co-operate with other nations on the basis of reciprocity to promote and protect American commerce. They were ardent advocates of the "Rights of Neutrals" and "the Freedom of the Seas." Hon. Justice Dr. John Bassett Moore in his work on "Principles of American Diplomacy" has very ably discussed the contributions of the American statesmen of the revolutionary days in the fields of international relations and international law.

II

During the period of the American Revolution and the years immediately following it, American statesmen not only held their own in diplomatic contests with British statesmen, but won signal victories. However, to enforce their conception of American rights on the seas, they did not hesitate to fight the War of 1812 against Great Britain in which the mighty British fleet suffered defeats from the navy of the infant republic.

After 1812, British statesmen thought it to be wise to seek American co-operation; and thus by entangling America in the net of British World Politics, they would be able to dominate America indirectly. Lord Canning, as British Foreign Minister, tried his best to bring about an Anglo-American Alliance, so that America and Great Britain might follow a common policy in the American continents against other European Powers who were Britain's political and commercial rivals. Again American statesmanship, under the leadership of John Adams and Monroe, scored a signal victory in formulating and making known the famous Monroe Doctrine, one of the corner-stones of American Foreign Policy. The doctrine has survived more than a century and America will try to uphold it with all her might against all oppositions from any quarter.

III

The diplomatic history of American expansion from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the purchase of Alaska from Russia, the purchase

Louisiana from Napoleon are instances of American diplomacy at its best. The Mexican wars are generally regarded by many as dark spots of American history; however in making such generalization against American diplomacy, one often forgets to take into consideration that *American statesmen had to take a determined stand against Mexico, because British statesmen were willing to aid Mexico against the United States, provided Great Britain could secure California from Mexico.*

The history of American diplomacy during the Civil War is an epic. It took superhuman efforts on the part of American statesmen to keep Britain from joining with the South. Such powerful statesmen as Lord Russell, Palmerstone and Gladstone were all in favour of the Southern cause—the cause of Slavery. Yet American statesmen won diplomatic victory against all odds. When one reads such a book as "Education of Henry Adams," giving intimate pictures of the courageous efforts of American statesmen during the Civil War, one cannot but feel admiration for them.

IV

America's relations with the Orient, in comparison with those of the nations of Europe, indicate a higher standard of international morality and statesmanship. Dr. Tyler Dennett, in his very remarkable and impartial work, "Americans in Eastern Asia", has recorded the achievements and shortcomings of American diplomacy in the Orient. It may be justly said that the underlying motives of American diplomacy in the Orient have been the promotion and preservation of American interests without completely sacrificing the ideals of human rights and the rights of the peoples of various nations of the Orient. If one wishes to make a comparison of American methods of dealing with Oriental peoples with those of Great Britain, it may be pointed out that Great Britain in order to open China for her trade (especially Opium Trade) fought China and annexed Hongkong and imposed a large indemnity, whereas America opened Japan for world commerce through the mission of Commodore Perry. If one studies Japanese diplomatic history, it will be clear that America contributed considerably towards Japan's attaining full sovereignty. Although America was not an ally of Japan during the Russo-Japanese War, it was the

action of Theodore Roosevelt in siding with Japan which prevented France and Germany from making common cause with Russia.

On the whole, American diplomacy towards China can be termed as most generous and idealistic. To be sure America secured for her citizens extra-territorial jurisdiction; but she did not establish a special "sphere of influence" in China, as Great Britain and other nations did. To be sure, America participated in the Boxer War, but it was American statesmen who formulated the idea that although the Chinese Government should pay indemnity, but it should not be held responsible for the outbreak. It was American statesmanship which formulated the "Open Door Policy in China"; and this policy has no less significance than the Monroe Doctrine, and it has aided China considerably in her struggle for national independence.

It has been charged that American acquisition of the Philippine Islands and American acquiescence in the establishment of Japanese protectorate over Korea are not honourable incidents. However, it may be justly claimed that when Great Britain, France and even Russia were agreed to acknowledge Japanese sovereignty in Korea, America had no other alternative but to do the same. Whatever may be said of the American occupation of the Philippines, it is an undeniable fact that in comparison with the British policy in India, the French policy in Indo-China, the Dutch policy in Java, and the Japanese policy in Korea, *American policy in the Philippines can be regarded as the best and the most enlightened in the field of colonial administration.*

V

America's entry into the World War against Germany has been regarded as a diplomatic blunder by some; but in 1917 America was faced with the same situation as was the case in 1812 and it was to protect American rights that she fought Germany. It was American influence which induced the Chinese Government to declare war against Germany. American statesmen assured China that this would aid China to regain her full sovereignty. Indeed the first steps towards the abolition of "extra-territorial jurisdiction and unequal treaties" came as the result of China's entering the World War, when Germany and Austria

were forced to give up their concessions and other rights in China.

However at Paris, when the Versailles Treaty was drawn up, China was betrayed by the secret agreement existing among Great Britain, France, Russia and Japan to the effect that all the German rights in Shantung would be turned over to Japan. President Wilson, owing to the pressure of Great Britain and France, agreed to this monstrous proposition; but it was through the support of other American statesmen that the Chinese refused to sign the Treaty. It may be said that one of the principal causes of the American Senate's refusal to ratify the Treaty of Versailles was that America did not want to approve a treaty which would alienate Chinese sovereignty over the province of Shantung. American diplomacy did a distinct service to China during the Washington Conference by forcing other nations to give up the so-called "spheres of influence" and giving further assurance of preserving Chinese sovereignty.

When the Chinese Republic was declared, the United States was the first nation to extend its recognition to it. True to the traditional friendship towards China, the American statesmen and people showed their genuine sympathy to Dr. Sun Yat Sen and his work. Only for a short period, the American Government for some peculiar reasons did not extend its co-operation towards the cause of Chinese nationalism and republicanism. (Some hold that it was due to the desire of Anglo-American co-operation in China). This led to various unfortunate incidents, including the bombardment of Nanking. However it will be regarded as the most far-sighted thing done by President Coolidge, when he refused

to join with Great Britain and other Powers to coerce nationalist China. For a time American naval officers lost their head and followed the British, but with the arrival of Admiral Mark Bristol as the Commander-in-chief of the American fleet in Chinese waters, the situation changed for the better. The American Government took the initiative to have the Nanking incident settled honourably for both the nations concerned and signed the treaty which has given China tariff autonomy. The American action was resented by Great Britain and other Powers, but it forced them to recognize the Nanking Government and negotiate similar treaties.

It has been reported that Dr. C. C. Wu, the Chinese Minister at Washington, has opened negotiations so that America may become the first of the Treaty Powers to give up "extra-territorial jurisdiction". As things stand to-day, as a result of World War, Germany and Austria were deprived of "extra-territorial jurisdiction in China". The Soviet Government has also given up the extra-territorial jurisdiction. Now if America agrees to give up the special privilege which infringes Chinese Sovereignty, then other great Powers—Great Britain, Japan, France and Italy—will be obliged to follow the same course.

In conclusion it may be said that the present tendency of American diplomacy to aid the Chinese Government to recover full sovereignty is in line with the traditions of American diplomacy at its best. America has much to gain by following this policy; and it will strengthen the position of the present Chinese Government and thus indirectly aid the cause of the peoples of Asia trying to regain their lost sovereignty.

Dignity of Labour Taught at the Government Agricultural Farm, Faridpur

By SIR P. C. RAY

ABOUT a year ago I read in the papers that a scheme for training of "Bhadrolog" youths in practical agriculture and settlement of *khas mahal* lands with

them after the training was over, would be tried in the Faridpur district. The scheme was formulated by Mr. L. B. Burrows, the then Collector of the district and Rai Sahib



Sir P. C. Ray ploughing the fields at the Govt. Farm Faridpur with Bhadrolog youths under training

Debendra Nath Mitra, District Agricultural Officer, Faridpur. Mr. Finlow, the Director of Agriculture, Bengal, supported it.

Frankly speaking, I did not then interest myself in the scheme as I thought that it was like all the schemes of the Government and was mere a pious wish which would never be translated into action. I did not, however, forget the scheme and it crossed my mind several times but I had neither the inclination nor the time to get first-hand information about the details of the scheme and whether it was at all put into operation. When Rai Sahib Debendra Nath Mitra came to see me in the afternoon of the 1st January, 1929 and requested me to open the Agricultural Show which was to be held at the Government Farm, Faridpur, towards the end of January 1929 the first thing I asked him was about this scheme. He said that five "Bhadrolog" youths were undergoing a training under him at the Government Farm, Faridpur, according to the lines of the scheme and they were working very satisfactorily. I took it as "mamuli" saying of an official. I was going out then for my usual evening strolls and I had also then a visitor with me. I said good-bye to the Rai Sahib most reluctantly without giving him any promise that I would be able to open the show as I had various engagements at the time when he wanted me at Faridpur. The Rai Sahib with his usual modesty took the dust of my feet and disappeared. I received a long letter from him on the 4th of January which contained threats couched in modest language

as well as entreaties and all sorts of temptations for my comfortable stay at Faridpur—fresh milk, boiled vegetables, camp bed etc. "You must come and see what we are doing here. Being a public man interested in the development of the country's resources you are morally bound to cancel all your other engagements to encourage us in our honest and earnest attempts to uplift the country" was the concluding sentence of his letter. It was a very bold letter.

The show was fixed for the 28th January 1929 and I had to arrive at Dacca on the same day to deliver a few lectures at the University there. I accordingly wrote to the Rai Sahib and said that if it was sometime in the first week of February I could have easily come down to Faridpur on my way back from Dacca. I was not so keen on opening the Show but on seeing the youths who were undergoing the training at the Farm. The Rai Sahib wrote in reply saying that they could not postpone the show till the 1st week of February but were prepared to change the date of the opening of the show from the 28th to the 27th January to suit me and I could leave Faridpur on the 27th to reach Dacca on the 28th January. I had no other alternative than to accept the invitation, but I said I would stay at the Farm for three days with a view to be acquainted with the details of the scheme of training of Bhadrolog youths in practical agriculture and would see for myself how the youths were working. Mr. Ellis, the District Judge and President of the

show, sent me a courteous letter and I also replied to him accordingly.

I arrived at Faridpur on the 25th January 1929. I am grateful to mention that there was a representative gathering at the station to receive me. I went straight to the Farm and I must thank Mr. Sukumar Sen, I. C. S., Additional Judge, for kindly taking me there in his car. Arriving at the Farm I asked the Rai Sahib to furnish me with the details of the scheme. He handed over to me a copy of the scheme which runs as follows :—

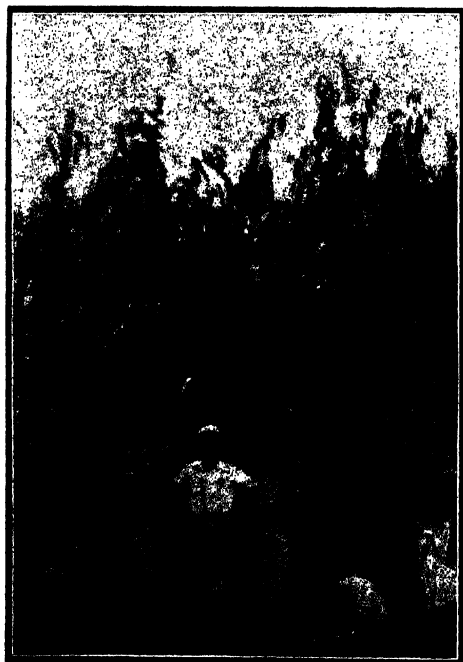
Government have sanctioned a scheme, for dealing to some extent with the question of unemployment among the middle-classes. It provides one year's training in practical agriculture at the Government Agricultural Farm, Faridpur. During this year's training, instruction in agricultural carpentry, elementary veterinary knowledge and the

as labourers and will be paid Rs. 12 a month for their labour on the Farm. Free accommodation will be provided for them. They will be required to arrange for their own meals and bring their own utensils, furniture, bedding, lights etc. After the year's training each boy or young man will receive provincial settlement of a 15 bigha plot of *khass mahals* land free of rent for three years, and will also be advanced Rs. 200 by Government under Land Improvement or Agricultural Loans Act for initial expenses, these advances being made on the personal, joint and several security of two persons acceptable to the Collector. The advance with the usual interest, would be recovered in four annual instalments commencing from the second year after the money is advanced a further condition being that, if for any reason that provincial settlement is terminated by the Collector at any time the whole amount or such balance as is outstanding will be immediately recoverable from the two sureties.

Having been given the land and the loan, each boy or young man will bring the land into cultivation with his own hands and will not be allowed to let out the land in farm or *bargu* settlement, nor in any other way sublet the land or any portion thereof. The work done on the land will be inspected every half year by the District Agricultural Officer and the *khass mahals* Officer, and the Collector will decide on their reports whether the arrangement should continue. An attempt to let the land in farm or *bargu* or to sublet it, will involve immediate cancellation of the provincial settlement. At the end of the three years, provided satisfactory progress had been made, an ordinary *raiwatwari* settlement will be made on the usual terms obtaining in the Government estate in which the land is situated, no *Salami* being charged. Further land may also be settled at the Collector's discretion up to the limit which can be cultivated personally by each boy or young man and his family.

An agreement for the experimental period will have to be signed by each candidate. A copy of the agreement will be supplied on application.

It is proposed to give effect to the scheme with five boys of the Bhadralog class in the beginning, and the first batch of five boys will be taken for training from the 1st March 1928. Preference will be given to inhabitants of this district.



The Jute Crop grown by the youths under training

principles of co-operative credit will also be given. During this period of training, the boys or young men will be required to work at the Government Agricultural Farm

Early next morning at about 6-30 A. M. I saw three robust youths clad in Khaki shorts and shirts and bare-footed carrying ploughs on their shoulders and with three pairs of healthy bullocks came out of the cattle-shed and proceeded towards the fields. The sight inspired me but I thought it was only a show arranged by the Rai Sahib for the satisfaction of my eyes. Later I also found two other youths cleaning the cattle-shed with broom-sticks in their hands, carrying baskets of dung to the manure pit. When the Rai Sahib came to me after a few minutes I told him "I have understood your



The youths under training are preparing Farm-yard manure from grasses, jungles, rubbish etc.

chulaki. You have put up this show of 'Bhadrolog' youths for the day for me only." He angrily said "it was no use saying this—you should come and see for yourself how they were ploughing and how their work compared with that of the hired labourers of the Farm. You can very well see whether they are experienced hands or not; you can ask them all about their work and you can satisfy yourself by testing them with any item of manual work in this Farm." It silenced me and I hastened to go to the fields with him where the youths were ploughing. It was really an inspiring sight to see one "Brahmin" and two "Kayastha" youths ploughing with their own hands and ploughing so admirably. In two hours' time they have ploughed about 1/5th of an acre thoroughly well. I jumped and embraced them and took hold of a plough. I wished I were young to start my life anew. Their ploughing was in no way inferior to that done by ordinary cultivators, and their work was

quicker. I came to the cattle-shed and there were two youths—one Brahmin and the other Kayastha—cleaning the cattle-shed, removing the dung etc. I kissed them for the noble work they were doing. These five youths are all of respectable families of this district. I found the true spirit of dignity of labour beaming in the faces of these five youths. They work in the fields from 6-30 A. M. till 11 A. M. in the morning and again from 2-30 P. M. till 5 P. M. in the afternoon. They have got a corrugated-roofed house close to the Farm to live in. They sweep their own house, cook their own food jointly, cleanse their own utensils, and carry their own water. The Rai Sahib mixes with them very freely and they do not look to him as their master but as their true friend.

I was told that the scheme was an experimental one for three years only and was being worked out in Faridpur only. I can say without the least amount of hesitation that the scheme has been left in the best possible hands and it was found to be successful if it was left in the Rai Sahib's hands.

Mr. Burrows left the district soon after the scheme was sanctioned by the Government and I am sure it would be a great



Sir P. C. Ray inspecting the work of the Cattle-Shed done by the youths under training

pleasure to him to come and see how the youths were working at the Farm now.

I was told by the youths that Mr. S. N. Roy, while he was the Collector of Faridpur after Mr. Burrows, used to come to the Farm almost every morning to see the work of the boys and encouraged them as much as he could. He also said that he

would come and work with the youths himself. It was unfortunate that he did not stay at Faridpur for long.

If all the Collectors take an interest in the scheme it would be a permanent one and it would also be possible to increase the number of youths for training. The scheme, in my opinion, should also be tried in other districts where there are opportunities of such a training.

I stayed at the Farm for three days and lived a new life there. I was not sorry for

having cancelled my engagements in Calcutta and come down to Faridpur. I went there as a learner and have learnt and seen many things which have made me wiser and happier. I must close by paying my love and best compliments to Rai Sahib Debendra Nath Mitra for his honest and earnest labours. He has endless energy and great powers of organization. He has a special knack of getting things done. He is the life and soul of the nice little Farm at Faridpur and specially of the scheme which I have described above.

The Garden Creeper

By SAMYUKTA DEVI

(18)

IT was five o'clock, in the evening. The day had been a cloudy one. Mukti had to get up very early that morning, as she and some of her friends had made a trip to the Ghoom Lake and enjoyed a sort of picnic there. Bella, the friend of her childhood, whose highly modern frocks used to excite the envy of the child Mukti, was one of the party. When at last they reached Darjeeling in the toy train of the Darjeeling-Himalayan Railway, it began to rain heavily. The party was looking very tired and travel-stained. All the porters, their wives and children, who also worked there, had crowded under the tin sheds on the platform. The electric lights, illuminated part of the platform and railway offices and made it possible for people to see each other. Outside a dense fog had gathered and nothing could be seen. Bella, Mukti and the other girls had put on heavy waterproof coats and were standing at the extreme end of the tin-shed, anxiously looking out at the heavy shower. They wanted to get out of this shed and be in their warm and cosy homes. But they could not think of starting, until the rain abated a little. Their gay silk parasols, looked totally inadequate to the situation. The boys of the party, disdained all protection, and constantly ventured out in the rain, only to come hurrying back at the

shrill scream of protest that greeted their adventurous attempts. Mukti lost all patience at last. She gave Bella a slight push, saying "Let's go. The rain does not matter. We shall get drenched of course, but it won't harm us much, if we get into dry things quick enough."

Bella was trying her best to protect the skirt of her dress, from the merciless shower and she answered petulantly, "No dear, the rain would spoil my new dress utterly. I bought this parasol too, only the other day, at the sale. See how pretty the embroidery is on the border. If I had known, that the weather was going to be like this, I would not have brought it at all. Now you want me to go out in this awful rain, so that it might be ruined totally. I simply don't dare. Go alone, if you are so impatient."

"Oh, I see," said Mukti, a bit sarcastically, "your dress seems exceptionally dear to you. I am afraid, I consider my health more valuable than my dress."

"Don't try to pose as a saint," said Bella, with some heat, "I have seen many like you. Why should you think of your dress? From the looks of it, it does not seem to deserve much consideration."

Another girl now intervened to avert the threatening quarrel. "There now Bella, don't be so childish," she cried "Your highly fashionable education has made you very silly. You don't even understand jests."

"I did not mean anything," said Bella, a t ashamed of her temper.

The young men had become extremely impatient. Seeing that some of the girls too, ere for starting out in the rain, they refused wait in the station any more. As the ajority had rebelled the party had to set it. Bella stepped out with extreme reluctance.

"My hair must be looking quite horrible, y this time," she said to the girl, by her ide.

"No, it is all right," the girl replied, without even looking at Bella's hair.

The border of Mukti's sari had got torn a one place, and was trailing in the mud. he incident had not escaped Bella's sharp yes. Mukti smiled at Bell's unwavering gaze, and borrowing a knife from one of he boys, she cut the trailing piece of silk off, and threw it away.

The rain continued unabated. The picturesque parasols gave no protection whatever, o their bearers. Still the girls clung to hem tightly and advanced in the face of the driving rain. Squeals of laughter rang through their party as the rain penetrated through their clothes. The young men paid scarcely any attention to the rain but walked on, talking about all kinds of things. Their unconcerned manner would have made any beholder think that there was no such thing as rain.

When Mukti at last arrived home, drenched to the skin, and her dress dripping at every step, the lights had already been turned on in the rooms. The rain was nearly over and the sky was clearing up. The long rows of lights on the dark blue mountains looked like chains of diamond on the breast of a king. It increased the magnificent beauty of the Himalayas a thousand-fold.

Mukti rushed into her room to change her dress and threw her parasol and her wet shoes and stockings in a corner. Suddenly her eyes fell on a letter and a picture postcard, which were reposing on the small bedside table. Mukti understood at once, who the writer was and sat down in her wet dress to look through them. Her dripping hair came down all over her shoulders, sending ice-cold reels through her blouse and even falling on the coverlet. The letters could have waited very well, and lost nothing of their interest, whereas a change was imperatively necessary. Still Mukti ignored

the cold and the discomfort and sat on, perusing the contents of the letters.

The picture postcard depicted an Arab beauty, whose eyes alone could be seen, the rest of her being concealed under a heavy 'boorkah.' Jyoti had sent it on from the steamer. It bore only this cryptic message "The Witch's eyes." But there was the letter as a compensation.

"Mukti," Jyoti had written, "I am simply getting stifled in this cell-like cabin. You don't know how I am missing our garden in Bhowanipur. I miss the gold mohur tree most of all. Here there are neither tree nor garden, nor any friend with whom one can have literary discussions. Water, water everywhere. I don't know why you used to call me a poet. The sight of the deep blue sea, instead of giving me poetic inspiration, is causing me intense discomfort and threatening sea-sickness every moment.

"Tha wicked girl of Bhowanipur being absent, my pen refuses to function properly. I don't think she will like this letter. I am afraid, I am writing utter nonsense, because you are not here to censor me. Your sarcasm and anger always keeps me in the path of righteousness. I am ready to accept any kind of punishment that my sweet judge thinks fit for me and that can be sent on by post.

"The sea looks deep, dark blue to-day. It reminds me of the eyes of a certain girl. Those eyes too are deep blue, almost black, and they were brimming over with tears when I last saw them. Those eyes were not at all like the eyes of my naughty playmate Mukti.

"Somebody left a beautiful box in my room, on the last night I was on shore. I showed it to you, did not I? Nowadays, it reposes in my pocket for the most part. It contained a watch, you may remember. Its lid is of mother of pearl. But though it does not contain a pearl, it serves to remind me of a very beautiful pearl.

"Do you hear from our modern Adonis Dharendra Nath? How is he getting on? How is everybody? How does Miss Mukti pass her time? Has she been giving any parties recently? How many new admirers has she enrolled? Will she be kind enough to spare a bit of her time writing to an exile?

Yours truly
Jyoti."

The naughty girl of Bhowanipur did not sit down at once to write a severe reply. She looked more like the girl, who had shed tears, sitting inside the cabin of a steamer. She did not seem at all anxious to finish the letter. She went on reading and re-reading it over and over.

As she was beginning for the fifth time, her grandmother's voice floated up to her ears from the kitchen, "Mukti, O Mukti," the old body called, "What are you about, sitting in that wet dress, for so long? Change quickly. Do you want to have fever again? Have you no sense at all?"

Mukti wiped her eyes and changed into dry clothes. As she entered the dining room, Mokshada said, "Dhiren had been here for a long time. It was raining so hard, that I did not let him go. He sat talking to your father like a wise old man. He went only a few minutes before you returned. You would have met him, had you returned a bit earlier."

"Oh, it does not matter," said Mukti. "He met father and you, that's sufficient."

"Yes, yes," said the old lady. "No use making two much fuss over anyone. Still as he is quite young for all his old airs, I thought, he would have enjoyed it more, had you been at home."

"He is very careful to hide his partiality then," thought Mukti to herself. But she said nothing to the old lady, and ran up to her room, after finishing her dinner.

The English mail would not go, till two days after. But Mukti sat down to write to Jyoti that very night. She thought and thought before putting pen to paper. How was she to address Jyoti? What was she to write? After much thought, she decided to adopt her old playful style. She felt very shy as yet to write as she wanted to. After many jokes and jests, she wrote, "That naughty girl of Bhowanipur, is exceedingly glad to receive your letter. Its tone is very romantic and she wants to send you a potful of sweets, only it cannot be done."

"And who may the blue-eyed beauty be who sat weeping in your cabin? I am very much interested in her. Cannot you send further details?"

"Dhiren Babu has become quite friendly now. He also is in Darjeeling. But I am sorry to say, your friend's face has lost none of its preternatural gravity."

When Mukti had finished about ten sheets, her head began to feel very heavy. It began

to ache too. Mukti began to feel very nervous. She hoped she was not going to have fever again. She put out the light, drew the blankets up to her chin and tried to sleep. But the abominable headache would not let her sleep. She passed an extremely uneasy night. Towards the small hours of the morning, she fell into a slumber. After some hours, she woke up to find herself in the grips of influenza again. She felt more afraid of her grandmother's scoldings than of the fever, and so lay still.

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Though Dhiren was very modern in his opinions and views, yet his manners were hopelessly countrified. He had lost his parents, early in life, and his sole guardian was his uncle, a gentleman renowned for his orthodoxy. So, though Dhiren had lived a good many years in Calcutta, in order to receive a good education, he had never mixed in modern Bengali society. Jyoti was a fellow student of his, and Mokshada's paternal home was situated in the very village, where Dhiren's uncle lived. Mokshada had invited him to Mukti's birthday party. This was Dhiren's first introduction into society.

Dhiren had never talked to unrelated ladies before this. Even at home he was shy and silent. His sisters-in-law gave him many nicknames for this and cracked many jokes. Still, Dhiren had remained the same.

He had never met a girl of Mukti's type before. She had attracted his attention at first sight. He found her exquisitely charming. She was so pretty and so smart! But need we give the reasons, why at certain times, a certain young man finds a certain young woman quite wonderful? This is a very old custom. Dhiren first saw her in the Botanical Gardens, then he had the good fortune to see her again and once again. Her manners were so easy and pleasant, her smile so sweet, her talk so delightful! He had never met a girl like her before. The more he saw her, the more fascinated did he become. He wanted very much to become better acquainted with her, but he did not know, how to manage it. His own awkwardness made him ashamed to appear in her presence. He was totally dumb, whenever he chanced by good luck to see her. But Mukti misunderstood him cruelly. This speechless adoration, she took

to be the cool criticism of a man of the world.

In Darjeeling, Dhiren found Mukti much more easily accessible. He found himself welcomed as one of the family. But the results were rather deplorable for him. Shiveswar liked him very much and used to converse with him on all subjects. Mokshada made much of him and pressed him to take all sorts of home-made delicacies. Even Mukti made tea herself for him and had one day cooked him a good breakfast. Dhiren's heart became quite full, whenever he thought of this. The number of his calls at Shiveswar's house began to increase very much in number, and his taciturnity began to decrease.

Human beings have been playing the game of self-deception ever since they came on earth. Auto-suggestion is no modern invention. If you once take it into your head that people hold you in slight esteem, you will soon begin to see crooked smiles and glances all around you. Similarly if you believe that someone is loving you, you soon begin to find innumerable signs, which escape other peoples' eyes.

Dhiren was falling in love with Mukti very fast. So he began to deceive himself more and more. The first day, he went to Shiveswar's house in Bhowanipur, he had found Mukti, standing by the door. The incident had not conveyed any special meaning to him then, but now he began to invest with special significance. Then that incident of giving him a lift in their car to the hostel from the Picture Palace. Surely it was not Jyoti alone, who had been so kind to him? As for Shiveswar and his mother, they loved him plainly enough. Mukti too, had chosen him of all persons, to help her take Shiveswar home. Was not it a sign of preference? He forgot conveniently that he had been the very first person, she had met. And had not the roses he left surreptitiously another day, been preserved carefully by her in their best flower vase? She had not thrown them away.

He soon made himself believe that the whole Ganguli family was very partial to him. On three occasions he had noticed Mukti, looking out of her window, as if waiting for his arrival. She knew he would come just at that time, so she could not have been waiting for anybody else. Another day, she had been so friendly to him. "Dhiren Babu," she had cried, as soon as he entered, "we

saw such a funny sight yesterday. A pahari marriage procession was passing and they carried the bride in a sort of coffin-like construction. It was hard to believe that there was a living person inside. I missed you awfully Dhiren Babu. I wish, you could have seen it. If you had lived nearer, I would have sent for you."

"So she missed me, did she?" thought Dhiren. "If she had not liked me, she would not have spoken so." Poor Dhiren had never mixed in the society of young ladies, and he took everything that Mukti said, very seriously. He made too much of polite phrases.

But he was afraid to come to any definite conclusion. He could hardly do so without any encouragement. He thought and thought and did very little else. But he was too shy to talk to Mukti on any personal subject. He was always tongue-tied in the presence of ladies, even to Mokshada, he could not talk freely. So he remained silent, though his heart became full to overflowing. He treasured every look and every word of Mukti. He conversed with himself about her. Sometimes, Mukti too took part in these imaginary conversations. Thus he created an imaginary world, in which he lived and talked with his love.

Whenever he went out now, he would pass Shiveswar's house. That day, while coming down from Jalapahar, he thought he saw Mukti, sitting on an arm-chair, with a blanket enfolding her. He knew Mukti went out every morning, so he felt a bit surprised at this sight. So he walked in, and stood before the dining-room door, hesitating. Mokshada was inside, arranging some cauliflower flowers and peas in a basket, and she looked up at the sound of his foot-steps. "Oh, is that you Dhiren?" she said with a smile, "come in, come in. Have you just returned from your morning walk? Our Mukti has got fever again. She could not go out and is sitting inside. Go in and see her."

Dhiren was eager enough to go and see her, still he felt a bit shy. He stood a few minutes conversing with Mokshada, then went up the red gravelly path to the drawing room. Mukti had been sitting by that window, ever since the morning and she had grown tired of looking at the passing hillmen. There was nobody to talk to and she could not read, for fear of her father and grandmother. So the sight of Dhiren cheered her up considerably. "Oh, is that you Dhiren

Babu?" she cried, "come in, come in. A visitor seems to me a godsend now. I was about to die of sheer ennui. Nobody has been to see me. But how kind of you to call. You are a born philanthropist."

Mukti pointed to a chair, so Dhiren understood that she wanted him to stay. He sat down, but he was completely at a loss for words. It was his duty to cheer up the lonely invalid, but what was he to say to her? Mukti came to his rescue, by asking "Where did you go in the morning?"

"I had been to the cantonment," said Dhiren, "I like to watch the soldier's at target practice."

Mukti was very curious to know what kind of an affair that was. Dhiren began to describe it to her. The subject was one, with which he was familiar, so he did not lack words now. He had always felt himself inferior to Mukti, whenever he had any opportunity of talking to her. But now the position had been reversed. He was bent on making an impression on Mukti and talked on, for all he was worth. In Calcutta too, he had been an interested spectator of all military parades and manoeuvres. In his hostel he was the recognized authority on all such subjects. So it was not at all difficult for him to impress this girl deeply, with the abundance of his knowledge.

"You would have certainly become a field-marshal by this time, had you happened to be born in England," said Mukti at last. "How did you manage to gather so much information? It was extremely interesting."

Dhiren's heart sang with gladness at this sweet praise. "Oh, it's nothing," he stammered, "one comes across all sorts of information, if one goes about a big town."

As he got up to go, Mukti seemed to regret his departure. "I shall have to sit alone again," she said, "Illness is so tedious! Every one else walks about according to his or her sweet will, I alone am condemned to sit in this hole. The morning is the worst of all. The whole day lies before you."

Dhiren hesitated a bit, then said "Tomorrow, I shall pass by this way again. I may drop in here."

Mukti laughed to herself at his manner of expressing his eagerness to come. "You are very kind," she said. "Very few people are willing to waste their time entertaining sick people."

"Oh, please don't think I am doing anything uncommon," said Dhiren. "In our

hostel, it is quite a part of the day's work to look after invalids and cheer them up." This was as near to a pretty speech as he could get.

Next morning, he was there even before they had tea. Mukti's fever was still continuing. So Dhiren came the next day and the next. The day, she really got well and went out to sit in the bit of garden they had, Dhiren was again punctual in his visit.

"You are four minutes late," laughed Mukti as soon as she saw him.

Dhiren was surprised. "Do you notice the time, whenever I come?" he asked.

"What else can I do?" asked Mukti, "I have so few visitors. So I pass my time, looking for them."

Dhiren did not know what exactly she meant. But he felt very glad.

(20)

It was nearly evening and the sun's slanting rays fell on the balcony of the first floor of Shiveswar's house. A girl was sitting in a corner, in the midst of a miniature grove of roses and ferns, in order to shelter herself from the heat. She had a book on her lap, but her eyes were elsewhere and so was her mind.

We know the young lady very well. Is not she the laughing and prattling Mukti? But she seemed a bit changed. The look in her eyes was no longer that of a child, it held a certain depth, her gay vivacity had given place to the serious demeanour of a woman.

"Mukti!" someone called from inside.

"Here I am father," cried Mukti in return, but before she could get up and go in, Shiveswar himself came out on the balcony, and stood leaning against the iron railings.

The father too, was changed very much in appearance. Shiveswar had always possessed a very fair complexion, but now his skin looked like parchment. His tall figure had a slight stoop and his hair was turning gray at the temples. The house, the garden, the inmates, the servants, all were there as before, still the whole place looked different. All joy seemed to have gone out of it.

Shiveswar had just got up from a long spell of sickness. The doctor had not yet given him permission to stir out of his rooms. His health had been declining for the past few years. But he was not a man to give in to sickness or fatigue, unless absolutely compelled. Whenever he felt

too weary to stir hand or foot, he would goad himself into working harder, thinking nothing was the matter with him, except the inherent sloth of Asiatics. He was not too old to work, by any means and he angrily refused all advice, which suggested retirement.

The trip to Darjeeling the year before, had improved his health a good deal. But on his return he strained himself too much, with the result that he became very much worse soon after.

His mother began to feel extremely anxious about him. But she had no influence over Shiveswar. She would talk and scold and reason, all to no purpose. Shiveswar would try to listen but after a while, he would walk out abruptly, without giving her any definite answer. The old lady would wipe her eyes and think "He never listens to anyone. Had his poor wife lived, she might have exercised some control over him." She would recall with regret now, that long lost, long forgotten, daughter-in-law, who spoke so little, yet who alone could make her stubborn son see reason.

It was difficult to know, how much Shiveswar himself missed his wife, for during these long eighteen years, he had never talked about her to anyone. Once, only, when Mukti was but a tiny child, she had run in eagerly to her father, after seeing the beautiful mother of one of her classmates. "Was my mother too, as beautiful as Toonoo's mother?" she had asked.

Shiveswar had picked her up, in his arms and replied "My little mother, your mother was more beautiful and wonderful, than any person I have ever seen."

Mukti had left the college hostel for good. She continued her studies as a day scholar. When she returned from Darjeeling, there were some talk of going to the hostel again. But her grandmother's opposition became too vehement this time to be resisted. Mukti too, took the old lady's side. She was fed up with that institution and perfectly determined not to go there any more. She was even ready for hunger strike, if her father insisted.

But Shiveswar gave in after a somewhat weak opposition. Both Mukti and her grandmother were surprised. Mukti had made ready for a stubborn fight and she felt rather disappointed at being cheated out of it.

The fact was, Shiveswar was beginning to lose some of his stubbornness with the decline of health and years. In his youth,

he had been ready to sacrifice everything and everybody for the sake of principles. He had sent away the child Mukti to the boarding school, in direct opposition to his mother's will, because he thought it right. Mokshada had cried and so had Mukti. Even Shiveswar's own eyes had not remained dry when he returned after leaving the child there. But the knowledge that he had acted according to his convictions, had served to keep him up.

But now he looked at things from a different angle. His health was declining and he was beginning to feel the need of someone to lean upon. Mukti was the only object of his affections and he could not bear the thought of being parted from her. By the side of her youthful face, he would sometimes see another one in his mind's eye. That face too, was equally young and unscarred by evil. But it was gradually growing dim, as if a mist was enveloping it.

Shiveswar had another reason for keeping Mukti at home now. In his opinion, the girl was able now to judge between right and wrong and she had been receiving good education too. So the superstitious and idolatrous practices of his mother, would not hurt Mukti much now. But the chief reason was that he could not bear the thought of living alone again, in his big and silent house. He had few persons, whom he could call his own, and he wanted those few round him now.

So it was settled, that Mukti was to stay at home. The decision pleased everyone concerned.

Shiveswar understood very soon that he had done a wise thing by keeping his daughter at home. When Mukti had been away, he used to return from the court to meet the bearded faces of his boy and bearer and receive their salaams. He had to spend his evenings alone in the large gloomy house, and curse his own hard luck. But now-a-days, things had changed, very much for the better. There was Mukti to welcome him, with her smiling face. His evenings were not so dull, as before. He sat in Mukti's room, listening to her ceaseless talk and joining in it now and then. His mother too, would come in sometime, but she would not stay long, as she understood very little of their learned conversation. But Shiveswar never beat a retreat. If Mukti talked about the border of her newest sari or the cut of her friend's blouse, he would find it no less

interesting than her criticism of Continental authors. Mukti had no friends of her own age and sex, so she had to talk to her father on all sorts of subjects. Shiveswar too, had begun to like it.

Shiveswar's illness nearly drove his mother frantic. Her son and his daughter had hitherto been the sole objects of her affection. Shiveswar used to make her furious very frequently, by his heterodox ways, but she was immensely proud of him, for all that. She had gone away from him, in anger, time after time, to her orthodox relations, but she had returned to him again before long, for the sole reason that he alone filled her life, to the exclusion of everything else. Moreover she had brought up Mukti from the day of her birth and she fought a ceaseless fight with her son, to keep the child within the folds of orthodoxy.

Mukti had to take entire charge of her father during his illness. Her grandmother was old and distracted with anxiety, so she could not be trusted with anything of importance. Mukti too, felt anxious at times, but with the habitual optimism of youth, she would regain hope and cheerfulness the next moment and go on with her work. Shiveswar could not bear her out of his sight and she too liked to be near him. Mokshada would be in and out of the sick-room all the day long. Her anxiety would not let her remain outside, but the sight of her son's sufferings would soon drive her out again.

There was another constant visitor in the sick-room, that was Dhiren. He had undergone a marked change. He did not look at all like the boy, who used to blush if brought face to face with Mukti and who would leave flowers for her in some hidden corner and escape unobserved. He has become quite one of the family. Mokshada would seem overjoyed whenever he came in. Shiveswar had always been fond of youthful company and he had come to like Dhiren very much. Ever since he had fallen ill, Dhiren had been a regular visitor by his bedside, and he had even put up in the house for a week or so, when Shiveswar was passing through a crisis. His fellow boarders at the hostel had been kidding him about this, ever since. They refused to believe that he had stayed merely from philanthropical motives. Dhiren bore their insinuations and open attacks very patiently. These things would pass off, he mused, but

the memory of the grateful look, which Mukti had cast at him, when he agreed to stay, would remain treasured in his heart for ever.

Readers would understand from this that Dhiren was still very far from being worldly wise. He valued a look from a pair of dark eyes above the friendship and favour of the rich and influential Shiveswar. There are certain types of men who lose all their zest in pursuit when the quarry is within sight, but it was otherwise with Dhiren. Whenever he found any favourable signs, his ardour would increase a hundredfold.

His relations with Mukti had become much easier now. Dhiren was very glad about this, but he was hardly satisfied. He wanted far more than this. Mukti's opinion about him had evidently improved much. She did not think him a boor or a fool now. But was that all she thought about him? Dhiren would have given anything to know, what that slip of a girl thought about him.

Dhiren used to envy the girls very much. They seemed to be self-sufficient. But men were totally different. Some other person would suddenly become far more important to them than their own lives. The more his heart hungered for Mukti, the more her apparent indifference pained him. Thus far and no further, seemed to be her message to him. She had granted him a certain amount of friendship, but would not grant anything more. He could not rest without seeing her every day, but this made him all the more miserable.

It was hard to tell what Mukti really thought about him. But that she thought about him was certain. And it was more than probable that had her thoughts been known, Dhiren would not have cursed his luck. But the poor boy was wholly in the dark. Sometimes he would hope and sometimes he would despair utterly. Mukti was an enigma to him.

He came daily to see Shiveswar, more often than not, he would come twice a day. His perplexities increased every day. Mukti was very anxious about her father, and she was being overstrained too. So Dhiren could not expect, that she would pay him much attention. But could she not spare him even a bit? Would she have behaved like this to a man, she cared for?

But she was changed, saw that clearly enough. He did not know, whether the change boded good or evil for him. He would think and dream, but he could arrive at no solution.

(To be continued)

Religious Poets of Modern Germany

BY HEINRICH MEYER-BENFÉY

THERE is a strong current of religious life running through our time which, without being the outcome of the War, was strengthened by it. It goes for the most part to the old religious communities, and the Roman Catholic Church, the mightiest, the most tenacious and the most adaptive of these organizations, has the greatest success, whereas within the Protestant Churches its influence is more dissolving. On the other hand new societies are rising and spreading, such as Monism, Theosophy, Christian Science; and though some of these can hardly be named religions, properly speaking, they do the same service to their adherents. Also in the literature of our time the religious note is strong and dominant to an uncommon degree. Here I shall not speak of poets in whom old tradition is still alive. So I shall pass over the Christian poets proper, as for example, Gustav Schuler who, with all his delicacy of feeling and his skill in versification, in his religion as well in his poetry, still walks the trodden path. Or Jakob Knip who in his *Living God* brings before our mind in unbroken childlike simplicity and genuineness the religious world of popular, in-rooted Catholicism, with its feasts and pilgrimages, its visions and miracles. I am only thinking of such poets who are not continuators of old tradition, but beginners of new religion, who do not bear the burden of the past or exhaust their strength in fighting against the past, but in whom there is, as Zarathustra says, "the spirit of the child, a new beginning, a holy year." They are less numerous, but more important in the history of mankind, and only among them do we find men of pre-eminent genius.

That which seeks and finds expression in these poets is a new form of religious life. We may call it modern religion, but we cannot speak of the, or of one, modern religion. There is no tendency towards the formation of a congregation round a personal centre. All is free, flowing life with as many centres as there are original, creative minds. Still some common features may be traced, some fundamental differences from

the traditional Christian belief and feeling though we find them just as distinct and vigorous in many who stick to Christianity. These modern men are not merely seeking God, but they have found their God and have him as their personal possession in blissful security. Although their growth is not yet complete, though they are not without longing and desire, for the infinite cannot be comprehended and there are high and low tide in their religious life as everywhere: still their state is different from that seeking and groping without direction which is so widespread in our time. That which is at the bottom of their religion and is common to them all may perhaps be expressed in the formula of Schleiermacher, the great renovator of German theology in the nineteenth century: "immediate vision and experience of the universe", experience of the universe as a unity, experience of ourselves as parts of this all comprehending unity, experience of our connection with each and every being as part of this same unity. In this monism of feeling the term God becomes inessential. It is of little importance whether we shape the object of our feeling in the idea of a personal God or we have it in a pantheistic or an atheistic form and there are cases where we cannot decide which form is prevalent, e.g. Goethe, the prototype of this modern feeling. That which matters is this feeling of universal connectedness with mankind as well as with nature without intermediate link. Whereas the old creed fashions its god as a separate being and opposes him to nature and to man, the modern man knows no beyond, no transcendent god. (Here, "in the midst of our home and our work rolls the sea, and even here lies the other shore waiting to be reached—yes, here is the everlasting present, not distant, not anywhere else".) For him all is a great unity in which opposites are fused. Even the opposition between nature and freedom, though not extinguished, loses its severity and its predominant importance. The rigorous ethics of duty is converted into the ideal of a more natural, instinctive

words and bear presumptuous pride?—Why didst thou not give me two hands full of help, and eyes, double stars of consolation, and the voice of April raining music of kindness?" Hence two ways lie open: Where compassion becomes predominant, the man will choose the way of charity and practical Christianity, of social work; where the artist is superior, he will have to overcome compassion and resolutely accept the world as it is. This has been the way of G. Hauptmann and of Franz Werfel, too, who is now one of our richest and most genuine poets.

If the romanticist Rilke dwells by preference in the darkness of evening or night, ERNST LISSAUER feels at home in the full day. "I am so entirely full of the joy of day: the soft silvery lustre of the moon is but for me the blissful warrant that the sunken sun, though in hidden space, still shines on. She is white with invisible day. She shines the certainty of a new morning." His religion is the religion of day, as it was Goethe's. And like Goethe, so he too, in contrast with the Christian Werfel, is in some sense a heathen. His religion does not centre in altruistic pity; his ideal is man resting in himself and performing his law, the will of God; going through a development which is at the same time natural growth and conscious self-forming. Lissauer is an artist, and his religion, like that of Rabindranath Tagore, is the religion of an artist. The work of an artist is, properly speaking, not something which he makes, but which he receives and realizes; it is a gift from above or from within like the fruit of a tree. "I am a tree and am waiting for the burden to be born out of me. Time floats through my branchery." It is that work of man which is most like the work of God: it is creation in the full sense of the word. So Lissauer's idea of God is fixed by this analogy. God is the creator whose life is indefatigable creating; and creative men are his image, his sons, his co-operators in his work of creation. But that which is really creative is the spirit. So God is spirit, and the Christian symbol which is the centre of Lissauer's symbolism is the descent of the Holy Ghost. Nature as well as mankind is the manifestation of the spirit, and history is a succession of continual outpourings: Eternal Whitsuntide.

Already Lissauer's first volume *The Field* (Der Acker, 1907) contains religious poems; it ends with the "Prayer", which is the first expression of his creed. But the period of

his expressly religious poetry begins with his "Pfingstgesange" (Songs of Whitsuntide), which appeared in the quarterly *Die Tat*, June 1914, just before the War. Then, Lissauer was carried away by the shock of the War which he had long felt coming; but he soon found his way back into his own world, the inner realm, and in the first winter of the War he wrote his first Psalms which were published in *Die Tat*, June 1916 and 1917, and afterwards incorporated in the book *Eternal Whitsuntide* (1919). They are on the whole testimony about God and express different aspects of his being. "The Psalm of Abundance." "The Psalm of Slowness." "Thou God whom I believe in, art not a God of haste; thou art a slow God and thy blessing is with the leisure. The rash and hasty are unholy before thee. Thou whom I confess, burning in the white light of thy intuition—let them run and lose themselves in their haste; I look on them in astonished calmness. I have time, for I have eternity.—Thou hast not botched up the world as a jobber. Through thousand-year-days didst thou sit in meditation, looking before thee; then thou hast moved heavily and begun to build and hast joined and joined together, through thousand-year-days.—Long, long is all growing and full of slowness. Slowly grows the root, that it may thrive to the summit; slowly grow the mountains, layer upon layer; slowly grow the peoples, generations upon generation; slowly grows the custom, slowly grows the law, slowly grows the song and myth of the nations." Lissauer is aware that we cannot get a cognition of God's essence; we are only touched by him in our feeling. "Thou God whom I believe in, I cannot understand thy word; but sometimes I feel it wafted through me. God, I cannot comprehend thy being, but sometimes I feel it burning me. Never do I behold thee, God whom I believe in; but sometimes I feel as if I mirrored thee." But man has to prepare himself for this visitation. And so the monition hangs constantly like a sword above his head: "Thou shalt build round thee a wide stillness in which thou dwellest that I may dwell in thee. Thou shalt make thyself habitable for my will—that is my will."

The *Pfingstgesange* which open the volume are still more programmatic. The outpouring of the Spirit did not happen once in history, it goes on continually throughout the centuries. The Pentecostal flames wander above countries and times, unseen by common

men, and descend on the elect—on Homer, on Francis of Assisi, on Luther, on Beethoven, filling them with the drunkenness of ecstasy, till they are bursting with creative forces. That which is outlined in this poem "The Outpourings", is fully carried out in the central and main part of the book *Creators*. This consists of short poems, where the figures of great historical personages are presented in vivid silhouette—a form of Lissauer's invention, quite different from the common ballad; a hall with statues placed side by side without a definite plan. Here we may meet with poets and artists from Homer to Bruckner, and among them some men great in the history of religion. Some of these representations are expanded to small cycles, as that of Luther, Goethe, Beethoven; larger cycles which fill each a separate volume have grown up round the great musicians J. S. Bach and Bruckner. But Lissauer is not an aristocrat like Nietzsche; in history he does not only see the great individuals, but his eye dwells with the same love on the people, not the multitude, as is the object of Socialism, but the people as a mystical collective personality, which is creative in myth and song, in custom and law, and which sometimes becomes active in the great movements of history, as in the Peasants' Revolt (1525) or in the Prussian people's War of Liberation against Napoleon. So the year "1813", that of the greatest rising of the German nation in modern times, too, is represented in a lyrical cycle, the religious source of the movement being strongly accentuated. It is a "Whitsuntide of the people", and Yorck in "Tauroggen", who is the originator of the movement, retires before acting in solitary prayer and places the decision in the hands of God, as he is striving not for his own fame, but for the rescue of his country: then on a sudden he feels power rising from the soil, he feels himself grow at one with the country and he hears the command urging him forward.

Eternal Whitsuntide is the most expressedly religious work of Lissauer, but we find religious poems in his other volumes too, especially in the more recent collections of pure lyrics: *The Interior Way* (1920)

and *Flames and Winds* (1923). And by the side of this poetry there is a large stock of religious prose, of prophetic oratory, not published in a book. I think that the spirit which manifests itself in Lissauer's work will play a considerable part in the spiritual revival of our people. It is the religion of active, creative life and of love of the community.

The religious element in modern German literature is, of course, not confined to these three poets. The development of modern life and feeling cannot be traced without mentioning Nietzsche who, without being a religious poet properly speaking, is full of religious fervour and who in his *Zarathustra-Book* has given us a masterpiece of prophetic oratory. Richard Dehmel belongs to this series; many of his later poems; many German would here mention Stefan George who certainly is one of the integrant poets of modern Germany and in whose work the religious note is more and more conspicuous. The feeling for nature, not so prominent in the three poets here chosen, has its special poet in Ina Seidel *Weltinnigkeit* (1918), and I could add some less known women poets, as well as some very fine poems of Ricarda Huch. Christian Morgenstern has written some very quaint mystical poems. The mastering of sorrow by inward strength of soul by living it through to the very bottom, by diving into these depths where joy and sorrow seem to be of one essence this is sung by Wilhelmine Funke in her enthusiastic *Hymns of Death and of Life* (1921). Still this note is sounded stronger in some of Lissauer's poems. A whole group of poets appeared before the public under the name of the "Workmen of House Nyland," for the first time with the war-gift, *The Burning People* (1916). Numerous poets were procreated or raised to publicity by the war, mostly quite young men, not a few from the labouring classes, and many of them were carried off before maturity. Still I believe that Lissauer and Werfel surpass all their contemporaries in religious substance as well as in artistic quality, and that on them, above all, the worth of our literature depends.

Wooden Sculpture of Ancient Bengal

By N. K. BHATTASALI M.A.

Curator, Dacca Museum

BARAHAMIHIRA, author of the famous compendium Brihatsamhita, directs that images for worship are to be made of metal, wood, stone or clay. Stone images have been found in such surprising profusion in this stoneless country of Bengal, that one wonders how it was possible for this flourishing craft to go out like a lamp with the advent of the Muhammadans: It did go out, without question. Images of the period between 1100 and 1200 A.D. can be counted by thousands, while it is difficult to enumerate more than a few that can be ascribed to 1200-1300 A.D.

The art perished, but the productions of art remained, thrown into the nearest tank or ditch at the time of the Muslim invasion, and thus preserved to posterity. The laudable efforts of Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore have succeeded in reviving the indigenous method of painting. It is indeed regrettable that the

pre-Muhammadan days? To seek for an answer to this question, the inquirer will have to come to the neglected Museum of Dacca, which is the only institution of Bengal which has succeeded in collecting



Fig. 1

numerous well-preserved samples of the lost art of sculpture in the Museums of Rajshahi, Dacca and Bangiya Sahitya Parisat of Calcutta do not inspire artistically-minded Bengalis to attempt to make this noble art live again.

If one wants to know how Bengal sculptors carved in stone, one has only to go to the Museums named above. The collection at the Indian Museum is very deficient in Bengal sculpture, though the present Superintendent, Rai Ramaprasad Chanda Bahadur is making heroic attempts to remove this defect. But how did the artists carve in wood in



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

a number of very valuable samples of pre-Muhammadan wooden sculpture.

- Fig. 1 illustrates a marvellously well-executed piece of carving in wood

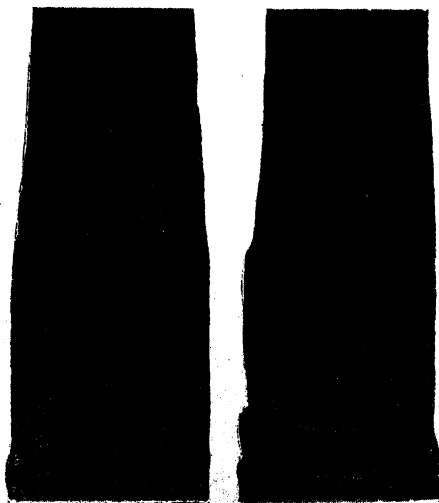


Fig. 5

intended to form the capital of a pillar. It was found under the loam of a very old tank in Vikrampur in the Dacca District. On the tank stand the ruins of an ancient pre-Muhammadan temple.

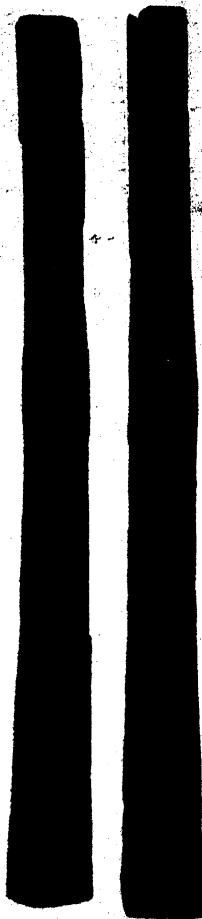


Fig. 4

commonly called *Deul*. Numerous antiquities have been discovered from time to time from these ruins, the most remarkable being a monolithic pillar of granite, two feet square at the base and about eighteen feet long. A huge pillar like this is indeed a wonder in low-lying East Bengal.

The wooden capital has been very much eaten into by loam but the four-armed figure of god Vishnu, seated in the centre in a

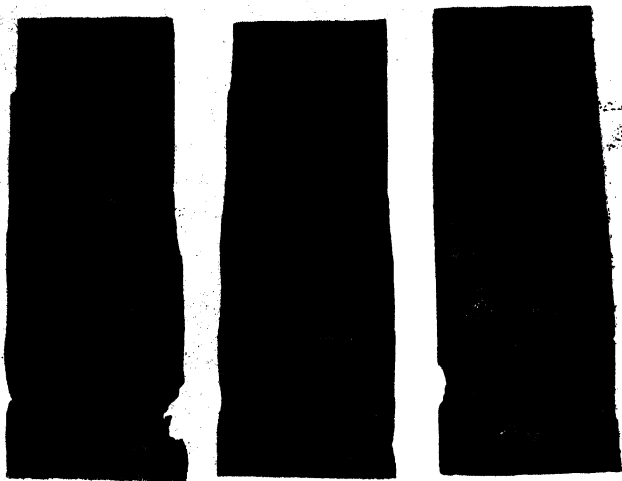


Fig. 6

Fig. 4 depicts two carved wooden pillars each about 11 feet in height. They were discovered at the southern end of the great artificial lake at Rampal, the site of the ancient capital of Bengal under the Munsiganj police station of the Dacca District.

The carvings of the remaining three faces of Pillar No. 1 are illustrated on fig. 5.

Fig. 6 illustrates the carvings on the remaining three faces of pillar No. 2. Face I of this pillar, illustrated on figure 4, depicts a well-carved Krittikumha, a familiar device of the pre-Muhammadan days. Face II depicts a nautch-girl, in almost an

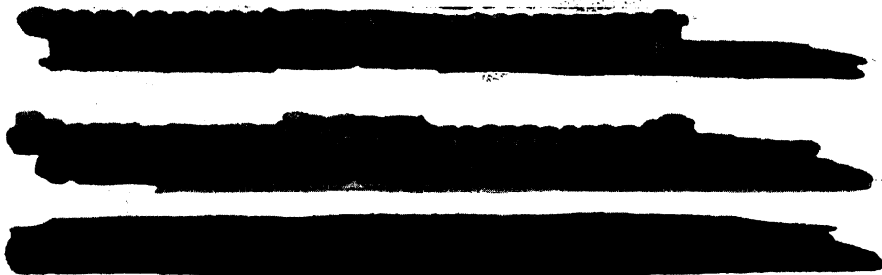


Fig. 7

meditative pose can still be distinguished. The few patches where the original carving is still intact look like fine needle-work or ivory carving. The whole is a fine artistic piece of carving of pleasing proportions.

Fig. 2 represents god Vishnu standing in the conventional pose. It was discovered from a village under the Muradnagar police station of the Tippera district and presented to the Dacca Museum by Mr. J. C. French, I. C. S. The piece is so weather-worn that it is not possible to form a correct estimate of its artistic merits.

Fig. 3 represents the half-bird, half-man Garuda, the vehicle of the god Vishnu. The face beams with a happy intelligence that does one's heart good to behold and speaks volumes for the skill of the artist who fashioned it.

acrobatic pose. Face III depicts two amazons shooting at birds. Face IV is occupied by foliage.

It should be noted that in decorative designs at the middle and at the top, the two pillars differ from each other. This would suggest that they were not a pair but the odd ones of perhaps two different pairs. The details of the lotus designs at the base are also different in the two pillars.

The latest acquisition, a massive carved lintel, measuring 10' 10" x 8" x 9" is depicted on fig. 7. The door of the frame of which this was the top-piece was 8' x 7" wide. This lintel was recovered from the loam of a tank just below the ruins of a pre-Muhammadan temple at the village of Nateswar in Vikram-pur (Dacca). The design is the old

familiar one so often met with on stone door-frames of the period, of a pair of cobras intertwined and raising their hoods. The carving, though in low relief, is very fine and is so well-preserved that even the scales of the cobras are even now distinct.

India House

By L. M. CHITALE, A. R. I. B. A., A. M. T. P. I.

IT is of great interest to read the short debate in the House of Commons and the announcements made in the press regarding the India House that is going to be built in London in a few day's time. It is a great ideal and perhaps will have a far reaching effect on the mutual understanding of the two great communities of the Empire. Yet, there are a few fundamental facts involved regarding the aesthetic considerations of the House with due regard to India's artistic inheritance, and an application of Indian intellect and labour in every aspect concerned therewith.

The question before us is that whether the India House should be purely an Indian product exhibiting and demonstrating the Indian artistic merit the world is speaking of, or whether it should be a symbolism of western architecture.

We know from historical facts that opportunities when seen, are given and not created. During the Great War, Indian people starved, fought and died; but what after all? Did England ever build a memorial for them that will remind us in London of their self-sacrifice for the Empire? What is, after all, life, its aims and objects, if they cannot be responded to by sympathetic words and effective actions that stimulate, feed and nourish human brains. It seems to us that the opportunities of the Indian memorial in one form or other has been lost whether consciously or unconsciously, but we cannot afford to see these facts completely ignored any more. If the Empire ideal really stands for purity and justice, freedom and equality, this opportunity that has to cost

India about £390,000 is the time to take the advantage of and subscribe for India's sake and Great Britain.

It is a recognised fact that the western art ideal is not a better substitute for the Indian art ideal. Then is it not logical and impartial to have the ideal purely Indian, and encourage Indian architects (as inventors of the whole mechanism) who did wonders in the past and are still capable of doing things? The glory of Indian architecture was due to hereditary art instincts, old teachings and practice, and not the western ones in the least. Again the interpretation of Indian architecture by a European is impossible, as he has refused, and still refuses to understand India from within. It is only possible, then, if Indian architects are entrusted to do so.

The collaboration of an Indian architect with a British architect will perhaps be necessary as the building has to be built in London. If we are not mistaken, most of the Houses built for other Dominions, such as Australia, Canada and New Zealand, had their own architects working in collaboration with British architects. It is possible to do likewise in this matter. The main point is to protect every Indian interest in its ideal and detail.

Considering the British Empire on the whole, India is the only country that has got and preserved its own individuality. India, perhaps the oldest nation and again the greatest unit of the Empire population, must represent India as India, no matter whether in Europe or in any other part of the globe. If we have to lead to impartial and logical judgment and critic-

sm in the face of the world races, we must give due respect to the India House that will speak of those wonderful art treasures of India so that to feel and think that India is with us, for us and for them, for the benefit of the societies of the

Empire and world societies in general. We sincerely hope that due consideration will be given to the facts, and that they will not be treated as merely a passing notice as it has always been.

Prof. Jadunath Sinha's Rejoinder

To

The Editor,

The Modern Review.

Sir,

I have given you much trouble in requesting you to publish my letters in connection with my controversy with Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. But I assure you, this is my last letter. And I shall be very much obliged if you will kindly publish it in your esteemed journal.

I am thankful again to Dr. Radhakrishnan for his reply to my second letter published in the February number of the *Modern Review*. He seems to be very much upset by my letters. He has not been able to ignore them. He has broken his habitual silence and replied to both of them. I am extremely sorry that I have been dragged into this unfortunate controversy by an unusual contingency. Nobody would like to see an enormous portion of his unpublished book appear beforehand in the work of somebody else, who had access to his manuscript. In fact, the passages from my thesis, which have been incorporated by Dr. Radhakrishnan in his work, are too many to be pointed out. I have given only a few passages in my two letters as samples of his unacknowledged borrowings from my thesis. In my first letter I have quoted those passages from Dr. Radhakrishnan's work borrowed from my thesis, which are printed in small type. In my second letter I have quoted many passages from his book, which are printed in bold type. No journal would agree to publish all the passages. But Dr. Radhakrishnan says "Mr. Sinha seems to have felt that his attempt so far as textual renderings were concerned, was not quite successful and so is anxious to make out in the second letter that he is giving his 'own interpretations' in several passages." (*Modern Review*, March, 1929, p. 321). I need not remind the reader that in my first letter I requested the Editor of the *Modern Review* "to allow me, on a future occasion, to give further proofs of his unacknowledged borrowings" (*M. R.*, Jan., 1929, p. 100). I had written my second letter before I read Dr. Radhakrishnan's reply to my first letter. My second letter and his first reply were published together in the February number of the *Modern Review*. I had to follow certain order in writing these letters. My first letter contained many textual renderings and some interpretations. My

second letter contained some textual renderings and several interpretations. Dr. Radhakrishnan has no reason to think that I wrote my second letter because I felt that I could not succeed in making out my case in my first letter.

There is such a striking similarity in the parallel passages given in my letters that it is impossible for one to think that they are independent of each other. Dr. Radhakrishnan is fully conscious of it. So, in his first reply he threw out a hint that he had delivered lectures on many topics discussed in his *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II., which were incorporated by me in my thesis. He specially mentioned his lectures on the Samkhya theory of Self-consciousness and the Mimamsaka theory of Knowledge, because they were discussed by me in that part of my thesis, which had been published in the *Meerut College Magazine*, long before the publication of his work. I have already given a fitting reply to this insinuation. (*M. R.*, March, 1929, pp. 372-376). I have shown how his 'original' lectures on the Mimamsaka theory of the Self incorporated in his book were reproduced almost *verbatim* not only from the published portion of my thesis, but also from the works of such eminent scholars as Dr. G. Thibaut and Dr. Ganganath Jha without acknowledgment. (*Ibid.*, pp. 373-376). Dr. Radhakrishnan knows full well how far his plea of University lectures will stand. So, he has not pressed this point further in his second reply. He is wisely silent on it in spite of the Editor's note on this point in the February number of the *Modern Review*.

The published passages from my thesis given in my letters are extremely discomforting to Dr. Radhakrishnan. They are the most convincing proofs of his unacknowledged borrowings from my thesis. So he has tried in all possible ways to explain away the close similarity between his version and mine with regard to the published passages. He does not attach any importance to the unpublished passages from my thesis. But I have already said that an examinee is not expected to take every precaution so that his thesis may not be tampered with by an unscrupulous examiner, if any. It was by mere chance that some portions of my thesis had been published before the publication of Dr. Radhakrishnan's work. And when so many passages from the published portion of my thesis have been shown to be reproduced

almost *verbatim* from my thesis, there is no special reason why he should not borrow from the unpublished portion of my thesis as well.

After the publication of my first letter a Professor of the Calcutta University requested me, on behalf of Dr. Radhakrishnan, to place all the published portions of my thesis in the hands of the great doctor, so that he might have "a fair opportunity to offer a reply" if he desired to do so. I could not oblige Dr. Radhakrishnan, for I had not finished saying what I had to say on the published portion of my thesis. Besides, I could not understand the logic of it. Why should Dr. Radhakrishnan require only the published portions of my thesis to formulate his reply? Obviously because they cannot be lightly disposed of. Moreover, why should he require my thesis at all to offer his reply? He is the best person to know whether he used my thesis in writing his book or not. Anyone can clearly see through his anxiety to get hold of all the published portions of my thesis.

Now, let me consider the passages in my version.

1-3. "None of the sentences is a translation of any Sanskrit passage. The whole extract is my own interpretation of Prabhākara's doctrine as elaborated in *Prakaranapañcika* on p. 56 (ch. S. S.)." (*M. R.*, February, 1929, p. 214). Dr. Radhakrishnan has not given any explanation of his *verbatim* reproduction of this passage from my thesis in his book. He invites the reader to judge for himself whether it is my interpretation or mere translation of a certain text. He quotes the text from *Prakaranapañcika* referred to by me.

Sarvairēva jñānāhetubhir ātmani sākṣatkāraṇatī dhr upajānyate . sarvatra prameyasāpārōkṣatvani-
anābhāvat. Smṛtiṣvanumāntāreṣu ca na prameyam
aparōkṣam. . . sarvas ca pratitayaḥ svayam pratyakṣāḥ
prakāśante.

He does not give its English translation. It may be rendered into English as follows:

"Direct knowledge is produced in the self by all the causes of cognitions... Because the object of knowledge is not directly apprehended everywhere... All experiences are manifested as perceived by themselves."

Dr. Ganganath Jha interprets the same text in the following manner:

"In all cognitions,—be they either *Direct Apprehension* or *Remembrance*,—the 'apprehender' always appears as a constituent factor; so long as the apprehending soul does not become manifest, there is no *apprehension* at all; because all cognitions are in the form 'I know'. It must be admitted, therefore, that whenever anything is cognised, it is cognised along with the cogniser himself; and the cognition of the Soul is always of the nature of direct Apprehension; even when the cognition of the object is *inferential* or *verbal*, that of the cognising Soul is in every act of cognition, purely *perceptual* or *direct*. The third factor—that of 'apprehension' itself—is always *self-cognised*, by direct apprehension; even the *inferential cognition* is cognised by itself *directly*." (*The Prabhākara School of Pūrva Mīmāṃsā*, p. 40).

Dr. S. N. Das Gupta interprets the same text in the following manner:

"All knowledge whether perceptual, inferential or of any other kind must necessarily reveal the

self or the knower directly. Thus as in all knowledge the self is directly and immediately perceived, all knowledge may be regarded as perception from the point of view of self. The division of the *pramāṇas* as *pratyakṣa* (perception), *anumāna* (inference), etc. is from the point of view of the objects of knowledge with reference to the varying modes in which they are brought within the purview of knowledge." (*History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I., pp. 382-383).

I have interpreted the text in the following way:

"But though there is always a direct and immediate knowledge of the self in every act of cognition, there is not always a direct and immediate knowledge of the not-self or an external object. An object is not directly presented to consciousness in recollection and inference. Though in indirect knowledge its object is not directly presented to consciousness, yet the indirect knowledge itself is *directly* presented to consciousness." (*Meerut College Magazine*, January, 1924, p. 92).

Dr. Radhakrishnan has reproduced it as follows:

"While there is always a direct and immediate knowledge of self in every act of cognition, there is not always a direct and immediate knowledge of the not-self or the object. In recollection and inference the object is not directly presented to consciousness. Though in indirect knowledge the object is not directly presented to consciousness, yet the indirect knowledge itself is directly presented to consciousness." (*Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II., 1927, p. 395).

Thus there is a substantial difference in the versions of Dr. Jha, Dr. Das Gupta and myself, though they are interpretations of the same text. But Dr. Radhakrishnan's version is a *verbatim* reproduction of mine. Besides, he has omitted certain sentences quoted by him from *Prakaranapañcika*. So, how could he single out different sentences from the text and bring out their significance exactly in the same language as mine?

4-7. "None of these sentences is a translation of any Sanskrit passage. The whole extract is my own interpretation of Kumarila's doctrine" (*Modern Review*, February, 1929, p. 214). I did not refer to the text which was interpreted by me in these passages. Dr. Radhakrishnan cites the text from *Sāstra-dīpikā*.

Ye tu kartṛtayaiva ātmasiddhir na karmatyaye-
tyāluḥ, teṣāṃ ātmani smaraṇapratyabhijñāne
nopapadyeyātām, tatrāpi hi pūrvakālasambandhit-
venātmanah pratibhāso'ngikarāpiyah na ca sāmprate
smaraṇe pūrvakālasambandhinah kartṛtvam sambha-
vattī katham kartṛtayaḥ siddhyet. Tasmād ahaṃ-
pratyayakarmataiyaiva ātmanah siddhiḥ. *Sāstra-
dīpikā*, p. 352, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series.

Here again he has not given the translation. It may be rendered into English as follows:

"Those who hold that the self is established as the agent and not as the object, cannot account for the recollection and recognition of the self, for there too the apprehension of the self as related to the past time must be admitted: in the present recollection the agency of what is related to the past time is not possible: how, then, can the self be established as the agent? Hence, the

self must be established as an object of self-consciousness."

My version is not at all a translation of the above text. It is my interpretation of it. There is no text of which the following passage is a translation. "It is the self apprehended as the object of previous perception that is re-presented to consciousness as the object of present recollection and recognition. If, in the recognition of the self, the self is not known as the object of recognition, then the act of recognition would be without an objective basis; it would be objectless. But there can be no consciousness without an object." Nor does *Yuktisnehaprapūṇi* to which also Dr. Radhakrishnan refers bring out the significance of it as I have done. *Ētatkalāsambandhini smarane pūrvakālasambandhinah kartṛtvam na sambhavati ataḥ karmatayaiva siddhiḥ (Yuktisnehaprapūṇi, ch. S. S., p. 352).* The translation of this passage is contained in that of the original text given above. Thus passages 4-7 are my own interpretation of the Sanskrit text in *Śāstraḍṛpikā*, and they have been reproduced *verbatim* by Dr. Radhakrishnan along with their punctuation. But still he wants to prove that they are his own "textual renderings." For the convenience of the reader again both the versions are given below:

"Both in recollection and in recognition it is the object of recollection and recognition that appears in consciousness, and not their subject. It is the self apprehended as an object of previous perception that is re-presented to consciousness as the object of present recollection and recognition. If, in the recognition of the self, the self is not known as the object of recognition, then the act of recognition would be without an objective basis; it would be objectless. But there can be no consciousness without an object. Hence the Bhāṭṭa concludes that the self must be regarded as an object of self-consciousness." (My version, *Meerut College Magazine*, January, 1924, p. 90).

"In the phenomena of recognition and recollection the object appears in consciousness and not the subject. It is the self apprehended as the object of perception that is represented in consciousness as the object of present recollection and recognition. If, in the recognition of the self, the self were not an object, then the act would be objectless, but there can be no consciousness without an object. So the self must be regarded as the object of self-consciousness" (Dr. Radhakrishnan's version, *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, 1927, p. 411).

8-9. "None of these sentences is a translation of any Sanskrit passage. The whole extract is my exposition of a passage in *Nyāyamāñjarī*, p. 430." (*M. R.*, February, 1929, p. 214). Dr. Radhakrishnan complains, "Mr. Sinha here again brings together two sentences from two different pages of his version and gets two of my consecutive sentences and argues that he is stating in them his 'own' exposition." (*Modern Review*, March, 1929, p. 322). Dr. Radhakrishnan's argument is very curious. If he has taken a few scattered sentences from my thesis and connected them together in his book, does it prove that the consecutive sentences in his book are his own? Does originality consist in gathering a number of sentences from different sources and fusing them together into an 'intelligible narrative'? I have already shown how from different pages of Dr. Ganganath Jha's *The Prabhākara School of*

Purva Mīmāṃsā he has borrowed many sentences almost *verbatim*, and connected them together in his own version. He has done the very same thing from many other standard works on Indian philosophy.

However, in this particular case, passages 8-9 in my version also are continuous. Passage No. 8 is a part of a sentence which runs as follows: "If substantiality constitutes the object of consciousness, then the self can never be the subject or knower; for the self is as much a substance as a jar, and if the jar, as a substance, is simply the object of consciousness, but never its subject, then, on the same ground, the self, as a substance, is simply the object of consciousness, but it can never be the subject or knower." (*Meerut College Magazine*, January, 1924, pp. 83-84). Passage No. 9 is just after this sentence in my version. So, here I do not bring together disconnected sentences from different pages. Dr. Radhakrishnan quotes the text from *Nyāyamāñjarī* to which I have referred. *Dravyādi-svarūpe grāhye na jñātari grāhakatā sādhiṭa syāt. Ātnavartino'pi dravyādirūpasya ghaṭādityatvāt.* Rendered into English it stands thus: "The nature of substances (only) being the apprehended object, the knower-hood in the self cannot be established, for the substantiality existing in the self also is like that of a jar and the like." Thus passage No. 8 in my version brings out the significance of this text. It is not a "textual rendering." And Dr. Radhakrishnan has reproduced it *verbatim* in his book.

9. This passage also is my exposition of the next two sentences in *Nyāyamāñjarī*. The text runs as follows: *Yadapi nipuṇammanyairucyate bhavatu jñātrtaiva grāhakastathāpi viṣayopādhi-kṛtastyeva bhedah ghaṭāvaccchinna hi jñātrta grāhya, suddhaiva tu jñātrta grāhiketi. Anyatra tu śuddha-ivṣayagrahaṇameva bhavati ghaṭo'yamiti tadetaditi saralamatipratāraṇamātram.* (*Nyāyamāñjarī*, p. 430). It may be rendered into English as follows: "The so-called expert says, 'Let the knower-hood or consciousness itself be the apprehender; still there is a difference due to the condition of objects: the consciousness determined by a jar is the apprehended, and the consciousness in itself is the apprehender. But elsewhere there is simply the apprehension of an object such as this is a jar? Even this doctrine is nothing but a deception of the credulous.'" Thus it is clear that passage No. 9 in my version is my own exposition of the above text. And it has been incorporated by Dr. Radhakrishnan in his work.

Dr. Radhakrishnan says, "I need not labour the point about 9 as Mr. Sinha himself gives part of the Sanskrit text used" (*Modern Review*, March, 1929, p. 322). This is a very curious argument. Mallinātha's *Saṅgīti* contains texts from Kālidāsa. But does it prove that Mallinātha's commentary is not his own interpretation? Dr. Radhakrishnan's *Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore* is a critical work on Tagore. He gives his own exposition and interpretation by quoting passages from Tagore's works. But does it prove that Dr. Radhakrishnan's work is not his own? There are so many critical works on Shakespeare. All of them interpret the writings of Shakespeare in their own way quoting texts from the original works. Does it prove that they are not the writings of different critics?

Then, again, if one commentator borrows the interpretation of another commentator along with a text from the original work, does it prove that he makes it his own? "No argument is possible."

With regard to passages 8-9 Dr. Radhakrishnan says, "Thus it is clear that the views of the texts are claimed by Mr. Sinha to be his 'own.'" (*Modern Review*, March, p. 322). This, again, is another curious argument of Dr. Radhakrishnan. I have claimed the *exposition* of these texts from *Nyāyamaijari* as my own. I have clearly said that "the whole extract is my *exposition* of a passage in *Nyāyamaijari*, p. 430." (*Modern Review*, February, 1929, p. 214). I have never claimed the "views" expressed in the texts as my "own." In fact, the "views" are not even claimed by Jayanta Bhatta as his own, who has explained and criticized them in *Nyāyamaijari*. Perhaps, Dr. Radhakrishnan gives us here a bit of his humour. He gave us the same humour in his first reply with regard to his "own" exposition of the "views" of Vyāsa, Vācaspati, and Vijñānabhikṣu borrowed *verbatim* from my thesis. He said, "But it is really going a bit too far to suggest that I tried to 'pass them off' as my own, when, as a matter of fact, these views are explicitly attributed to Vyāsa, Vācaspati and Vijñānabhikṣu." (*M. R.*, February, 1929, p. 209). This sort of argument, if it is an argument at all, is not worth any consideration. So, I passed it over. But when the great Doctor repeats the same argument in his second reply I am compelled to take note of it. I need not tell Dr. Radhakrishnan that he wanted to "pass off" his "interpretative exposition" of the views of Vyāsa, Vācaspati, and Vijñānabhikṣu, as his own, though he borrowed it that *verbatim* from part of my thesis, which was published. Here also I do not want to claim the "views" expressed in the texts from *Nyāyamaijari* as my "own", but my "interpretative exposition" of these views. However, I am thankful to Dr. Radhakrishnan for his amusing argument.

10-53. Dr. Radhakrishnan says, "Almost all the unpublished passages relate to texts and any one who reads my versions which are *not close translations but brief summaries* will find enough indications in them to show that they are based on the texts and not on any second-hand sketches of them." (Italics mine, *Modern Review*, March, 1929, p. 321).

Thus his versions are "not close translations but *brief summaries*," while mine are, according to him, *close translations* of Sanskrit texts. I have already said, "faithful translations of the same passage by different persons, are very likely, if not bound, to differ in form." (*M. R.*, March, 1929, p. 371). Even between two faithful translations of the same texts some agreement is possible. But there can never be any similarity between *close translations* and *brief summaries* of the same texts.

Dr. Radhakrishnan has already said, "In all those passages which are not put in quotation marks, I do not try to give the *exact translations* but only the *significance* of the texts referring the interested reader to the sources" (Italics mine). (*Modern Review*, February, 1929, p. 209). And I have already pointed out that "there can never be a close similarity in form between the

translation and the *interpretation* of the same text." (*Ibid.*, p. 372).

Moreover, I have already shown in my two letters that my versions are not close translations of Sanskrit texts, but their *interpretations* which bring out their significance. Dr. Radhakrishnan's versions also, according to his own statement, bring out the significance of texts. But how can there be a close similarity between two independent *interpretations* of the same texts? Thus Dr. Radhakrishnan has failed to explain the striking similarity between his version and mine in spite of his best endeavours.

10-24. With regard to these passages Dr. Radhakrishnan says, "Mr. Sinha's *Modern Review* version does not refer to *Sāstrāḍipikā* from which they are taken, while mine gives the source of *Sāstrāḍipikā* and the pages 158-159 thereof. Besides, my account gives the original of passage 17. Anyathā jñāto mayā ghata itī jñānājneyasambandho jñātājneyasambandho vā na vyavahartum sakyate. Even Mr. Sinha will allow, I hope, that I could not have mentioned this text, if I had depended on his account, which does not contain it" (*Modern Review*, March, 1929, p. 321).

In my *Modern Review* version two texts have been quoted from *Sāstrāḍipikā*: two more texts have been quoted by me in my thesis, on which passages 15 and 22 are based. My thesis contains also the reference to *Sāstrāḍipikā* and its pages for different texts. Even if my thesis contained no reference to *Sāstrāḍipikā* at all, it would not at all be difficult for Dr. Radhakrishnan to find out the texts given in my thesis in *Śloka-vārtika*, *Sāstrāḍipikā* and such other works dealing with the Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṃsaka doctrine of the inferrability of cognitions. But, in fact, my thesis does contain the reference to *Sāstrāḍipikā*. I admit that my thesis does not contain the original text on which passage No. 17 is based. Dr. Radhakrishnan has quoted this text. But is it difficult to find out a text corresponding to its English version, especially when other texts connected with it are found in the same account? To incorporate another's version into one's book and to add something of one's composition to it, or some original text corresponding to a particular passage, may be a very good trick to escape detection of plagiarism. Dr. Radhakrishnan seems to have adopted this means in many places of his works, where he has borrowed his versions from other books. Let me give only one example here by quoting different versions of the same text as follows:

(a) "When a certain fixed or permanent relation has been known to subsist between two things, if we perceive any one of these things, we have an idea of the other thing; and this latter cognition is called *inferential*" (Shabara Bhāṣya, p. 10) (Dr. Gangānāth Jha: *The Prabhākara School of Pūrva Mīmāṃsā*, p. 42).

(b) "According to Sabara, when a certain fixed relation has been known to subsist between two things, so that if we perceive any one of these things we have an idea of the other thing, this latter cognition is called *inferential*. Jñātasambandhaśyaikadeśadarśanād ekadeśāntare 'sannikṛiṣṭe' rthe buddhih. See also *Prakarana-pañcīkā*, p. 64." (Dr. Radhakrishnan: *Indian Philosophy*, Vol II, p. 386).

Here Dr. Radhakrishnan reproduces *verbatim* the version of Dr. Jha, but claims it as his "own"

by adding the text which has not been quoted by Dr. Jha. Similarly, with regard to passages (10-24) he claims my version as his own by adding a certain text which is not in my version. The insertion of this additional text by Dr. Radhakrishnan only shows that he consulted the original work referred to by me in my account, hunted out a particular passage, and inserted it in his version. It proves nothing beyond it. It by no means proves that he could not have mentioned this text, if he had depended on my account which does not contain it. Nobody could expect such an argument from Dr. Radhakrishnan. Moreover, he has not been able to give even the correct reference. All the arguments involved in passages (10-24) are to be found in the Chowkhamba edition of *Sāstra-dīpikā* used by him on pages 157-159, and not on pages 158-159. So, even his reference is not correct.

Besides, all the passages (10-24) are not translations of Sanskrit texts. For instance, there is no text corresponding to passage No. 10. There is the text in *Sāstra-dīpikā* which runs as follows. *Jñānakriyā hi sakarmikā karmabhūte 'rthe phalam janayati pākādivat, tacca phalamaindriyikas jñan-ajanyamāparokṣyam, lingādijanyam tu pāroksyam.*" (ch. S. S., p. 257). It may be rendered into English thus. "The act of cognition having for its objective an object produces an effect in the object like the act of cooking; and that effect produced by sensuous knowledge is directness (of apprehension), while the effect produced by inferential knowledge and the like is indirectness." Thus passage No. 10, in my version is not at all a translation of the above text, and it has been reproduced *verbatim* by Dr. Radhakrishnan along with the Sanskrit words within brackets. Passage No. 14 is simply a repetition of passage No. 12. There is no separate text in *Sāstra-dīpikā* on which it is based. There is a text much later in *Sāstra-dīpikā* which has been translated by me in passage No. 22. Passages 12, 14, and 22 mean the same thing.

But still because I have repeated the same argument thrice in my thesis, Dr. Radhakrishnan also has done the same.

Passages (12-13) are based upon the text "*jñāna-kriyādvārako yaḥ kartṛbhūtaśyātmanah karmabhūta-sya cārthasya parasparam sambandho vyāptṛvyāpyat-valakṣaṇaḥ sa mānasapratyaksāvagato vijñānam kalpayati, na hyāgantukakāraṇamantareṇātmano 'rtham prati vyāptṛtva utpattumarhati.*" (*Sāstra-dīpikā*, ch. S. S., p. 158). It may be rendered into English as follows. "The relation of the pervader (*vyāptṛ*) and the pervaded (*vyāpya*), which subsists between the self which is the agent of knowledge, and the object which is the objective of knowledge, through the instrumentality of the act of cognition, is apprehended by internal perception, and proves the existence of the cognitive act; without an accessory cause the self's relation to the object, in the form of that of the pervader to the pervaded, cannot be produced." I have not explained the nature of the relation between the self and the object (*vyāptṛvyāpyatvalakṣaṇasambandha*). I have brought out the significance of the

above text in passages 12-13. And Dr. Radhakrishnan also has brought out the significance of the text exactly in the same way.

Dr. Ganganath Jha interprets the above text in the following way:

"Every act of Perception involves a certain relationship between the *perceiver* and the *perceived*,—the former being the agent, and the latter the object of that act; this agent-and-object relationship is not possible without some activity on the part of the agent; hence the presence of this relationship leads to the inference of its invariable concomitant, *viz.*, the action of the agent; and it is this *action* that, in the case of knowledge, is known as 'cognition'; and it has been shown to be *inferable* from the relationship between the cognising self and the cognised object." (*The Prabhākara School of Purva Mīmāṃsā*, pp. 27-28.)

Dr. A. B. Keith interprets the above text in the following way:

"Every act of perception involves a relation (*sambandha*) between the self and the object; this relation implies action on the part of the self as agent, and this action constitutes the cognition, which is inferred from the relationship between the self and the object" (*The Karma-Mīmāṃsā*, p. 21.)

Dr. S. N. Das Gupta interprets the above text as follows:

"Every perception involves a relationship between the perceiver and the perceived, wherein the perceiver behaves as the agent whose activity in grasping the object is known as cognition." (*History of Indian Philosophy*, p. 384.)

I have interpreted the above text as follows:

"A cognition is inferred from the relation between the subject or knower and the object known, which is apprehended by internal perception. If there is not an adventitious condition intervening between the self and the object, how is it possible for the self to be related to the object? Therefore, from the specific relation between the subject and the object involved in knowledge we can infer the existences of cognition." (*Vide the Modern Review*, February, 1929, p. 214.)

Dr. Radhakrishnan has interpreted the above text as follows:

"The cognition is inferred from the relation between the knower and the known, which is apprehended by internal perception. Were it not for this other factor intervening between the knower and the known, the self could not become related to the object. From the specific relation involved in knowledge between the subject and the object the existence of cognition is inferred." (*Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II., p. 400.)

Thus it is clear that the versions of Dr. Jha, Dr. Keith, Dr. Das Gupta as well as my version are substantially different from one another. But Dr. Radhakrishnan's version is practically a *verbatim* reproduction of mine. Thus he is not so faithful to the text, as to my version of it.

10-53. Dr. Radhakrishnan says, "Passages 10-53 are unpublished and I do not propose to deal with them in any detail" (*Modern Review*, March, 1929, p. 322). In his first reply he did consider the passages from the unpublished portion of my thesis also. And in his second reply also he has considered passages 10-24, and tried to prove that

his version is based upon the texts, and not upon my "second-hand sketches." But, as regards passages (25-44 and 47-53) he does not say anything at all. Moreover, he insinuates that "the sheer quantity of it, whatever be its quality, is intended to create an atmosphere favourable to the suggestions made." (*Ibid.*, p. 321). Whatever may be the quality of my version in these passages, they have been reproduced all the same by Dr. Radhakrishnan almost *verbatim*. Passages 25-28 contain my own interpretations of the doctrines of *Prāpyakāritva* and *Aprāpyakāritva* of the visual organ. No writer on Indian Philosophy has given that interpretation up till now, whether it is right or wrong. And these passages from my thesis, which are not at all translations of any Sanskrit texts, have been reproduced *verbatim* by Dr. Radhakrishnan. Passages 29-37 are based on some texts in *Kīranāvati* but they are not their literal translations. Passages 38-44 contain my interpretation of the Mimamsaka theory of the auditory perception of space as implied in certain texts in *Sāstradīpikā*. This interpretation has not been given by an writer on Indian Philosophy up till now; so, it has conveniently been incorporated by Dr. Radhakrishnan in his book. Passages 47-53 in my version closely follow certain texts in *Sāstradīpikā*, and they have been reproduced *verbatim* by Dr. Radhakrishnan with the exception of passage 49. He has summarized it, and in doing so he has committed an egregious mistake. (*Modern Review*, February, 1929, p. 218). Dr. Radhakrishnan is silent on these passages because they are rather too tough to dispose of. Many of them contain my interpretations of certain doctrines of Indian Philosophy, which have not been given by any other writer. So, whenever convenient, Dr. Radhakrishnan has considered unpublished passages, and whenever inconvenient, he has quietly passed them over.

45-46. Passages 45-46 are my own interpretation of the nature of indeterminate and determinate perception. No other writer on Indian philosophy except Dr. Radhakrishnan has given such an interpretation. And he has given a *verbatim* reproduction of my version. Still he wants to offer an explanation. His resourcefulness never fails him. He says, "It is a matter of no little surprise to me that a serious charge should be based on the use of such words as 'unrelational', 'undifferentiated', 'relational', 'differentiated' etc. in explaining the distinction between indeterminate and determinate perception, words which are employed by almost all writers on the subject" (*M. R. March*, 1929, p. 320). Let me quote a few passages from the works of distinguished scholars of Indian Philosophy.

(i) "We must distinguish between two forms of perception, the first of which gives the bare knowledge of the class character of the object and is styled indeterminate (*a-* or *nirvikalpa*), while the second, in place of giving the bare qualification of the object (*viśeṣaṇa*) gives the determinate (*savikalpa*) relation of qualified (*viśeṣya*) and qualification." (A. B. Keith: *Indian Logic and Atomism*, p. 72.)

(ii) "Apprehension has been divided into two classes:—(1) *Savikalpa*, determinate or concrete, which pertains to, and has for its object, the thing along with its distinctive properties: and (2) *Nirvikalpa*, non-determinate or abstract, which

pertains to, and has for its object, the thing-in-itself, in its pure unqualified form." (Ganganath Jha: *The Prābhākara School of Pūrva Mīmāṃsā*, p. 37).

(iii) "The determinate (perception) is knowledge which admits of specification: it is the knowledge of an object as particularized by its genus, etc. The indeterminate perception is that knowledge which admits of no specification: it is the knowledge of an object derived through its first intercourse with one of our senses, e. g. this is something." "Perception is of two kinds:—(i) *Nirvikalpa*, non-determinate, non-effective or abstract, and *savikalpa*, determinate, reflective or concrete." (Satish Chandra Vidyabhusan: *History of Indian Logic*, pp. 137-138, 383).

(iv) "Perception may be divided as indeterminate (*nirvikalpa*) and (*savikalpa*) determinate. Indeterminate perception is that in which the thing is taken at the very first moment of perception in which it appears without any association with name. Determinate perception takes place after the indeterminate stage is just passed; it reveals things as being endowed with all characteristics and qualities and names just as we find in all our concrete experience. Indeterminate perception reveals the things with their characteristics and universals, but at this stage there being no association of name it is more or less indistinct." (S. N. Das Gupta:—*A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 334; see also pp. 378-379).

(v) "The former (indeterminate perception) is an undifferentiated and non-relational mode of consciousness devoid of assimilation and discrimination, analysis and synthesis, while the latter (determinate perception) is a differentiated and relational mode of consciousness involving assimilation and discrimination, analysis and synthesis. The former is dumb and inarticulate, free from verbal images, while the latter is vocal and articulate. The former is abstract and indeterminate, while the latter is concrete and determinate." (My version, MS. of *Indian Psychology of Perception*, Vol. I, with the seal of the Calcutta University).

(vi) "It (indeterminate perception) is a state of undifferentiated, non-relational consciousness, free from the work of assimilation and discrimination, analysis and synthesis. Determinate perception is a mediate, differentiated, relational mode of consciousness involving the results of assimilation and discrimination. It (indeterminate perception) may be regarded as dumb and inarticulate and free from verbal images. It (determinate perception) is articulate, concrete and determinate." (S. Radhakrishnan: *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, p. 60).

Thus it is clear that Dr. Radhakrishnan gives almost a *verbatim* reproduction of my version. Can he cite a similar passage from the work of any other author? Still he argues that such words as 'unrelational', 'undifferentiated', 'relational', 'differentiated', etc., are employed by almost all writers on the subject. This is a very curious argument of Dr. Radhakrishnan. He has repeated it many times in his replies. When he cannot offer any other explanation, he argues that if some common words are used by two or more writers in dealing with the same topic, it does not justify the inference of any "borrowing," as if any one drew such an inference! I need not point out here that all words are found in a dictionary, and they are used

by all ; and some particular words are used by two or more writers to express some particular ideas. This never justifies the inference of any "borrowing." But one cannot possibly explain the connection of these words exactly in the same order in the writings of different persons without the hypothesis of plagiarism. Sometimes two persons may think alike. But how can they write alike in the very same language in numerous places in giving their own interpretations ? Besides, I have elaborately explained the significance of each word I have used in explaining the distinction between indeterminate and determinate perception in my thesis.

54-61. With regard to these passages, Dr. Radhakrishnan points out that there are differences in the two versions. I myself admit it. I wrote in my second letter, "The above extract is a beautiful specimen of paraphrasing and summarizing." (*M. R.*, February, 1929, p. 219.) He has paraphrased some passages and summarized others from my thesis. But why do I believe that he borrowed his version from my thesis ? I gave the reason in my second letter. "The author has always referred to *Sāstrādīpikā* with *Yuktisneha-prapūraṇi* in his work. (vide pp. 376, 379, 381, 384, 385, 389, 393 etc.) But here only he refers to the other edition of my book with *Sāstrādīpikāprakāśa* to which I have referred here." (*Ibid.*, p. 219) Dr. Radhakrishnan is silent on this point. I was confirmed in my belief that he borrowed his version from mine when he charged me with incorrect reference with regard to a passage from *Sāstrādīpikā* in his first reply, because he did not know that there was another edition of this book with *Sāstrādīpikāprakāśa* from which I quoted. I have already pointed it out in my first rejoinder. "Evidently, Dr. Radhakrishnan is not aware of the existence of *Sāstrādīpikā* with *Prakāśa* which contains 622 pages. He has always referred to the Chowkhamba edition of *Sāstrādīpikā* which contains only 474 pages, in his *Indian Philosophy*, Vol II. But, then, how does he refer to the other edition of *Sāstrādīpikā* (pp. 487-490) on p. 482 of the above work ? I have shown in my second letter (*Modern Review*, February, 1929, p. 219) that he has borrowed that part of his exposition from my thesis along with its reference, published in the *Meerut College Magazine*, January, 1924." (*M. R.*, March, 1929, p. 378).

62. "This is my own exposition of the classical distinction between the view of Vācaspati and that of Vijñānabhikṣu in Sāṅkhya philosophy." (*M. R.*, February, 1929, p. 219). But Dr. Radhakrishnan complains, "Mr. Sinha gives the passage dealing with this topic, omits certain words from it and retains others which happen to be similar to mine and then complains that I have borrowed from him. My version is not identical with his, but the use of the words 'modification' for *vr̥tti* and 'reflection' for *pratibimba* makes him believe that his 'own exposition' is adopted by me without acknowledgment. No argument is possible." (*Italics mine*, *M. R.*, March, 1929, p. 322). I omitted three words from my version. To satisfy the curiosity of the reader I give the full version below.

"The self knows an external object only through the psychic function or mental modification on

which it casts its reflection. This is the view of Vāchaspatimisra. Vijñānabhikṣu assumes that the self casts its reflection on the unconscious mind functioning in a particular way, and the mental function which takes in the reflection of the self and assumes its form is reflected back on the self; and it is through this reflection that the self knows an external object." (*Meerut College Magazine*, January, 1924, p. 94).

Dr. Radhakrishnan has reproduced the italicised portion of my version as follows :

"While Vācaspati thinks that the self knows the object through the mental modification on which it casts its reflection, Vijñānabhikṣu holds that the mental modification which takes in the reflection of the self and assumes its form is reflected back on the self, and it is through this reflection that the self knows the object" (*Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, 1927, footnote, p. 295. *Italics mine*).

Thus it is quite clear that Dr. Radhakrishnan has reproduced my version *verbatim*. If he has omitted certain words given in my version, it does not prove that he has made it his own. But still the great Doctor does not feel the least hesitation in saying, "My version is not identical with his." Certainly, 'no argument is possible.'

Again, Dr. Radhakrishnan says, "Here Mr. Sinha claims that it is his 'own exposition' of the distinction between Vācaspati and Vijñānabhikṣu regarding the self's knowledge of an object. The distinction is a very familiar one. (See Das Gupta, *Indian Philosophy*, p. 260)." (*Ibid.*, p. 322). Though the distinction is familiar among scholars of Indian Philosophy, which I myself wrote in my second letter (*M. R.*, Feb. 1929, p. 219), yet probably it has been presented for the first time in English by Dr. Das Gupta in his *History of Indian Philosophy*, 1922 (p. 260). He expresses his idea in his own way. "These buddhi changes are so associated with the reflection of the puruṣa in the buddhi that they are interpreted as the experiences of the puruṣa. This explanation of Vācaspati of the situation is objected to by Vijñānabhikṣu. Vijñānabhikṣu says that the association of the buddhi with the image of the puruṣa cannot give us the notion of a real person who undergoes the experiences. It is to be supposed therefore that when the buddhi is intellectualized by the reflection of the puruṣa, it is then superimposed upon the puruṣa, and we have the notion of an abiding person who experiences."

My version is entirely different from that of Dr. Das Gupta. But Dr. Radhakrishnan's version is a *verbatim* reproduction of mine. Still he insists that his version is not identical with mine!

He quotes a text from Vijñānabhikṣu's *Yogavārṭika* (I. 4), on which, he says, his version is based. There are two sentences in the Sanskrit passage quoted by him. Between the first and the second there are only thirty sentences ! And still these scattered sentences have been brought together and interpreted by Dr. Radhakrishnan in exactly the same language as mine ! How can there be identity between two independent interpretations of the same text ? I do not understand why Dr. Radhakrishnan quotes the text here. Does he want to show that he is not incapable

of finding out the text which deals with this topic, though he has failed to hunt out the proper text from Vācaspati's writings? Moreover, Dr. Das (Gupta has given the reference (*A History of Indian Philosophy*, p. 260). Does it require profound scholarship to look up the reference and find out the proper text? Neither my version nor Dr. Radhakrishnan's is a translation of the text quoted by him—Buddher viśayākāra-vṛttinaṃ puruṣe yāni pratibimbāni tānyeva puruṣasya vṛttayaḥ...Yathā ca citi buddheḥ pratibimbamevaṃ buddhavapi citpratibimbam svikāryamanyathā caitanyasya bhānānupapattēh" (*M. R.*, March 1929, p. 322). It may be rendered into English as follows: "The reflections of the modifications of buddhi into the forms of objects in the self are the experiences of the self...We must admit that just as there is a reflection of *buddhi* in the self, so there is a reflection of the self in *buddhi* also; otherwise, the self's experience would not be possible."

63-70. Dr. Radhakrishnan's version is "a summary of the chapter on *Dreams* in my thesis," (*M. R.*, Feb. 1929, p. 220). But he says, "My sentences are different from his but they happen to deal with the views of the classical writers," (*M. R.*, March, 1929, p. 322). Passages (63, 68, 69 and 70) in Dr. Radhakrishnan's version are almost a *verbatim* reproduction of my version. Passages (68, 69 and 70) are my expositions of the views of Śrīdhara, Udayana, and Prabhākara. They are not at all translations of Sanskrit texts. I have for the first time discussed the distinction between dream-illusions and dream-hallucinations in Indian Philosophy. Śrīdhara admits only the central origin of dreams. Udayana recognizes also the peripheral origin of dreams. According to him, there are both dream-illusions and dream-hallucinations. (*Vide Meerut College Magazine*, January, 1926.) I discussed the views of only Kāṇāda, Praśastapāda, Śrīdhara, and Udayana among the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika writers in my thesis. And so, only the views of these classical writers have been stated by Dr. Radhakrishnan in his book. Passage No. 63 is my exposition of the nature of dreams according to the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika. And it has been quoted *verbatim* by Dr. Radhakrishnan.

The burden of Dr. Radhakrishnan's second reply, like that of the first, is that the striking similarity between his version and mine is due to the fact that they are based on "the same texts." With regard to "textual renderings," he opines, "from the resemblance in matter and form we cannot draw any conclusion of plagiarism," (*M. R.*, March, 1929, p. 322). The reader will have enough material to think for himself if this is Dr. Radhakrishnan's general reply to all possible charges of plagiarism against him or not. I have already pointed out that faithful translations of the same texts by different persons are very likely, if not bound, to differ in form. (*Ibid.*, p. 371). For instance, the difference between Thibaut's English translation of the *Sāṃkhya Bhāṣya* (ch. II) and that of Dr. Belvalkar is quite striking. Dr. Radhakrishnan himself practically admits it by implication when he emphatically asserts and re-asserts in his replies that my unpublished translations of certain passages from *Nyāyakandali* are almost a *verbatim* reproduction of Dr. Jha's versions. So he does not

sincerely believe in his dictum that from the resemblance in matter and form we cannot draw any conclusion of plagiarism. He has simply set up this principle to rebut the present charge of plagiarism and all possible charges of plagiarism in future.

As regards my adopting Dr. Jha's translations in certain passages, I should like to say a word. I have already shown that the *complete* chapter on *Perception of Cognition* from my thesis has been bodily incorporated by Dr. Radhakrishnan, in his book, including the passages based on Dr. Jha's version. Ever since I took back that part of my thesis from the Calcutta University I have not attempted any revision of it. When my book is published the readers will find the source of all the passages taken from other books duly acknowledged.

Dr. Radhakrishnan says, "He brings together textual matter from different contexts in his thesis and collects from different places in my book the corresponding passages and from the partial resemblance inevitable on account of the identity of the texts considered suggests that the resemblance is due to 'unacknowledged borrowing.'" (*Ibid.*, p. 322). He offered this plea in his first reply as well. This also is his general reply to all possible charges of plagiarism against him. He has a wonderful power of absorbing and assimilating other's writings into his books. He generally brings together the most pithy sentences from different pages of the Introduction, Appendix, or main body of a book, effects a slight change in each and every one of them, paraphrases some and summarizes others, inverts their order, if possible, and fuses them into an 'intelligible' narrative'. The parallel passages given in my first rejoinder, I hope, have convinced the reader of this truth. And a few more representative specimens of his "unacknowledged borrowings" appended below will bear an eloquent testimony to this fact.

Dr. Radhakrishnan says, "Even with regard to the textual matter, his attempt seems to be a *literal translation* while mine is an *exposition of the thought* and throughout the passages there are striking differences and significant indications to show that I had an eye on the texts all through." (*Italics mine*, *Ibid.*, p. 322). I have already said that there can never be a close similarity in form between a *literal translation* and an *interpretation* of the same text' (*Ibid.*, p. 372). But still there is not only a close similarity but an *identity* in most of the parallel passages (1-8 & 62) given in my second letter.

I have clearly shown that many of my passages are not translations but *interpretations* of certain texts. And there can be no similarity between two independent *interpretations* of the same texts. I have also shown that many of my passages are neither translations nor interpretations of any texts. They are my own expositions and interpretations of certain doctrines. And they also have been quoted almost *verbatim* by Dr. Radhakrishnan. He brands all my passages as mere "textual renderings," and thus tries to explain away the close similarity or even identity between his versions and mine.

He cannot possibly explain away the *identity* between my *printed* passages, say, Nos. 1-9 and

62, and the corresponding passages from his book. So he has taken infinite pains to prove that they are mere "textual renderings" by citing the texts upon which they are based, most of the references being given by me, and invited the reader to judge for himself if my versions are my "own interpretations". He has been wise enough not to give the translations of the texts. I have given their literal translations and clearly shown that my versions are not mere translations but my own interpretations. I do not understand why he has cited the texts. Evidently, he wants to prove that my versions are not my own interpretations, as I claim them to be, but mere "textual renderings". But has he given any satisfactory reason for his reproducing my versions *verbatim* in his work? In fact whatever a writer on Indian Philosophy has to write must be supported by texts.

Even Sir Brajendranath Seal writes in his Foreword to *The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus*, "I have not written one line which is not supported by the clearest texts" (p. iv). Is, then, his book nothing but "textual renderings"? And can anyone reproduce his versions *verbatim* without being accused of plagiarism?

Again Dr. Radhakrishnan says, "Almost all the unpublished passages relate to texts and anyone who reads my versions which are not *close translations* but *brief summaries* will find enough indications in them to show that they are based on the texts and not on any second-hand sketches of them" (Italics mine, *Ibid.*, p. 321). Thus, according to the Doctor, my versions are *close translations* and his are *brief summaries*. Though some disagreement is possible between two faithful translations of the same texts, there can be no similarity between *close translations* and *brief summaries* of the same texts. But still there is not only close similarity but almost *identity* between the two versions in all the parallel passages (10-53).

Dr. Radhakrishnan says, "In the two letters, there is not a single idea which is Mr. Sinha's 'own'" (*Ibid.*, p. 322). I have claimed some of my passages as "*my own interpretations*" in my two letters, not as my "own ideas" (*Modern Review*, January, 1929, p. 101. *Ibid.*, February, 1929, p. 214, 216). The views of Vyāsa, Vācaspati, and Vīṣṇanabhikṣu as to the distinction between the *subject self* and the *object self* were first explained by me in my thesis submitted to the Calcutta University in 1922, and published in the *Meerut College Magazine* in January, 1924, whether they are right or wrong. And they were reproduced almost *verbatim* by Dr. Radhakrishnan in his work in 1927. The distinction between Vācaspati and Vīṣṇanabhikṣu's views as to the self's experience of an object was first presented in English by Dr. Das Gupta in his *A History of Indian Philosophy* in 1922. And I also attempted my own independent presentation of the subject in my thesis submitted to the Calcutta University in 1922, and it was published in the *Meerut College Magazine* in January 1924. And it was reproduced *verbatim* by Dr. Radhakrishnan in his book in 1927. I attempted for the first time a presentation of the distinction between the central and peripheral origin of dreams in Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Philosophy in my thesis submitted to the Calcutta University in 1922, and it was published in the *Meerut College*

Magazine in January, 1926. And Dr. Radhakrishnan reproduced the gist of it *verbatim* in his work in 1927. I attempted for the first time a presentation of the problems of visual and auditory perception of special properties in Indian Philosophy in my thesis submitted to the Calcutta University in 1923, and it has been reproduced *verbatim* by Dr. Radhakrishnan in his work in 1927.

I have claimed my versions like these as my "own interpretations" but not as my "own ideas." And Dr. Radhakrishnan has done honour to them by reproducing all of them in his work, even my *wrong* interpretation of Vācaspati's view.

It is for the competent scholars to judge if Dr. Radhakrishnan's volumes on *Indian Philosophy* are a mere compilation or an original contribution. But even with my limited knowledge of Indian Philosophy and limited facilities for study, I have been shocked to find that he has laid many standard works on Indian Philosophy under his contribution. Scholastic integrity demands that the sources of all the passages, paragraphs, and pages from other published and unpublished books which have been incorporated in his works, should be duly acknowledged. It will not in the least detract from the merit of his works. To illustrate the various ways in which Dr. Radhakrishnan has absorbed others' writings into his works I add below only a few samples of his unacknowledged borrowings, and in order to show that even the "textual renderings" by different persons differ from one another, I refer the reader to different versions.*

I hope, Dr. Radhakrishnan will not say, "I suppose that the sheer quantity of it, whatever be its quality, is intended to create an atmosphere favourable to the suggestions made." In fact, instances of his unacknowledged borrowings may be cited at random from all parts of his volumes on *Indian Philosophy*. Here only a few specimens have been given.* English composition is his special forte. His style is universally appreciated. But still why has he reproduced all the above passages almost *verbatim* from other books? Does he lack adequate knowledge of the subject-matter so that he does not like to run any risk in attempting his own presentation?

But whatever may be the reason, anyone who knows anything of Indian philosophy will not admit any of the above passages* as Dr. Radhakrishnan's own translation, interpretation, exposition of thought, or "critical evaluation". Thus it is quite clear that—

1. Dr. Radhakrishnan has adopted authoritative translations, where available, made slight changes in them here and there, and made them his own. He himself admits it (*M. R.*, February, 1929, p. 209). Only I add that he has, in some places, rejected the authoritative translations in favour of some "unpublished attempts" to which he had access (*M. R.*, March, 1929, p. 377).

2. He has adopted authoritative expositions and interpretations, where available, made slight changes in them here and there, and made them his own.

3. He has gathered sentences from different pages of a book and fused them together into a connected and consistent account.

* These passages from several authors are not printed here owing to want of space.—Ed., *M. R.*

4. He has reproduced some other's version *verbatim*, added an original text to it, and thus made it his own.

5. His eye is seldom on the "texts", and very often on others' "second-hand sketches," published or unpublished, in print or out of print.

It is not for me to say if it is quite impossible for such an assimilative genius to incorporate portions of an unpublished book in his work, to which he had access as an examiner. I leave it to the reader to judge.

I am sincerely sorry if I have used hard words in the heat of my righteous indignation. I am strongly convinced that Dr. Radhakrishnan has

done considerable harm to my book, and done me gross injustice as an Examiner in passing off my writings as his own. His replies have strengthened my conviction all the more. He should have acknowledged his indebtedness to me. It is never too late to mend.

I heartily thank you, Mr. Editor, for giving me an opportunity to lay my case before the public through your esteemed journal.

Yours faithfully,

JADUNATH SINHA
Meerut College, Meerut.

This controversy is closed.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

Cambridge History of India, Vol. III

By Prof. R. D. BANERJI

Turks and Afghans, Edited By Lt. Colonel Sir Wolsley Haig, K. C. I. E., C. S. I., C. M. G., C. B. E., M. A. Lecturer in Persian in the School of Oriental Studies, University of London. Cambridge. 1928, Pp. i-xxvii, 1-752, pls. I-II.

The book consists of 23 chapters of which five only have been contributed by writers other than the learned editor; Sir Denison Ross has written the chapter on Gujarat and Khandesh, Prof. S. K. Ayyangar that on "Hindu States in Southern India, A. D. 1000-1565," Mr. G. E. Harvey, I. C. S., that on "Burma, 1287-1531. The period of Shan immigration," Don Martino de Zilva Wickremasinghe that on "Ceylon, A. D. 1215-1527" and Sir John Marshall that on "The monuments of Muslim India."

The 3rd volume of the Cambridge History of India is not a publication to be placed in the same rank or class as the 1st volume of that publication. The eighteen chapters contributed by the learned editor have been very carelessly written and are full of mistakes. In the contents (p. x) we see "Expedition against Ganda of Kalinjar." But on p. 21 there are numerous references to the same king as Nanda. The name is correctly given again on p. 507. So also the Pratihara Rajyapala is called Jaichand on p. 19 in spite of the fact that certain Muslim writers call this prince Jaipal, whom the late Dr. V. A. Smith correctly identified with the unfortunate Pratihara king Rajyapala twenty years ago (J. R. A. S. 1909 pp. 276-74). In spite of modern research Sir Wolsley Haig would place "Rathors" in Kanauj where there were no Rathors or Rashtrakutas at any time between 700 and 1200 A. D. We see "Jaichand of Kanauj" with "Nanda, Raja of Kalinjar" once more on p. 21 in spite of the corrections in chapter XX, when the errata was added.

The author holds determined views about the late of the Muslim conquests of Bihar in spite of

recent researches on this subject which he has rejected or omitted to consult. So we find that Muslims established themselves in Oudh before the fall of the real Jaichand or Jaya-chandra of Kanauj at Chandwar near Etawah in 1194 (p. 42) and the capture of Odantapuri in or before the summer of 1193 (p. 666).

The Hindu world will laugh when they see the Cambridge University publishing a book which refers to a "Mahakali of Ujjain" (p. 55.) and not "Mahakala of Ujjain." Sir Wolsley Haig possesses a peculiar knowledge of the geography of India which enables him to place Narwar of the Gwalior district in Malwa (p. 68). It reminds me of a learned professor of an Indian University who has distorted the denotation of that term to extend it as far as Rewah and Jubbulpore. The same esoteric knowledge enables the learned editor and author to create a Jainagar in Eastern Bengal in spite of Hiralal's discovery of the place in the Eastern districts of the Central Provinces, and a King named Bhoja in Eastern Bengal (p. 80) in spite of the identification of that name with a king named Danuja-madhava or Danuja-rai. (My History of Bengal, Vol. II, p. 20). So also we hear of the march of the expedition of Chhaju to Warangal through Bengal and Orissa (p. 108) in spite of the fact that Orissa remained independent till 1558 and Bengal was also independent under the Balban Sultans at this time and no record, either of Orissa or of Bengal, mention an invasion of these territories.

One of the principal defects of this volume is the total neglect of the Numismatic evidence. This is noticeable in the absence of any reference to the Sanskrit coin of Mahmud of Ghazni published by Lane Poole and by Cunningham nearly half a century ago when we were small children (Lane-Poole-Catalogue of the Oriental Coins in the British Museum, Vol. pp. 222; Cunningham—Coins of Mediaeval India pp. 65-66; No. 21). The economical and cultural value of such Numismatic evidence is unmeasurable. Similarly all other

Numismatical evidence, both Sanskritic and Perso-Arabic, has been calmly ignored by this Perso-Arabist editor :

(1) The Sanskrit coins of Sultan Muhammad bin Sam issued in imitation of the Gold Gaharwar coinage with the Musalman king's name in Nagari and bearing the figure of a goddess Lakshmi in defiance of Muslim Law (*Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum* by H. N. Wright, Vol. II, p. 17).

(2) Silver coins directly copied from the coins of the Chahamana king Prithviraja II (Cunningham's *Coins of Mediaeval India* 386, No. 12.)

(3) The medal struck by Ilutminish in memory of the final conquest of Kanauj and Kora which could not be completely read by Nelson Wright (*Indian Museum Catalogue* Vol. II, p. 21 No. 39) but which was read by me 16 years ago (P. & J. A. S. B., Vol. IX, p. 288 note 3). This is corroborated by the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* (English Translation, p. 627). The conquest of Kanauj previously attributed to Muizzuddin Muhammad bin Sam (*Ibid.* p. 491) is not attributed to any other Turkish king after Ilutminish, proving that the final conquest was due to that king. The name Kanauj is still pronounced Kannauj, thus proving the correctness of the Musalman spelling Qinnauj.

(4) The coin of Chahada-deva struck in subordination to Ilutminish (*Indian Museum Catalogue* Vol. II, p. 24, Nos. 77-9).

(5) The medal of Mughisuddin Yuzbak of A. H. 653, struck in memory of the final conquest of Nudiah and Umardn (in Orissa), which proves to some extent the truth of his sack of the capital of Orissa and the extent of Musalman conquest towards the south or in the Delta of the Ganges in 1255 A. D.

(6) The important medal struck by Sikandar Shah bin Ilyas Shah in A. H. 759 at Kamrup *urf. Chaulukistan*, proving that Sikandar had actually conquered Southern Assam some time before 1357 A. D., which was corroborated by my discovery of an inscription of his son Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah of Bengal in the collection of the Kamrup Anusandhan Samiti of Gauhati (*Ibid.*, Vol. II p. 152, No. 38). The new inscription will be published in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1925-26. There is no reference to the conquest of Assam by Sikandar Shah bin Ilyas Shah in any of the pages devoted to the history of Bengal (pp. 260-66.)

(7) In his treatment of Raja Ganesh the editor as well as the author of this chapter has failed to include two new kings of Bengal whose coins I brought to notice at least 18 years ago (Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India 1911-12, pp. 167-70), and which subject was elaborated by Mr. Nalinikanta Bhattacharya on pp. 117-25 of his work published in 1922. Bhattacharya's work is mentioned by Sir Wolsley Haig in his bibliography to chapter XI (p. 649) but it is evident from the index that he had not the leisure to go through the book, as even the index does not contain the names of Danujamardana or Mahendra (Index, p. 723 and 735).

The learned editor's knowledge of the geography of India, specially the North-east, is equally faulty. Relying solely on Persian authorities he places Nilambar's capital, Kamalapur, in Assam (p. 271) though it is well known that the name was Komtapur and it is now called Gosanikari

in Cooch Bihar. Similarly Nasiruddin Nasrat Shah's important campaigns in Assam are totally lost sight of though they are so graphically described by Sir Edward Gait (*History of Assam*, pp. 83-91).

Similarly in the scrappy and incomplete chapter on the history of Sindh and Multan the learned author has failed to avail himself of Perso-Arabic Epigraphical literature published even nine or ten years ago in his own mother-tongue. In Chapter XIX one fails to find any reference to the Mughal invasions of Sindh during one of which Prince Muhammad Khan: son of Jam Nindo or Nizamuddin, was killed by the Mughals of Hari Rud a little before A. H. 855-1451 A. D. (Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India Western-Circle for the year ending 31st March 1920, pp. 51, No. 45,58).

Chapters I to XIX demonstrate the inability of the mere Perso-Arabist to write any part of the History of India. For the 17th century even Jadunath Sarkar must learn Portuguese, Marathi and English in addition to Persian and Arabic in order to write the History of Aurangzeb. Continental scholars have now understood that they must go through recent scholarly works written in Bengali, Hindi, Marathi and Tamil in order to be able to deal with any part of the long history of India. Consequently Sir Wolsley Haig omits to state the fact that the murder of a Sultan of Bengal by Raja Ganesh is mentioned in a Bengali metrical work composed in 1568, *Advaita-prakasa* (My History of Bengal, Vol. II, p. 171, Note 30). In a similar manner the learned editor and author has failed to grasp the importance of Mahamahopadhyaya Gauri Shankar Hirachand Ojha's History of Rajputana in Hindi which is not mentioned even in the bibliography to chapter XX. Any man attempting to write Rajput History without consulting this great masterpiece must prove himself to be a failure. Yet it is in this chapter that the editor-author has had the good sense to consult somebody who possesses some experience of Hindu historical works. If the editor-author had relied entirely on his anonymous friend then he would have been saved the numerous hopeless blunders that still remain in this chapter :-

(1) "On Bhimpal's flight to Ajmere in 1021 his kingdom became a province of Mahmud's empire" (p. 507.) Bhimpal was not the last king of the Shahiya dynasty of Und. The name of the last king was Trilochanapala (Rajatarangini, 7th Taranga verses 63-7). Bhimpapala was not regarded as an independent monarch (Stein—Chronicles, vol. I, p. 271 note).

(2) "After 1181 the Kalachuri rajas of northern Chedis disappear, having probably been supplanted by Baghel chiefs of Rewa." (p. 501.) The Kalachuri rajas were certainly ruling in 1195 A. D. as proved by Kielhorn more than 20 years ago (Epigraphia Indica Vol. V, App. p. 27, No. 186) and a Haig only makes himself ridiculous when he fails to consult Franz Kielhorn about Hindu History.

(3) "In 1060 he and Bhim II of Gujarat attacked and crushed Bhoj, the learned king of Mahoa." (p. 510). There was no Bhima II in 1060 as the first king of that name belonging to the Chalukya dynasty of Gujarat was living in 1029 A. D. This is clearly a mistake for Bhima I, and Bhima II was a contemporary of Muhammad bin Sam and Qutubuddin Aibak, as he ruled from 1199

to 1238. (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, App. I, p. 14 Nos. 6 and 12 of list No 15).

(4) "Ramapala, who reigned from about 1077 to 1120 was one of the most famous of the Pala kings. His father Mahipala II. was slain by rebels, and Ramapala was compelled to flee" (p. 501). But the name of the father of Ramapala of Bengal was Vighrahpala III and Mahipala II was only his eldest brother. The learned author of this chapter, who was corrected his former *Nanda* into *Ganda* and *Jaichand* into *Rajyapala* (p. 507) in this chapter, has again failed to consult printed books in English. He would have found the genealogy in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, App. I, p. 18 List No. 23; also in *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, p. 85.

(5) "Benares was plundered. Kanauj was destroyed, and the kingdoms of the Gaharwars came to an end" (p. 530). The entire statement is false and incorrect. The kingdom of Kanauj did not come to an end with the plunder of Benares and Kanauj was not destroyed. Jayachandra's son Harischandra was alive and reigning at Kanauj in V. S. 1254 current—6th January 1197 A. D. and there are reasons to believe that he was alive and ruling in 1202 A.D. (*Epigraphia Indica* Vol. X, p. 94: P. & J. A. S. B. Vol. VII, p. 762). But Sir Wolsley Haig is so very sure of the extinction of the Gaharwars that he repeats the statement a few pages later, "The Gaharwar line was certainly extinguished, and there is no evidence that any escaped" (p. 521).

(6) "The founder of the Rathor dynasty of Marwar was Siahji, whom the burds of the Rajputs represent as a prince of the Gaharwar house of Kanauj." Later on, on the same page the author says, "The exploit enhanced his reputation and about 1212 he took up his abode in the fertile region watered by the Luni river, west of the Aravalli Mountain." The learned author had not even time to consult the index to the *Indian Antiquary* where he would have found an article entitled "Bithu inscription of Siha Rathor." (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XL, 1911, pp. 181-3) by D. R. Bhandarkar, who proved 18 years ago that Siha,

the founder of the Rathor dynasty of Jodhpur died in V. S. 1330-1273 A. D. and was the son of Sri-Seta. It is therefore rather risky to state in the twentieth century that this Siha was an active founder of kingdoms 61 years before his death.

(7) "Little more that is authentic is known of the history of the Gahlots, or Sesodias until the reign of Ala-ud-din Khalji, who having already captured Ranthambhor from the Chauhans, besieged and took Chitor in 1303." (p. 524). I would request the reader of the 3rd. volume of the Cambridge History of India to consult the first two fasciculi of the History of Rajputana in Hindi published by Mahamahopadhyaya Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha of Ajmere. Sir Wolsley Haig should not have ventured into the unknown if he could not read that great Hindi work.

Among chapters not contributed by the learned editor two are of outstanding merit. These are the chapters on the History of Burma by Mr. G. E. Harvey I.C.S., and the monuments of Muslim India by Sir John Marshall. The editor of the volume might have copied the critical method employed in modern histories from Mr. Harvey who has shown his English collaborators how Indian records have to be utilized (Bibliography to chapter XXI, pp. 656-7). Sir John Marshall may also have served to Sir Wolsley Haig as a model of propriety and caution. After repeated attempts, I have failed to find a single point in which he can be taken to task for inaccuracies, carelessness or shortness in range of vision. Out of 23 chapters in the 3rd. volume of the Cambridge History of India these two are the only ones which will survive. The rest are so fragmentary and one-sided that they fail to stand on the same level as the 1st volume and fall far below that of the Cambridge Mediaeval or Ancient Histories. The principal reason of the failure of the 3rd volume is the concentration of 17 or 18 chapters in the hand of one man who, again is the general editor and above all, was not qualified to deal with the original materials of ancient Indian History except a portion only of the Perso-Arabic records.

A.B.—Page 455, col. 2, l. 4 from bottom: for Vol. pp. 222 read Vol. II, pp. 150-151.

The Academy of Science of the Soviet Union in 1927*

IN our enumeration of the activities of the Academic institutions, we shall begin with the Library which serves the interests of the whole Academy.

According to incomplete returns of the special book funds of the separate institutions, we have a total of 492,000 volumes, and the

further development of these institutional libraries is quite an urgent task at the present moment both in view of the development of the scientific institutions themselves, as well as with regard to the requirements of up-to-date library organization. It has become quite necessary to compile a complete catalogue of all the contents of the Academy's stock of books amounting to over 4,000,000 volumes.

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Turning now to the scientific activities of the separate institutions, we shall deal first of all with the activity of the Physico-Mathematical Institute. A particular place in the Institute's activity has been occupied by seismological researches which have acquired particular importance and attracted universal public attention in connection with the Crimean earthquake, the problem of the construction of the Turkestan-Siberian Railway line, and the transfer of the capital of Kazakhstan to the town of Alma-Ata which is subject to seismic disturbances. In connection with these fundamental problems, the Institute has undertaken not only the study of the mechanism and causation of earthquakes as physical phenomena of nature and with the problem of their prognostication, but also the study of the physical properties of the terrestrial globe in its entirety and in its separate parts, and of the properties of matter under conditions of high temperature and pressure, upon the basis of the laws governing the elastic disturbances caused by distant earthquakes. In the last year there were organized three new seismic stations, at Feodosia, Alma-Ata, and Frunze; there were registered 1,200 earthquakes; there were published, after special elaboration, fifty-seven seismic bulletins, and there were installed fourteen seismographs of the latest construction and sixteen registering apparatuses.

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The Soil Institute (dedicated to the name of V. V. Dokutchayev), for the first time occupying an independent place in the pages of our report, was formerly a subsidiary institution of the Commission for the study of the natural Force of Production, and after its establishment as an independent institution, the beginning was made for the equipment of a special Soil Laboratory. The current museum activity, the considerable expedition activity connected with the study of the soils of vast territories in Mongolia, Kazakastan, Crimea and Armenia; the drawing of a soil map of the Asiatic and European parts of the U.S.S.R., along with the drawing of a soil map of the whole earth,—such are the fundamental current activities of the Institute which, however, were interrupted by two important moments in the life of this Institution: the VII All-Union Soil Congress held in January 1927 with the collaboration of the Academy of Sciences, and the International Soil Congress in Washington, in which our soil experts have not only taken an active part, but for which they had also prepared special exhibitions and published thirteen addresses in the English language, as well as a complete map of the Asiatic part of the U.S.S.R.

It is very difficult, in a brief annual report, to describe with sufficient clearness, and yet concretely, the activities of the two Laboratories, that of the Biochemistry and Physiology of Plants, and that of Zoology.

The first of these was engaged in studying the problems of fermentations and the chemistry of ferments and of microbiology of the soil, whilst the development of its activities was hampered by the inadequate equipment, as the instruments must be very accurate and of intricate construction which can be manufactured only by special firms abroad. As to the second of these laboratories it concentrated its scientific researches chiefly upon morphological and experimental investiga-

tions into the domain of the regeneration and transplantation of organs, continuing at the same time the equipment of premises for special physico-chemical researches.

Digressing somewhat from the general order of our report, I should like at this point, after mentioning the activities of the Zoological Laboratory, to say a word or two about the Academy's Biological Station at Sevastopol, which has developed considerable activity. The manifold activity of the seventy-five people who are working in this Station besides the permanent staff, the group studies with students of different higher schools, the scientific seminars, the publication of researches,—such are some of the aspects of the scientific activity of this Institution, and it is one of the Academy's tasks to help in strengthening and developing this Institution, in line with the general policy of encouraging local scientific research work.

The Geological Museum has developed its activities in the domains of paleontology, petrography, and general geology, whilst during the past year the Central Asiatic Department managed to gather the geological collections of most of the Russian expeditions to Mongolia, Uryankhan, Djungaria, etc. At the Mineralogical Museum during the last years, besides the gradual re-equipment of the different halls, there were held two exhibitions of new specimens and minerals obtained from the autonomous Soviet Republic of Yakutia and from the Tannu-Tuva People's Republic. In the activity of this Museum it is necessary to point out two moments in the year under report. On the one hand, the Museum, jointly with other mineralogical institutions of Leningrad, convened the First All-Union Conference of Mineralogists, Petrographers and Crystallographers, which attracted about 200 delegates from twenty-seven scientific centres of the Soviet Union, and on the other hand, right here, with the assistance of the Ceramic Institutes of the Scientifico-Technical Department of the Supreme Council of National Economy and of the Radium Institute of the Chief Scientific Board, a beginning was made for the establishment of a big Roentgen laboratory for geochemical and crystallographic researches. Particular interest was aroused by the expedition organized by the Museum for the quest of the Tungus meteorite, which has already yielded some interesting, if not yet fully elucidated data. The Botanical Museum continued its activity in bringing into shape

its collections from the European part of the Union, and at the close of the year under report, it was engaged in preparations for the All-Union Botanical Congress. The Zoological Museum during the last year, has completed the re-adjustment of its collections, which have suffered so much from the inundation in the autumn of 1924, and is now carrying on normal activities. The receipt of over 200,000 new species, a number of special zoological expeditions and missions which brought back most valuable materials from Mongolia, the Liu-Kiu Islands, the Verkhoyansk Range, etc., the publication of 96 papers by research workers of the Museum in our own as well as in the foreign press, the participation in the researches by 100 outside scientific workers in addition to the permanent staff in the Museum's researches, the energetic activity of the Zoology Circle and the Permanent Commissions, and finally, the wide extension of educational activity expressed in the fact that the Museum was visited by 98,000 people, as well as in the organization of a series of special courses for students of the higher schools, —such are the chief external features of the activities of this Institution.

Two important events should be recorded by the Pushkin House during the year under report. In the first place, the removal to the new quarters, where a grand exhibition of the collections was organized on the occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution, and secondly, the receipt of the Onyegin Collection from Paris, which has been bequeathed to the Academy by the late collector, whilst the first shipments of this valuable collection of manuscripts are already on the way from Paris at the time that this report is delivered. The Tolstoi Museum at the Academic Library has continued its bibliographical researches on the works of Leo Tolstoi and has made preparations for the celebrations of the forthcoming Centenary of Tolstoi's birth.

The Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography has continued its researches into the study of the little known tribes of Siberia, as well as of the exceedingly important, both in the linguistic and ethnographical aspects, Iranic tribes, and particularly of the Tadjiks. This scientific activity, which has attracted also our young ethnographical forces, was supplemented by museum work: the organization of special exhibitions, the equipment of new Sections, the compilation of a catalogue of

the Museum, as well as the increased educational activity which attracted over 40,000 visitors and 60 special research workers to the Museum during the year under report. Perhaps, by these brief features we might have characterized the activity of the Museum, if we did not wish to mention the organization of the Department of Evolution and the Typology of Culture which has been so profoundly and interestingly started by the late L. J. Sternberg, and also the energetic activity of the Radlov Circle of the Museum which has held 10 Conferences in the course of the year.

A somewhat peculiar place in the structure of the Academy is occupied by the Asiatic Museum, which may be classed only partly as a Museum in view of its temporary exhibitions, but in reality it constitutes a scientific research institute with a vast Library and a large collection of oriental manuscripts. Having the assistance of a large body of specialists working upon the Oriental Board, the Asiatic Museum has continued during the current year the amplification of its collections of literary documents from the Soviet Union and abroad. The study of the scientific materials by the Museum's workers has resulted in numerous scientific essays published either by the Academy or abroad. Closely connected with the Asiatic Museum are the Periodical Iran Review and the Bibliotheca Buddhica series which has received new materials in connection with the Mongolian expeditions carried out by collaborators of the Museum. The new Departments of Buddhist Culture and of Turcology, now organized at the Museum, are absolutely essential in connection with contemporary problems of Orientology. Finally, a third among the group of humanistic institutions is the Paleographic Museum, which has held two special exhibitions during the last year in connection with the re-organization of its abundant collections.

In close logical connection with the Asiatic Museum are the two independent scientific establishments: the Japhetic Institute, and the Caucasian Historico-Archaeological Institute at Tiflis. The Japhetic Institute, continuing the application of the Japhetological method in regard to a series of new trends in the domain of modern languages, in connection with the extension of its researches, has formed a group on the methodology of the Japhetic Theory and a section for the co-ordination of linguistic

researches with the history of material culture. This idea of combining linguistic researches with the study of culture, and the development of social forms is the result of the fundamental researches of the Japhetic Institute on questions of the Paleontology of language, and of special investigations into the Tchuvash, Abkhazian, and Uda languages (the latter being one of the chief Japhetic languages in East Caucasias), and so on. In close collaboration with the Japhetic Institute has been the activity of the Caucasian Historico-Archaeological Institute.

The study of the natural forces was carried on by the U.S.S.R. Commission for the study of the natural forces of production, and the study of the human materials was carried on by the Commission for the study of the Racial Composition of the population of the U.S.S.R. and border countries.

The first of these Commissions has continued its expeditionary and experimental activities, whilst the second has taken up the organization of all-union conferences of scientific workers on individual questions relating to the exploration of the natural wealth of the Union. A vast variety of subjects relating to the economic pursuits of the different parts of the Soviet Union were discussed at these Conferences. The Commission for the Study of Racial Composition has completed an ethnographical chart of the Soviet Union, which is the result of many years' investigation and researches. Although the chart may not be considered as quite complete, bearing in mind the great number of different races and tribes inhabiting the territory of the Union, nevertheless it constitutes the first big step towards the solution of this important question.

Considerable successes were achieved in the last year by the Historico-Archaeographical Commission, whose stock of manuscripts has been enlarged by materials of exceptional value. It has also developed activity with regard to the publication of a series of scientific studies on its manuscripts, particularly on those dating from the XVII and XIX centuries. Among the activities of the other Commissions, mention should be made of the Russo-Byzantine Commission which has organized a special Section at Odessa in order to accelerate the work of the publication of the Greek Dictionary of Ducange, as well as special Sub-Commission

for the study of the economic and trade relations of Ancient Russia with Byzantium and the Orient. The Commission for the publication of monuments of ancient Russian Literature has continued its activities in publishing the whole of the ancient Russian literary relics of the 11th-17th centuries. The Slavonic Commission, the Commission for the compilation of a systematic bibliography on ancient Russian literature, and the Commission for the scientific publication of the Slavonic bible, have carried on their researches into the essential sources of the Russian language, whilst the Dictionary Commission and the Commission on the Dialectology of the Russian language have carried on profound researches in the study of the modern Russian language in the light of new scientific data. The historic processes now going on in this country are having their rapid effect upon the whole mode of life and the customs of the population, and the new cultural currents are having their influence upon the language and upon its development. The publication of the "Dictionary of the Russian Language" is energetically pursued and has already been brought to the letter "O", constituting at this moment a particularly important task for the Dictionary Commission, and for the Academy of Sciences as a whole.

The Academy's expeditionary activity in the past year has been carried out on quite an unprecedented scale. Sixty-five large scientific expeditions, of which sixteen were carried out in the European part of the U.S.S.R. whilst the remainder were connected with the more distant borderlands of the Union; the exceptional variety of the problems relating to geology, geochemistry, ethnography, the soil, zoology, or of a combined character: the beginning made with the organization of systematic expeditions having for their purpose the exploration of the territory of whole republics; the continuation of a series of complex polar expeditions,--all this necessitated the unification and co-ordination of the expeditionary activities under one academic organ which has received the name of the Special Committee for the Exploration of the Allied and Autonomous Republics. Even this fairly comprehensive title does not fully cover the tasks of the Committee, as it has also assisted in the organization of purely scientific expeditions undertaken by the separate institutions of the Academy. The activities of the

Committee are aided at the present time by the independent Yakut, Kazakstan, Central Asiatic, Trans-Caucasian, and Bishkir Commissions, as well as by the special exploration Commissions of the friendly people's Republics of Mongolia and Tannu-Tuva, and of the Buryat-Mongolian Soviet Republic. It has been the policy of the Committee to encourage the formation of local cultural research centres by means of enlisting the interest of local young scientific forces, by organized support to local research institutions by assistance in the organization of national scientific libraries, museums, and so on.

To this cycle of activities connected with the study of the individual territories of the Union and of adjacent countries, belongs also the activity of the Polar Commission which takes constant care of the scientific researches of the Polar Geophysical Observatory at Matotchkin Shar, of the Commission for the study of lake Baikal and its station on the Baikal, and finally, of the Pacific Committee organized last October in connection with the participation of the U.S.S.R. in the International Pacific Association.

The Commission for the compilation of a reference volume under the title of "Science and Scientific Workers in the U.S.S.R." will publish in the spring a reference volume on "Scientific workers of the U.S.S.R. outside of Moscow and Leningrad" which all constitute the first instalment of a complete record of over 14,000 scientific workers who are active in various parts of the Soviet Union.

The whole of the Academy's activity, cursorily reviewed above, has been marked by two fundamental lines: the close organic connection of the Academy's scientific work with the process of the internal economic and cultural constructive work of the Soviet Union, and the considerable strengthening of the Academy's international relations.

It would be difficult to enumerate in detail the varied international congresses and conferences in which part was taken by representatives of the Academy. Altogether there were thirteen congresses and conferences of this kind in which over 30 of the Academy's delegates have taken part. Let us mention some of them: the Washington International Soil Conference, the Budapest International Zoological Congress, the International Congress of Physicists, the Como International Telegraph and Telephone Congress dedicated to the memory of Alexander Volta, the Berlin International Congress on Heredity

and Genetics, the Congress of Slav Geographers and Ethnographers in Poland, the Paris Congress of Industrial Chemistry, the Prague Congress of the International Association on Geodesy and Geophysics, the Rome International Limnological Congress, and a number of others. Furthermore, our scientists have taken part in a number of local Conferences, as in recent years there has been continuous growth in the practice of reciprocal invitation of scientists to national conferences. Thus the All-Union Botanical Conference in Leningrad was attended by scientists from the West, and the Academy of Sciences, in its turn, was represented at the Conference of German Mineralogists at Breslau, and at the Conference of French Historians in Paris. On foreign scientific missions, there were seventeen academicians and twenty-eight corresponding members and associates of the Academy, who have visited fourteen countries in Western Europe and in North America.

The members and associates of the Academy who were sent on various missions abroad have delivered numerous lectures in the various countries at diverse scientific conferences and before scientific associations and circles, whilst of a particularly organized character was the "Week of Soviet Science" in Berlin, in which part was taken by five members of the Academy, four corresponding members, and one scientific worker. This Conference represented an interesting experiment which was to afford an opportunity to German scientists to get acquainted with the achievements of Soviet science in the course of the last ten years, not through publications or papers, but through living intercourse with representatives of Soviet science. The Conference was organized by the Deutsche Gesellschaft zum Studium Osteuropas with the assistance of Notgemeinschaft de Deutschen Wissenschaft.

The third line in the international relations consisted in the joint organization of common scientific researches, expeditions, etc., by the scientists of several countries. Particularly close in this respect has been the Academy's connection with Germany, where preparations have been carried on jointly with the Notgemeinschaft de Deutschen Wissenschaft, in the person of its energetic leader, Professor Schmidt-Ott, for the organization of an united geographical expedition to Turkmenistan and also to the Buryat-Mongolian Soviet Republic. Preliminary organizational work

is also being carried out for similar joint scientific enterprises with French scientists.

Such, in general outline, has been the Academy's activity in the past year.

A Young Indian Artist

MR. K. Rama Mohana Sastri is a young artist of talent who has shown very great promise, especially in portraiture. Mr. Sastri is only twenty-three years old, and is a native of Masulipatam in Andhradesa. After a

which has been universally admired. From what I have seen of Mr. Sastri's work it seems to me that his forte is portraiture. His portrait sketches in pencil have a remarkable strength and fidelity and evince a most admirable grasp of character. In this he reminds one of another Indian artist. Mr. Mukul Dey, Principal of the Government Art School in Calcutta who has already established his reputation as an etcher and portraitist of the first rank. Mr. Sastri is contemplating the publication of a volume of portraits of South Indian great men and celebrities, which will be quite a distinctive



full school career in the National College at Masulipatam with special study of Sanskrit, he joined the Andhra Jatiya Kalashala learning his art there for four years and studying under Mr. Pramode Kumar Chatterji. He has exhibited his pictures in most of the important exhibitions in India, and competent critics including Dr. J. H. Cousins have highly appreciated his work. His pictures show the modern Indian school at a uniformly high level and European connoisseurs of art, as much as Indian art lovers who understand these things, have bought some of his pictures. Mr. Sastri has designed the seal of the Andhra University

production. One of Mr. Sastri's sketches—that of Mr. Nandalal Bose—is published in the present number of the *Modern Review* together with Mr. Sastri's own portrait from the pencil of Mr. Nandalal Bose.

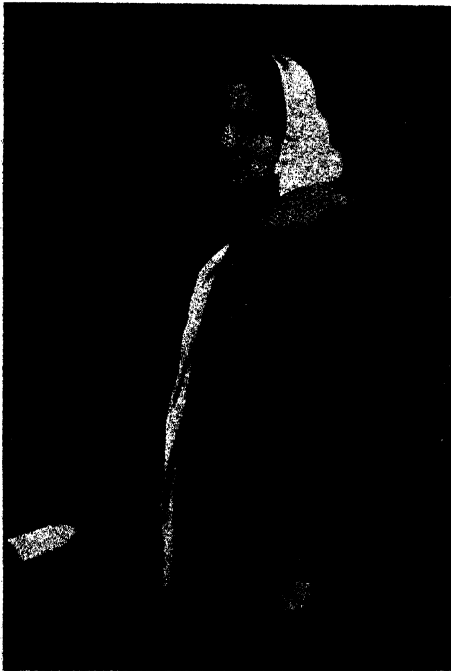
S. K. C.



Dr. KRISHANADEVI R. PATIL is the first Lingayat lady in Karnatak who has received high medical education in England. After passing the M.B. B.S. examination of the Bombay University in 1924, she proceeded to England in 1925 for further studies in Medicine and Surgery. She was aided by the Sir Desai of

(Edinburgh) during this month and is expected to sail home in April.

B. BHAGIRATHY AMMA is the proprietor and editor of the *Mahila*, a leading Malayalam monthly which commenced publication some



Dr. Krishanadevi R. Patil

Sirsangi Trust and Charitable Fund, Belgaum. She has now obtained several degrees of the Dublin University and in February last, was elected Fellow of the Royal Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons Glasgow (F. R. F. P. S.) She is appearing for F. R. C. S.



B. Bhagirathy Amma

eight years ago in the interests of the women of Kerala (Malabar.) The patronage of H. H. the

to 1238. (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, App. I, p. 14 Nos. 6 and 12 of list No 15).

(4) "Ramapala, who reigned from about 1077 to 1120 was one of the most famous of the Pala kings. His father Mahipala II. was slain by rebels, and Ramapala was compelled to flee" (p. 501). But the name of the father of Ramapala of Bengal was Vagrahapala III and Mahipala II was only his eldest brother. The learned author of this chapter, who was corrected his former Na-da into Ganda and Jaichand into Rajyapala (p. 507) in this chapter, has again failed to consult printed books in English. He would have found the genealogy in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, App. I, p. 14 List No. 23; also in *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, p. 85.

(5) "Benares was plundered. Kanauj was destroyed, and the kingdoms of the Gaharwars came to an end" (p. 530). The entire statement is false and incorrect. The kingdom of Kanauj did not come to an end with the plunder of Benares and Kanauj was not destroyed. Jayach-chandra's son Harischandra was alive and reigning at Kanauj in V. S. 1254 current—6th January 1197 A. D. and there are reasons to believe that he was alive and ruling in 1202 A.D. (*Epigraphia Indica* Vol. X, p. 94; P. & J. A. S. B. Vol. VII, p. 762). But Sir Wolsley Haig is so very sure of the extinction of the Gaharwars that he repeats the statement a few pages later. "The Gaharwar line was certainly extinguished, and there is no evidence that any escaped" (p. 521).

(6) "The founder of the Rathor dynasty of Marwar was Sialji, whom the bards of the Rajputs represent as a prince of the Gaharwar house of Kanauj." Later on, on the same page the author says, "The exploit enhanced his reputation and about 1212 he took up his abode in the fertile region watered by the Luni river, west of the Aravalli Mountain." The learned author had not even time to consult the index to the *Indian Antiquary* where he would have found an article entitled "Birth inscription of Siha Rathor," (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI, 1911, pp. 181-3) by D. R. Bhandarkar, who proved 18 years ago that Siha,

the founder of the Rathor dynasty of Jodhpur died in V. S. 1330-1273 A. D. and was the son of Sri-Seta. It is therefore rather risky to state in the twentieth century that this Siha was an active founder of kingdoms 61 years before his death.

(7) "Little more that is authentic is known of the history of the Gahlots or Sesodias until the reign of Ala-ud-din Khalji, who having already captured Ranthambhor from the Chauhans, besieged and took Chitor in 1303." (p. 524). I would request the reader of the 3rd. volume of the Cambridge History of India to consult the first two fasciculi of the History of Rajputana in Hindi published by Mahamahopadhyaya Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha of Ajmere. Sir Wolsley Haig should not have ventured into the unknown if he could not read that great Hindi work.

Among chapters not contributed by the learned editor two are of outstanding merit. These are the chapters on the History of Burma by Mr. G. E. Harvey I.C.S., and the monuments of Muslim India by Sir John Marshall. The editor of the volume might have copied the critical method employed in modern histories from Mr. Harvey who has shown his English collaborators how Indian records have to be utilized (Bibliography to chapter XXI, pp. 656-7). Sir John Marshall may also have served to Sir Wolsley Haig as a model of propriety and caution. After repeated attempts, I have failed to find a single point in which he can be taken to task for inaccuracies, carelessness or shortness in range of vision. Out of 23 chapters in the 3rd volume of the Cambridge History of India these two are the only ones which will survive. The rest are so fragmentary and one-sided that they fail to stand on the same level as the 1st volume and fall far below that of the Cambridge Mediaeval or Ancient Histories. The principal reason of the failure of the 3rd volume is the concentration of 17 or 18 chapters in the hand of one man who, again is the general editor and, above all, was not qualified to deal with the original materials of ancient Indian History except a portion only of the Perso-Arabic records.

A.B.—Page 455, col. 2, l. 4 from bottom: for Vol. pp. 222 read Vol. II, pp. 150-151.

The Academy of Science of the Soviet Union in 1927*

IN our enumeration of the activities of the Academic institutions, we shall begin with the Library which serves the interests of the whole Academy.

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further development of these institutional libraries is quite an urgent task at the present moment both in view of the development of the scientific institutions themselves, as well as with regard to the requirements of up-to-date library organization. It has become quite necessary to compile a complete catalogue of all the contents of the Academy's stock of books amounting to over 4,000,000 volumes.

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Nevertheless this scope of scientific activity, due both to general scientific problems as well as to the practical tasks of economic construction of our country, proved inadequate for the proper and profound solution of the problems which were taken up, and for this reason the Academy deemed it necessary, in the spring of last year, to transform the Seismic Department with its net

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Under far more difficult external conditions went on the activity of the second largest scientific institute of the Academy, the Institute of Chemistry, which by the scope of its work and by the exceptional scientific significance of its researches has long since outgrown the facilities furnished by the old Laboratory of the Academy; only after the erection of the new building with its new equipment will it be possible to do justice to the requirements of the Institute and to lay the foundation to the realization of the plan evolved by the Academy of Sciences for the erection of the Lomonosov Institute, known at present as the Lomonosov and Mendeleeff Institute. Energetic measures must be taken in this direction, particularly in view of the fact that the Jubilees of both giants of chemistry are to be celebrated in the course of the coming decade. The activity of the Institute of Chemistry was developed in its two Departments, and in close collaboration with the two research institutes of the Commission of the Natural Forces of Production, to wit: the Institute of Physico-Chemical Analysis and the Institute for the study of Platinum. The study of the natural saline equilibrium in our salt lakes, the study of crystalline hydrates, the elucidation of the methods of the affinity of platinum by means of studying the compounds of this metal, the study of the action of high temperatures (up to 480°) and pressures (up to 400 atmospheres) upon inorganic compounds and finally, the study of the process of hydro-genisation of organic compounds under the same conditions,—such were the basic lines followed by the research activity in the Institute of Chemistry.

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The Institute of Physiology, under the permanent guidance of the Academician I. P. Pavlov, has continued its further investigation into the domain of conditional reflexes whilst particular attention was given to the

researches on the types of nervous systems. The classification thus worked out is of tremendous scientific importance both in the sense that it outlines the course of strictly scientific characterization of human types, as well as for the reason that now, when studying this or that question in regard to conditional reflexes, it is possible to make a quite rational study of a given problem upon the suitable type of nervous system, thus securing the maximum productivity of the researches.

The Soil Institute (dedicated to the name of V. V. Dokutchayev), for the first time occupying an independent place in the pages of our report, was formerly a subsidiary institution of the Commission for the study of the natural Force of Production, and after its establishment as an independent institution, the beginning was made for the equipment of a special Soil Laboratory. The current museum activity, the considerable expedition activity connected with the study of the soils of vast territories in Mongolia, Kazakstan, Crimea and Armenia; the drawing of a soil map of the Asiatic and European parts of the U.S.S.R., along with the drawing of a soil map of the whole earth,—such are the fundamental current activities of the Institute which, however, were interrupted by two important moments in the life of this Institution: the VII All-Union Soil Congress held in January 1927 with the collaboration of the Academy of Sciences, and the International Soil Congress in Washington, in which our soil experts have not only taken an active part, but for which they had also prepared special exhibitions and published thirteen addresses in the English language, as well as a complete map of the Asiatic part of the U.S.S.R.

It is very difficult, in a brief annual report, to describe with sufficient clearness, and yet concretely, the activities of the two Laboratories, that of the Biochemistry and Physiology of Plants, and that of Zoology.

The first of these was engaged in studying the problems of fermentations and the chemistry of ferments and of microbiology of the soil, whilst the development of its activities was hampered by the inadequate equipment, as the instruments must be very accurate and of intricate construction which can be manufactured only by special firms abroad. As to the second of these laboratories it concentrated its scientific researches chiefly upon morphological and experimental investiga-

tions into the domain of the regeneration and transplantation of organs, continuing at the same time the equipment of premises for special physico-chemical researches.

Digressing somewhat from the general order of our report, I should like at this point, after mentioning the activities of the Zoological Laboratory, to say a word or two about the Academy's Biological Station at Sevastopol, which has developed considerable activity. The manifold activity of the seventy-five people who are working in this Station besides the permanent staff, the group studies with students of different higher schools, the scientific seminars, the publication of researches,—such are some of the aspects of the scientific activity of this Institution, and it is one of the Academy's tasks to help in strengthening and developing this Institution, in line with the general policy of encouraging local scientific research work.

The Geological Museum has developed its activities in the domains of paleontology, petrography, and general geology, whilst during the past year the Central Asiatic Department managed to gather the geological collections of most of the Russian expeditions to Mongolia, Uryankhan, Djungaria, etc. At the Mineralogical Museum during the last years, besides the gradual re-equipment of the different halls, there were held two exhibitions of new specimens and minerals obtained from the autonomous Soviet Republic of Yakutia and from the Tannu-Tuva People's Republic. In the activity of this Museum it is necessary to point out two moments in the year under report. On the one hand, the Museum, jointly with other mineralogical institutions of Leningrad, convened the First All-Union Conference of Mineralogists, Petrographers and Crystallographers, which attracted about 200 delegates from twenty-seven scientific centres of the Soviet Union, and on the other hand, right here, with the assistance of the Ceramic Institutes of the Scientifico-Technical Department of the Supreme Council of National Economy and of the Radium Institute of the Chief Scientific Board, a beginning was made for the establishment of a big Roentgen laboratory for geochemical and crystallographic researches. Particular interest was aroused by the expedition organized by the Museum for the quest of the Tungus meteorite, which has already yielded some interesting, if not yet fully elucidated data. The Botanical Museum continued its activity in bringing into shape

its collections from the European part of the Union, and at the close of the year under report, it was engaged in preparations for the All-Union Botanical Congress. The Zoological Museum during the last year, has completed the re-adjustment of its collections, which have suffered so much from the inundation in the autumn of 1924, and is now carrying on normal activities. The receipt of over 200,000 new species, a number of special zoological expeditions and missions which brought back most valuable materials from Mongolia, the Liu-Kiu Islands, the Verkhoyansk Range, etc., the publication of 96 papers by research workers of the Museum in our own as well as in the foreign press, the participation in the researches by 100 outside scientific workers in addition to the permanent staff in the Museum's researches, the energetic activity of the Zoology Circle and the Permanent Commissions, and finally, the wide extension of educational activity expressed in the fact that the Museum was visited by 98,000 people, as well as in the organization of a series of special courses for students of the higher schools,—such are the chief external features of the activities of this Institution.

Two important events should be recorded by the Pushkin House during the year under report. In the first place, the removal to the new quarters, where a grand exhibition of the collections was organized on the occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution, and secondly, the receipt of the Onyegin Collection from Paris, which has been bequeathed to the Academy by the late collector, whilst the first shipments of this valuable collection of manuscripts are already on the way from Paris at the time that this report is delivered. The Tolstoi Museum at the Academic Library has continued its bibliographical researches on the works of Leo Tolstoi and has made preparations for the celebrations of the forthcoming Centenary of Tolstoi's birth.

The Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography has continued its researches into the study of the little known tribes of Siberia, as well as of the exceedingly important, both in the linguistic and ethnographical aspects, Iranic tribes, and particularly of the Tadzhiks. This scientific activity, which has attracted also our young ethnographical forces, was supplemented by museum work: the organization of special exhibitions, the equipment of new Sections, the compilation of a catalogue of

the Museum, as well as the increased educational activity which attracted over 10,000 visitors and 60 special research workers to the Museum during the year under report. Perhaps, by these brief features we might have characterized the activity of the Museum, if we did not wish to mention the organization of the Department of Evolution and the Typology of Culture which has been so profoundly and interestingly started by the late L. J. Sternberg, and also the energetic activity of the Radlov Circle of the Museum which has held 10 Conferences in the course of the year.

A somewhat peculiar place in the structure of the Academy is occupied by the Asiatic Museum, which may be classed only partly as a Museum in view of its temporary exhibitions, but in reality it constitutes a scientific research institute with a vast Library and a large collection of oriental manuscripts. Having the assistance of a large body of specialists working upon the Oriental Board, the Asiatic Museum has continued during the current year the amplification of its collections of literary documents from the Soviet Union and abroad. The study of the scientific materials by the Museum's workers has resulted in numerous scientific essays published either by the Academy or abroad. Closely connected with the Asiatic Museum are the Periodical Iran Review and the Bibliotheca Buddhica series which has received new materials in connection with the Mongolian expeditions carried out by collaborators of the Museum. The new Departments of Buddhist Culture and of Turcology, now organized at the Museum, are absolutely essential in connection with contemporary problems of Orientology. Finally, a third among the group of humanistic institutions is the Paleographic Museum, which has held two special exhibitions during the last year in connection with the re-organization of its abundant collections.

In close logical connection with the Asiatic Museum are the two independent scientific establishments: the Japhetic Institute, and the Caucasian Historico-Archaeological Institute at Tiflis. The Japhetic Institute, continuing the application of the Japhetological method in regard to a series of new trends in the domain of modern languages, in connection with the extension of its researches, has formed a group on the methodology of the Japhetic Theory and a section for the co-ordination of linguistic

researches with the history of material culture. This idea of combining linguistic researches with the study of culture, and the development of social forms is the result of the fundamental researches of the Japhetic Institute on questions of the Paleontology of language, and of special investigations into the Tchuvash, Abkhazian, and Ula languages (the latter being one of the chief Japhetic languages in East Caucasia), and so on. In close collaboration with the Japhetic Institute has been the activity of the Caucasian Historico-Archaeological Institute.

The study of the natural forces was carried on by the U.S.S.R. Commission for the study of the natural forces of production, and the study of the human materials was carried on by the Commission for the study of the Racial Composition of the population of the U.S.S.R. and border countries.

The first of these Commissions has continued its expeditionary and experimental activities, whilst the second has taken up the organization of all-union conferences of scientific workers on individual questions relating to the exploration of the natural wealth of the Union. A vast variety of subjects relating to the economic pursuits of the different parts of the Soviet Union were discussed at these Conferences. The Commission for the Study of Racial Composition has completed an ethnographical chart of the Soviet Union, which is the result of many years' investigation and researches. Although the chart may not be considered as quite complete, bearing in mind the great number of different races and tribes inhabiting the territory of the Union, nevertheless it constitutes the first big step towards the solution of this important question.

Considerable successes were achieved in the last year by the Historico-Archaeographical Commission, whose stock of manuscripts has been enlarged by materials of exceptional value. It has also developed activity with regard to the publication of a series of scientific studies on its manuscripts, particularly on those dating from the XVII and XIX centuries. Among the activities of the other Commissions, mention should be made of the Russo-Byzantine Commission, which has organized a special Section at Odessa in order to accelerate the work of the publication of the Greek Dictionary of Ducange, as well as special Sub-Commission

for the study of the economic and trade relations of Ancient Russia with Byzantium and the Orient. The Commission for the publication of monuments of ancient Russian Literature has continued its activities in publishing the whole of the ancient Russian literary relics of the 11th-17th centuries. The Slavonic Commission, the Commission for the compilation of a systematic bibliography on ancient Russian literature, and the Commission for the scientific publication of the Slavonic bible, have carried on their researches into the essential sources of the Russian language, whilst the Dictionary Commission and the Commission on the Dialectology of the Russian language have carried on profound researches in the study of the modern Russian language in the light of new scientific data. The historic processes now going on in this country are having their rapid effect upon the whole mode of life and the customs of the population, and the new cultural currents are having their influence upon the language and upon its development. The publication of the "Dictionary of the Russian Language" is energetically pursued and has already been brought to the letter "O", constituting at this moment a particularly important task for the Dictionary Commission, and for the Academy of Sciences as a whole.

The Academy's expeditionary activity in the past year has been carried out on quite an unprecedented scale. Sixty-five large scientific expeditions, of which sixteen were carried out in the European part of the U.S.S.R. whilst the remainder were connected with the more distant borderlands of the Union; the exceptional variety of the problems relating to geology, geochemistry, ethnography, the soil, zoology, or of a combined character: the beginning made with the organization of systematic expeditions having for their purpose the exploration of the territory of whole republics; the continuation of a series of complex polar expeditions,—all this necessitated the unification and co-ordination of the expeditionary activities under one academic organ, which has received the name of the Special Committee for the Exploration of the Allied and Autonomous Republics. Even this fairly comprehensive title does not fully cover the tasks of the Committee, as it has also assisted in the organization of purely scientific expeditions undertaken by the separate institutions of the Academy. The activities of the

Committee are aided at the present time by the independent Yakut, Kazakstan, Central Asiatic, Trans-Caucasian, and Bishkir Commissions, as well as by the special exploration Commissions of the friendly people's Republics of Mongolia and Tannu-Tuva, and of the Buryat-Mongolian Soviet Republic. It has been the policy of the Committee to encourage the formation of local cultural research centres by means of enlisting the interest of local young scientific forces, by organized support to local research institutions by assistance in the organization of national scientific libraries, museums, and so on.

To this cycle of activities connected with the study of the individual territories of the Union and of adjacent countries, belongs also the activity of the Polar Commission which takes constant care of the scientific researches of the Polar Geophysical Observatory at Matotchkin Shar, of the Commission for the study of lake Baikal and its station on the Baikal, and finally, of the Pacific Committee organized last October in connection with the participation of the U.S.S.R. in the International Pacific Association.

The Commission for the compilation of a reference volume under the title of "Science and Scientific Workers in the U.S.S.R." will publish in the spring a reference volume on "Scientific workers of the U.S.S.R. outside of Moscow and Leningrad" which all constitute the first instalment of a complete record of over 14,000 scientific workers who are active in various parts of the Soviet Union.

The whole of the Academy's activity, cursorily reviewed above, has been marked by two fundamental lines: the close organic connection of the Academy's scientific work with the process of the internal economic and cultural constructive work of the Soviet Union, and the considerable strengthening of the Academy's international relations.

It would be difficult to enumerate in detail the varied international congresses and conferences in which part was taken by representatives of the Academy. Altogether there were thirteen congresses and conferences of this kind in which over 30 of the Academy's delegates have taken part. Let us mention some of them: the Washington International Soil Conference, the Budapest International Zoological Congress, the International Congress of Physicists, the Como International Telegraph and Telephone Congress dedicated to the memory of Alexander Volta, the Berlin International Congress on Heredity

and Genetics, the Congress of Slav Geographers and Ethnographers in Poland, the Paris Congress of Industrial Chemistry, the Prague Congress of the International Association on Geodesy and Geophysics, the Rome International Limnological Congress, and a number of others. Furthermore, our scientists have taken part in a number of local Conferences, as in recent years there has been continuous growth in the practice of reciprocal invitation of scientists to national conferences. Thus the All-Union Botanical Conference in Leningrad was attended by scientists from the West, and the Academy of Sciences, in its turn, was represented at the Conference of German Mineralogists at Breslau, and at the Conference of French Historians in Paris. On foreign scientific missions, there were seventeen academicians and twenty-eight corresponding members and associates of the Academy, who have visited fourteen countries in Western Europe and in North America.

The members and associates of the Academy who were sent on various missions abroad have delivered numerous lectures in the various countries at diverse scientific conferences and before scientific associations and circles, whilst of a particularly organized character was the "Week of Soviet Science" in Berlin, in which part was taken by five members of the Academy, four corresponding members, and one scientific worker. This Conference represented an interesting experiment which was to afford an opportunity to German scientists to get acquainted with the achievements of Soviet science in the course of the last ten years, not through publications or papers, but through living intercourse with representatives of Soviet science. The Conference was organized by the Deutsche Gesellschaft zum Studium Osteuropas with the assistance of Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft.

The third line in the international relations consisted in the joint organization of common scientific researches, expeditions, etc., by the scientists of several countries. Particularly close in this respect has been the Academy's connection with Germany, where preparations have been carried on jointly with the Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft, in the person of its energetic leader, Professor Schmidt-Ott, for the organization of an united geographical expedition to Turkmenistan and also to the Buryat-Mongolian Soviet Republic. Preliminary organizational work

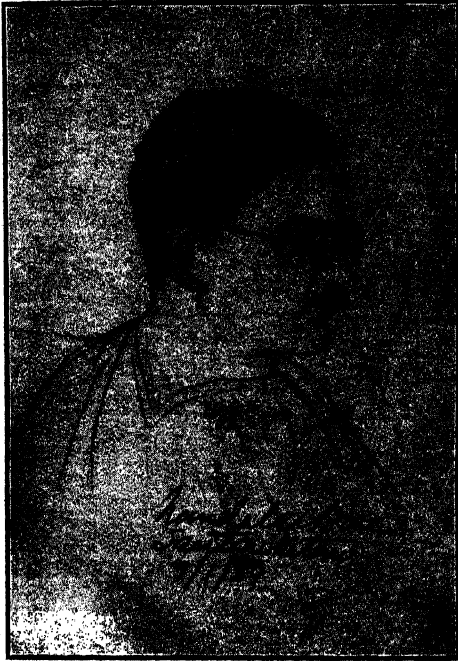
is also being carried out for similar joint scientific enterprises with French scientists.

Such, in general outline, has been the Academy's activity in the past year.:

A Young Indian Artist

MR. K. Rama Mohana Sastri is a young artist of talent who has shown very great promise, especially in portraiture. Mr. Sastri is only twenty-three years old, and is a native of Masulipatam in Andhradesa. After a

which has been universally admired. From what I have seen of Mr. Sastri's work it seems to me that his forte is portraiture. His portrait sketches in pencil have a remarkable strength and fidelity and evince a most admirable grasp of character. In this he reminds one of another Indian artist. Mr. Mukul Dey, Principal of the Government Art School in Calcutta who has already established his reputation as an etcher and portraitist of the first rank. Mr. Sastri is contemplating the publication of a volume of portraits of South Indian great men and celebrities, which will be quite a distinctive



full school career in the National College at Masulipatam with special study of Sanskrit, he joined the Andhra Jatiya Kalashala learning his art there for four years and studying under Mr. Pramode Kumar Chatterji. He has exhibited his pictures in most of the important exhibitions in India, and competent critics including Dr. J. H. Cousins have highly appreciated his work. His pictures show the modern Indian school at a uniformly high level and European connoisseurs of art, as much as Indian art lovers who understand these things, have bought some of his pictures. Mr. Sastri has designed the seal of the Andhra University



production. One of Mr. Sastri's sketches—that of Mr. Nandalal Bose—is published in the present number of the *Modern Review* together with Mr. Sastri's own portrait from the pencil of Mr. Nandalal Bose.

S. K. C.



Dr. KRISHANADEVI R. PATIL is the first Lingayat lady in Karnatak who has received high medical education in England. After passing the M.B. B.S. examination of the Bombay University in 1924, she proceeded to England in 1925 for further studies in Medicine and Surgery. She was aided by the Sir Desai of

(Edinburgh) during this month and is expected to sail home in April.

B. BHAGIRATHY AMMA is the proprietor and editor of the *Mahila*, a leading Malayalam monthly which commenced publication some



Dr. Krishnadevi R. Patil

Sirsangi Trust and Charitable Fund, Belgaum. She has now obtained several degrees of the Dublin University and in February last, was elected Fellow of the Royal Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons Glasgow (F. R. F. P. S.) She is appearing for F. R. C. S.

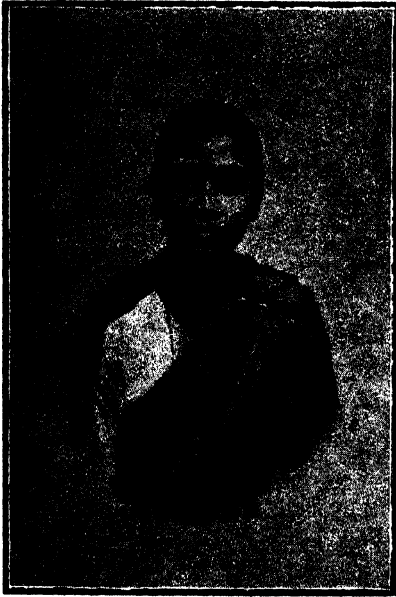


B. Bhagirathy Amma

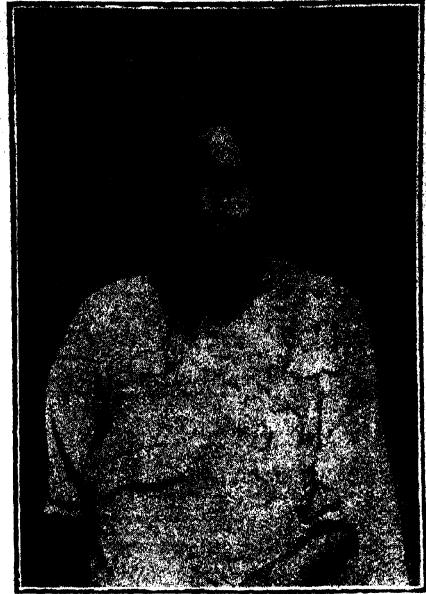
eight years ago in the interests of the women of Kerala (Malabar.) The patronage of H. H. the

Junior Maharani of Travancore has been a source of inspiration and support to this talented lady editor. She presided over the Arayar (Seacoast people) Conference held recently in Central Travancore.

MISS S. SRINIVASAGURU, Sub-Assistant Inspectress of Schools, Palamcottah, has been nominated as a Member of the District Educational Council, Tinnevely.



Miss. S. Srinivasaguru



Miss. E. Samuel



Mrs. Dadiba Metha

MISS E. SAMUEL, of the Travancore Medical Service, who proceeded to England some time ago for higher medical education, has just returned to Trivandrum after taking several diplomas at Home.

MRS. DADIBA METHA, the wife of the District and Sessions Judge, Ahmednagar, has recently been elected President of the Girl Guides Association, Ahmednagar.

Presidential Address at the Twelfth Session of the All India Hindu Mahasabha, Held at Surat, 1929

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

IT is undoubtedly true that all over the world every man owes a duty to the nation to which he belongs. But in addition to that duty, he has his duty to the family he belongs to, and the religious community or other section or class to which he belongs. Even in countries which are inhabited almost entirely by people professing a single religion, it is found that those who belong to different sects of that religion, such as Roman Catholic, Anglican, Baptist, etc., try to promote the welfare of the particular sects to which they belong. This they do without neglecting their duties as citizens or as members of a household. That is to say, they belong to particular political parties, particular religious sects and particular families, and do their duties to all. Some may belong also to trade unions, learned societies, chambers of commerce, etc., and do their duties as such. Nobody contends in those countries that there is any necessary antagonism between a man's duties to the nation and his duties to smaller groups. Even the greatest of statesmen in those countries may belong to these smaller groups, and many have actually so belonged. No charge of communalism in a bad sense is brought against them. Similarly in India, the charge of communalism cannot justly be brought against Ananda Mohan Bose, President of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj and also of the Indian National Congress, against Lajpat Rai, President of the Hindu Mahasabha and also of the Indian National Congress, or against Madan Mohan Malaviya, President of the Indian National Congress and also of the Hindu Mahasabha. What is true of them is true also of nationalist Hindu Sabhaites of lesser note. They all try to change the various Hindu bodies into compact bricks for the Indian national edifice, instead of allowing them to remain like loose dust or shapeless mud, not fit to build palaces with.

Among the inhabitants of India are to be found men and women following some one or other of all the historic religions of the world. Here we also have political

organizations open to persons of all religions or no religion, such as the Indian National Congress and the National Liberal Federation. As Hindus form the majority of the population of India, they have, all along, as a matter of course, constituted the majority of the members of these political bodies, and have been their most active workers. Their political zeal is neither un-Hindu, nor unnatural. For though during certain periods of their history Hindus may have been rather un-politically-minded, it is in their sacred epic of the Mahabharata, Santi Parva, that one finds the following verses :—

“Majjet Trayī dandanītau hatāyām.
sarve dharmāḥ prakṣhayeyur-vivṛddhāḥ :
Sarve dharmāḥ chāshramānām hatāḥ syuḥ.
kṣhātre tyakte rājadharme purāṇe.
Sarve tyāgā rājadharmeṣu dṛṣṭā,
sarvāḥ dīkṣhā rājadharmeṣu yuktāḥ :
Sarvā vidyā rājadharmeṣu choktāḥ,
sarve lokā rājadharme prabīṣṭāḥ.”

“When Politics becomes lifeless, the triple Veda sinks, all the *Dharmas* (i.e., the bases of civilization), (however) developed, completely decay. When traditional State-Ethics are departed from, all the bases of the divisions of individual life are shattered.

“In Politics are realized all the forms of renunciation, in politics are united all the sacraments, in politics are combined all knowledge : in Politics are centred all the Worlds.”—K. P. Jayaswal's translation.

It is to be understood that, in these verses from the Mahabharata, by politics is meant the politics of a free people. Politics of a certain kind is also needed in order that a dependent people may be free ; but it is not of the petitionary or theatrically minatory variety.

But even the politics of a free people does not include all kinds of human activity, inner and outward, though all such things are intimately connected, directly or indirectly, with politics. Much less does the politics of dependent peoples comprehend all their activities, including their culture. To conserve and promote all these, something in addition

to political organisations and activities are needed. At this time of day, it would be rather superfluous to dwell on India's achievement in human history. Nevertheless, I shall here quote the opinions of two men : of Lord Curzon, who cannot be accused of sympathy with Indian aspirations, and of Max Muller, who studied ancient Indian literature sympathetically. The former as Viceroy said in his address at the Delhi Durbar in 1901 :—

"Powerful Empires existed and flourished here, while Englishmen were still wandering painted in the woods, and while the British colonies were still a wilderness and a jungle. India has left a deeper mark upon the history, the philosophy, and religion of mankind, than any other terrestrial unit in the Universe."

The latter, in his book on "What India has to teach us", says :—

"If I were asked under what sky the human mind has most fully developed some of its choicest gifts, has most deeply pondered on the greatest problems of life, and has found solutions of some of them which will deserve the attention even of those who have studied Plato and Kant, I should point to India. If I were to ask myself from what literature we here in Europe, may draw the corrective which is most wanted in order to make our inner life more perfect, more universal, in fact more truly human, again I should point to India."

Later on I shall have something more to say of India's achievement. At this stage, I need only observe, that it is necessary that there should be a community whose special business it should be to conserve our heritage. I do not say that people of non-Indian faiths have not the right to this heritage or that none of them have done anything to preserve it—for some of them have been pre-eminent workers in this field ; what I mean is that it is peculiarly our duty and our right to keep whatever of permanent value has come down from our past and to extend the bounds of Indian thought and culture. For, whatever friend or foe may say, we are not a decadent people. We mean to live, we will live, we can live, and we will yet give to the world what God intended that we should. Men of non-Indian culture may care—and sincerely care—for Indian culture as something ancillary ; but with us, our heritage is that in which our being is rooted, it is the core of our collective and individual life. We may assimilate the best that is in non-Indian cultures and faiths, but the essence of our individual and collective personality must necessarily be Indian. Others may think that we are mistaken in holding that Indian culture and spirituality are not inferior to any other that exists ; but we stick to our opinion.

In order that there may be a living continuity between India's past, present and future, and in order that India's past may bear fruit again for all men's good, in the soil of India's present and future, drawing sap from all quarters, it is necessary that the Hindus should not die out. For, their loyalty to India is naturally more comprehensive, deep and whole-hearted than that of any other community. And in saying this do not in the least disparage Indians of non-Indian faiths and their cults and cultures, which also have a value, or forget that cultures of non-Indian origin have in some measure enriched Indian culture. Nor do we suggest that by merely calling oneself a Hindu, one becomes in any respect more loyal to India than an Indian who is not a Hindu. Loyalty to India implies devoted service to India in a comprehensive sense and living according to the ideals of Indian culture and spirituality.

For the continued existence of the Hindu people, something more than the politics of a dependent people is required. It should be the duty of the Hindu Mahasabha and all other Hindu organizations and institutions to be this additional something. Man cannot live by politics alone. Nor, therefore, can the Hindu man. Far less can he live by politics, if it becomes lifeless.

What is the life of politics ? A common hatred of alien rule cannot be this life. Love of freedom in its widest sense, love of India and her heritage with "love far-brought from out the storied Past," and a loving, profound and burning faith in something eternal which makes for righteousness, justice and truth can make politics living. This faith we call religion. The religions of the Hindu people may give them this faith, if they are sincere believers. Men who have such faith are thereby fortified for all strenuous beneficent endeavours for all sacrifices and sufferings, and are placed above fear and temptation.

Just as internationalists of an extreme type forget in their condemnation of nationalism that nationalism may be of two kinds, so nationalists forget that devotion to the welfare of the religious community to which one belongs may not necessarily deserve the name of communalism in an opprobrious sense. Nationalism is bad when it means "My country, right or wrong," when it seeks to aggrandise one's own country at the expense of other countries.

Nationalism has come to have a sinister significance because in Europe it has been generally of the predatory sort. But Indian nationalism is not of that character. It only wants the restoration of the birthright of Indians in India; it does not seek to deprive any foreign people of their rights in their countries. Similarly, the Hindu Mahasabha does not seek to have for Hindus any political, economic or civic rights or privileges to which they are not entitled by their numbers, educational and other qualifications, character, ability, public spirit and tax-paying capacity. And, in particular, the Hindu Mahasabha does not want for Hindus any fixed share of anything which may indirectly leave an inequitable portion for others. It stands for open and fair competition, for an open door for talent irrespective of considerations of race, creed, or complexion. It is one of its objects "to promote good feelings between the Hindus and other communities in India and to act in a friendly way with them with a view to evolve a united and self-governing Indian Nation." Its other objects are concerned mainly with the internal affairs of the Hindu community. The promotion of the political interests and rights of the entire Hindu community is mentioned last. And it is added in a note that "the Mahasabha shall not side or identify itself or interfere with or oppose any political party." This leaves the members of the Mahasabha free in their individual capacity to join or not to join any political party.

The history of the Mahasabha shows that its political activities have been purely of a defensive character. It has put in an appearance in the political arena only when in its opinion the political interests of the Hindus have been jeopardised. And, so far as my knowledge goes, it has not been as active in certain political matters as it could justifiably have been. Whether this has been due to forbearance or some other causes, I do not know. I will give an example.

The qualification of electors for the Council of State, for example, are not the same for Muhammadans and non-Muhammadans. A person can become an elector for the Council of State if he was in the 'previous year' assessed, in Bengal, on an income of not less than Rs. 12,000 in the case of non-Muhammadans and Rs. 6,000 in the case of Muhammadans; and in Bihar and Orissa on an income of not less than Rs.

12,800 in the case of Non-Muhammadans and Rs. 6,400 in the case of Muhammadans. A non-Muhammadan in Bengal becomes an elector if he pays land revenue amounting to not less than Rs. 7,500 in the Burdwan and Presidency Divisions and not less than Rs. 5,000 in the Dacca, Rajshahi or Chittagong Divisions, but a Muhammadan becomes an elector everywhere in Bengal if he pays land revenue amounting only to not less than Rs. 600. In Bihar and Orissa, a non-Muhammadan can become an elector if he pays land-revenue amounting to not less than Rs. 1,200; but a Muhammadan obtains the same right by paying not less than Rs. 750 as land revenue. Thus do political and civic human values differ in some provinces in the estimation of Government according to the creed one professes, a Muhammadan being *ipso facto* held to be better qualified to exercise the right of citizenship than a non-Muhammadan. The Hindu Mahasabha may rightly protest against such deliberate efforts to depress the Hindus.

Perhaps what has more than anything else made the Hindu Mahasabha unpopular with the bulk of Indian Mussalmans is its effort "to preserve and increase the numerical strength of the Hindus," which is one of its declared objects. Non-Hindu communities in India, like the Muhammadan and the Christian, particularly the former, have increased vastly at the expense of the Hindus and the aborigines of India. Therefore, anything done to arrest this process cannot be looked upon with favour by the followers of those non-Indian faiths. Still more unpleasant must the reversal of the process be to them. But I do not see how one can logically and justly object to the Hindus' doing what the others have been doing for centuries—particularly as the Hindus have not gone in for the accession to their ranks of "rice" Hindus, of non-Hindu women abducted or confiscated and obliged to be converted, of men tempted to come over by the prospect of marriage, of persons induced to be converted by the prospect of economic advantage, and of persons forced to be converted by terrorism of any kind. The Hindu Mahasabha and Hindu missions connected with it, formally or informally, want re-conversion and conversion only by fair, open and legitimate means.

Non-Hindus allege that Hinduism has never been a proselytizing faith, and that,

therefore, conversion to Hinduism is a new departure, and hence, an aggressive move. Assuming that Hinduism has never been a proselytizing religion, I do not see what spiritual, moral, rational or legal objection there can be to Hindus adopting a new method to meet a new situation. Every individual and every group has an inherent right to take all legitimate steps for self-preservation and maximum usefulness. "New occasions teach new duties", and "new times demand new measures". That a new situation has arisen is quite plain. In most provinces of India the Hindus now form a smaller percentage of the population than they did fifty years ago, the percentage showing a decline at each successive census. This is true also of India as a whole. In 1881 the Hindus were 7,432 per 10,000 of the population, but in 1921 they were only 6,841 per ten thousand of the population, according to the Census of India Report, 1921, vol. I. In some provinces or parts of provinces, there has been an actual decline in the number of Hindus. For example, in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh during the decade 1911-21 the Hindus have decreased by 347 per 10,000 and in the previous decade they decreased by 130 per ten thousand. These decreases are not, of course, due mainly, but are so only partly, to conversion to non-Hindu religions. But whatever the causes, the Hindus are entitled to combat them by all legitimate means. During the decade 1911-21 the Hindus have decreased in numbers in West Bengal by 52 per thousand, in North Bengal by 32 per thousand, and in the whole province by 7 per thousand. The main cause of these decreases in these areas is not conversion to non-Hindu faiths. But whatever the causes and the extent of their responsibility for these decreases, the Hindus must try to combat all of them by all fair and scientific means. It is to be noted that in some other areas conversion is a cause of considerable decrease. The Report from which I have quoted before states :—

"The Punjab Superintendent estimates that during the last decade Hinduism has given 40,000 converts to Muhammadanism and nearly three times that number to Christianity. . . . The losses elsewhere are much smaller, but everywhere a steady drain is going on." P. 122.

According to the same Report Christianity got 700,000 converts during the decade 1911-21 in the whole of India.

Imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, and if the Hindus become proselytizers like the followers of Semitic faiths, the latter ought to feel flattered.

I have hitherto taken it for granted that Hindus had not until recently admitted non-Hindus into their ranks. This, however, is not a historical fact. The Hindu methods of proselytism may have been different from the methods of non-Hindu religions. But from time immemorial, Hinduization has gone on continually. According to the definition of the Hindu Mahasabha, Buddhists are also Hindus. Vincent Smith says that both Buddhism and Jainism may be regarded as offshoots of Hinduism. In the opinion of Prof. Rhys Davids, the Buddha was the greatest and wisest and best of Hindus. Weber holds that Buddhism may be regarded as a reformed phase of Hindu religious and ethical activity. Now, it is well-known that Buddhism was the earliest and foremost of proselytizing religions both in and outside India. The Hindu Mahasabha considers Sikhism also to be a form of Hinduism, which originated some centuries ago. It also has initiated both Hindus and non-Hindus into its faith. I need not refer to the activities of the modern Brahmo and Arya Samaj movements.

But even if one confined one's attention to the Hindus proper, to those who are called Brahmanic Hindus in the Census Report, one would find that Hinduization has gone on from time immemorial. I need not and have no time to go into details. But there is sanction for such conversions or initiations in the ancient Hindu scriptures, as well as in the later Devala Smriti. It is not merely the Brahmins and the so-called other higher castes who are Hindus. Persons of all castes, however humble, who call themselves Hindu, belong to that community. Taking these latter first, it is clear from their features, complexion, manners and customs, and in some cases, their languages, that they are Hinduized autochthons or indigenes. But even if we take, say, the Brahmins of different provinces of India, neither the man in the street looking at them nor the votaries of the science of anthropology would say that the Brahmins of Kashmir, Bihar, Bengal, Orissa, Andhradesha, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Kerala and Tamil Nadu, were sprung from one and the same original stock descended from the same Arya Rishis. The eminent orthodox Brahman scholar Mahamahopadhyay Pandit

Haraprasad Sastri has said of his people, the Bengalis, that they are mainly of non-Aryan stock, there being large admixtures of Mongoloid, Dravidian and other strains. In some Brahman families of pure Brahman stock, related to one another, whom I know, there are very marked differences in the features, complexion, nasal index, hair, etc. All this shows that the vast Hindu community is a composite group, that many castes, including the "highest", are also composite groups, and that this compositeness is due to Hinduization of various peoples through the ages. One may be permitted to hold that the Aryans are not the only members of the human race entitled to respect. Non-Aryan stocks also have produced numerous persons of superior calibre.

The evidence of history also testifies to the Hinduization of many Indian and non-Indian tribes, etc. Innumerable Huns, Scythians, Parthians and others who made inroads into India centuries ago, were absorbed by the great Hindu community and were sometimes assigned all but the highest place in the Hindu social organization.

Coming down to more recent times but to a period anterior to the inauguration of the *Shuddhi* movement, one finds decisive proofs of Hinduization in the Census Reports of various provinces and years. I will make only a few brief extracts from one of them. It is stated in the Census of India Report, 1911, Vol. i, p. 121 :—

"An aboriginal tribe in an environment where Hindu influences are strong comes gradually and half-consciously to adopt Hindu ideas and prejudices, to take part in Hindu festivals, to attend at Hindu temples and to pay a certain amount of homage to Brahmans. Some degraded members of the priestly caste, or perhaps some Vaishnava Gosain in search of a livelihood, becomes their spiritual guide : and as time goes on, the difference between them and their Hindu neighbours, in respect of their social customs and outward religious observances, becomes less and less marked, until at last they are regarded by themselves and their neighbours as regular Hindus. The change takes place so slowly and insidiously that no one is conscious of it. There is no formal abandonment of one ritual for another. Sometimes it happens that a tribe is thus divided into two sections, the one Hinduized and the other still Animistic. In such cases open proselytization often takes place amongst the unregenerate."

Further information on this question of the Hinduization of the non-Aryan or casteless tribes is to be found in Sir Alfred Lyall's Essay on Missionary and non-Missionary Religions ; Risley's Tribes and

Castes of Bengal, Vol. i, page xv ; Assam Census Report for 1891, Vol. i, pages 83 and 84 ; and Bengal Census Report for 1901, page 152.

As regards the re-conversion of Christians and Muhammadans, the same Census Report from which I have already made an extract, says :

"It appears that here and there small communities of Christian and Muhammadan converts have drifted back into Hinduism. The Urap and Varap Agris of the Thana district of Bombay are said to have reverted to Hinduism from Christianity rather less than a century ago. The Kirpal Bhandaris of the same district were forcibly converted to Christianity by the Portuguese, but were afterwards accepted back into Hinduism. Regarding the Matia Kumbis and Sheikhdas of Baroda, the local Superintendent writes that they became Muhammadans about three centuries ago, but have gradually abandoned their Muhammadan practices, and many of them were recently admitted into the Vaishnava sects of Ramanand and Swami Narayan.

"Another indication of the awakening of Hinduism and the tendency of errant sects to return to the main fold is found in the fact reported by the Punjab Superintendent that certain Panchpiriyas in that Province have substituted a purely Hindu combination (Bhairon, Siva, Parbati, Gunga and Sitala) for the five Muhammadan saints ordinarily worshipped by this sect." Pp. 121-2.

It is added :

"The Mundas and Hos of Chota Nagpur return a larger proportion of persons claiming to be Hindus than they did ten years ago..." P. 122.

Hitherto I have spoken of the process of Hinduization as carried on within the boundaries of India as at present constituted. But in times past this was a vaster process which went on in parts of the earth outside India which were very much larger in area than India herself. For it must not be forgotten that in ancient times the Hindus were not *kupa-mandukah* or 'frogs in the well,' confined to their homeland, but were among the greatest if not the greatest, of seafaring and colonizing peoples, and that they deeply influenced a much larger portion of the earth than even the ancient Greeks, whose influence is rightly considered to have been great and wide, and who among the ancient peoples, European think, exercised the greatest influence over considerable sections of the then known world. This is not the time and the occasion to compare the respective achievements of the ancient Hindus and the ancient Greeks. But I may here direct attention to a few points of difference.

Though Greek influence extended to some parts of Asia, though similarly Hindu influence reached some parts of Europe

and though the Greeks greatly influenced a strip of North Africa and the Hindus had penetrated to it and the island of Madagascar, speaking broadly Europe formed the main sphere of Greek influence and Asia that of Hindu influence. Now, Europe has an area of 3,750,000 square miles, Asia of 17,000,000 square miles. The ancient Hindus influenced not only a much larger area and population than the ancient Greeks, but Hindu influence was more profound and ranged over wider fields of intellectual, aesthetic and spiritual effort. Religion is the highest, the most profound and the most dynamic factor in human evolution. Neither the Greeks nor any other Western peoples were able to give mankind any new religion, though Neo-Platonism had something to do with Christianity; whereas the Hindus have given to Asia Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism—not to speak of their many comparatively modern offshoots. The influence of no ancient or modern European peoples has raised any savage people in their homeland to heights of creative effort in literature, painting, sculpture, iconography, architecture, music and dramatic art equal to their civilized teachers. But the touch of the ancient Hindu's "magic wand" of universal love and truth awakened into activity the latent genius of many an uncivilized people in the south-eastern mainland and islands of Asia. "Wherever India's magic wand of universal love has touched any foreign land," says Rabindranath Tagore, "what a marvellous display of art has come to life there! That country has become radiant with the splendour of a new artistic creation. And yet, look at the people of exactly the same ethnic stock living in neighbouring countries which were not visited by ancient Indian missionaries. They are cannibals, utterly devoid of art. India lit up the dark hearts of such a savage race by the sublime message of her religion of mercy, renunciation and love. It is not that Indian influence has resulted in certain changes in dress, speech and manners in Cambodia and Borneo, Java and Sumatra; the latent power of artistic creation among these peoples has been awakened. And what a marvellous creation it is! There are many other islands around the India-colonised Java and Bali. But why do we not find any Boro Budur, any Angkor Vat there? It is because the rousing call of Truth did not reach these neighboring islands. There is no glory in stimulating the imitative spirit in men; but there is no

nobler work than that of liberating the latent creative energy of others."

And this work the ancient Hindus did in a pre-eminent degree. The result is that, though at present it is only in the island of Bali that there still exists an archaic form of Hinduism and in Siam there is Buddhism, yet among the modern peoples of Java and other India-colonised islands and in the Moslem countries of Further India, there are glorious remains of Indian art. The sculptures relate to scenes from the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and the Jataka stories. The literature extant in Java and Bali was born of Hindu influence and relates to the Sanskrit epics and Puranas. The dramatic performances and dances are of Hindu origin. The culture is still Hindu. The names of many places and persons are Indian. Mr. K. T. Paul, the well-known Indian Christian, writes in his book on "The British Connection with India," page 38:—

"In this connection it is very interesting to note that a fellow-passenger of mine on this boat, a Javanese, who is a very good Mohammedan, bears the name of Sastravidagda (learned in the Sastras)! While the religion of practically the whole of his nation is Islam, he tells me that the literature studied is still Ramayana and Mahabharata, and that a recent production of high merit is on Agastya."

In some parts of the Malay Archipelago Mussalman Mullahs are called *pandita*, and in Moslem Annam they are called *achar*, that is to say, *acharya*.

The Javanese and some other neighbouring islanders believe that the stories of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata had their scenes in their countries. I cannot dwell at length here on the absorbing topic of Indian colonial culture and civilization in Further India and in the Indian Archipelago. But a few more facts may be mentioned.

"The first record we have of a king in Indo-China bearing a Pallava name is from the fourth century of the Christian era when a Pallava Brahman by the name of Kaundinya came from the old Faunan, the name of which was later changed to Champa. This Kaundinya assumed the surname of Varman, which was the official Pallava title, and it is from him that the later Hindu-Chinese rulers in this portion of the peninsula traced their descent." A History of the Orient, by Steiger, Beyer and Benitez, p. 109.

The sage Agastya is believed traditionally to have been the greatest coloniser of the Indian Archipelago. The Empire of Sri-Vijaya or Sri-Vishaya in Sumatra became such a great seat of learning that students from India went there to sit at the feet of

a great Buddhist scholar and preceptor of the name of Dharmapala. A recently discovered ancient manuscript in Nepal pictures and tells how Sri-jnana Dipankara, the greatest Indian teacher in Tibet, who went there from East Bengal, visited Dharmapala in Sumatra and became his disciple. Numerous Sanskrit inscriptions in South Indian and Devanagari scripts have been discovered in Indo-China and the Indian Archipelago.

The cultural enterprise of the Hindus in the Philippine Islands is not generally known. Hence I mention here the following facts from "A Cyclopedia of Education," edited by Paul Monroe, Ph. D., Professor of the History of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, Vol. IV, p. 674 :—

"The Filipinos were not wholly illiterate before the arrival of their Spanish conquerors. The influence of the civilization of India had extended to Malaysia and modified the culture of the primitive forest-dwelling and sea-going Malays. Syllabic systems of writing were in use in the Philippines. Chirino (*Relacion de las Islas Filipinas*, 1604) states, 'So given are these islanders to reading and writing that there is hardly a man and much less a woman, that does not read and write in letters peculiar to the Island of Manila.' "They write upon canes or the leaves of a palm, using for a pen a point of iron." These syllabaries passed quickly out of use among the peoples Christianized by the Spanish, and no actual examples have come down to us, though the form of the syllabaries has been preserved as used by Bisaya, Tagalog, Pampango, Pangasinan, and Ilokano. Similar syllabic forms of writing are still employed by the uncivilized Mangyan of Mindoro Island and the Tagbanwa of Palawan."

In *A History of the Orient*, mentioned before, a facsimile is given on page 123 of one of the two old syllabic scripts of Indian origin still surviving among the Filipinos. It is to be noted that among the ancient Filipinos who came under Hindu influence women were not less but probably more given to reading than men; which shows that Hindu influence there did not make for the inferiority and subjection of women.

There are various other kinds of evidence of Hindu influence in the Philippines. In recognition of this historical fact, the facade of the new Legislative Building at Manila bears the figure of Manu, with three other figures, symbolizing the debt of the Philippine people to India. A photographic reproduction of this facade is given on page 388 of "*A History of the Orient*."

In spite of the destructive march of Muhammadan conquest and propaganda, Hindu in-

fluence is traceable in Arabian lands, in Persia and in Afghanistan. The sand-buried cities and villages in Central Asian deserts are yielding proofs of Hinduization in those ancient centres of population, now depopulated. Tibet, China, Korea and Japan were greatly indebted to India for their religion, literature and arts. In Japan there are still found paintings and sculptures with Devanagari names upon them. In China and Tibet there are still numerous original Sanskrit and Pali mss., and Tibetan and Chinese translations of books in those languages. The work of Indianization was done so earnestly, lovingly and for such a long period there that the Poet Rabindranath Tagore has said: "In China is found a race entirely different from the Hindus,—in features, language and manners. But I felt such a deep sense of community with them as I have found impossible towards many people of India itself." "In my travels in Japan, whenever I marvelled at the deep patience, self-control, and æsthetic sense of the people even in their daily life, they have again and again told me that the inspiration of these virtues came mostly from India through the medium of Buddhism. But that inspiration is to-day all but extinct at its source in India itself... These lands (outside India) are places of pilgrimage to modern Indians, because the eternal true expression of India's character can be found in these lands only."

Recently we have all read of the participation of Brahman priests at the coronation of the King of Cambodia, though he is not a Hindu. Similarly in the independent Buddhist Kingdom of Siam, some "Brahmans are in charge of the ceremonies at the time of the coronation; and the chief of the Brahmans must go to Benares to fetch water from the Ganges for the *abhisheka-snana*, the anointment-bath of His Siamese Majesty." The Siamese language is not Indian, but the alphabet is Indian, as also the religion and culture. The dynastic name of the king, Rama, his personal name, Prajadhipaka, and the names of many others, such as Balabhadra, Vajrayudha, etc., are Indian. "The names of towns are reminiscent of India; Ayodhya, Lavapuri, Nagara-Svarga, Vishnu-loka, Sukhodaya, Vrajapuri, etc." New words are coined in Siam from Sanskrit. The Railway Traffic Superintendent is called Rathacharana-Pratyaksha. An Officer of the irrigation department bears the official title Vari-Simadhyaksha. Aeroplanes are called Akasha-yana. In fact, Hindus can

feel so much at home in Siam with the Siamese, that, as Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterjee writes, "even the humble Bhojpuriyas, Brahmins and others, who are found in their thousands in Siam serving as *darwans* or watchmen and bearers and sometimes working as petty merchants and dairy men, who are the typically intensely orthodox Hindus of northern India, told us that they felt themselves very happy (as far as their exile's life permitted them) in the land where the King was a descendant of Sri Ramachandraji, where the Ramayana was honoured and sung, and where the people were worshippers of Buddha Bhagwan, the ninth avatar of Narayan-ji."

Indianization succeeded to such a great extent in many an Asiatic land, because India's spiritual and cultural ambassadors and workers there were not the sappers and miners, the scouts, the spies, or the agents, abettors and camp-followers of imperialists and exploiters. Love of humanity and of the truth impelled them to cross snow-capped mountains, the parched and and burning sands of deserts and the storm-swept waves of the ocean. Many lost their lives in the pursuit of their humane enterprise. Unlike many European Christian nations, the ancient Hindus neither enslaved nor exterminated any races in foreign lands less civilized than themselves. Unlike the Moslem Arabs and the Christian Spaniards, English, Americans, and others, the ancient Hindus were never slave-catchers and slave-traders. And here I must beg leave to remind our very orthodox touch-me-notists, that whatever the origin of the wicked and accursed custom of untouchability may be in India itself, in the India-civilised Indian Archipelago and Further India, our modern Indian travellers have not found any trace of the natives there having been assigned the inferior social position of the Negroes in America and South Africa or of the untouchables in some parts of India. Let us all learn from our ancient colonizing ancestors the lesson that we become strong, immortal and manlike not by despising and depressing the lowly but by loving and respecting them and uplifting them to our own level—nay, by helping them to rise higher even than ourselves. The true Brahmin is he who is the selfless helper and servant of all, not the self-righteous conceited person who places his feet on the heads of others.

I hope I have shown that the work of

Hinduizing non-Hindus is not a new line of work, but that it has been the God-given duty of Indians in India and far-off lands from time immemorial.

Like the work of conversion and re-conversion, there are some other items in the programme of Hindu Sabhas and Missions which have brought upon them the charge of communalism and made them unpopular with Christian and Moslem propagandists. One such item is the amelioration and improvement of the condition of the so-called low castes of the Hindu community and of the aborigines of India. It is from these classes that the Christians and Moslems have got the largest number of their converts. So, if the "lower" classes of the Hindus are raised in the social scale and their economic condition is improved, and if the aborigines are similarly uplifted by the Hindus, there would not be as much scope for their conversion to Christianity and Islam as hitherto. But Hindus cannot leave the field entirely to non-Hindus. Let me say here once for all that, as Hindus are responsible and thinking beings who always can and ought to judge and act for themselves as circumstances demand, they are entitled for their own preservation and welfare to take whatever legitimate steps they think fit, even if in the scriptures, tradition or history of themselves or others there be no precedents for such steps. But this uplift work is not new to Hindus. It is, no doubt, our shame that there are still so many Hindus and so many indigenes suffering from dire poverty, ignorance, superstition and social indignity. Without vain regret for the past, let us all gird up our loins and do our utmost for these sisters and brethren of ours, not in the spirit of condescending patrons and benefactors, but in that of devoted and selfless fraternal service and in that of repayment of the debt we owe them. For it is they who feed us, house us, clothe us, help us in locomotion, and, as sweepers and scavengers, keep our houses, villages and towns clean and sweet and healthy.

I have said that the work of uplift of the lowly is not new to Hindus. Let me in this connection dwell a little on the spirit of Hinduism and Buddhism as revealed in their view of the lower animal creation and of the lower grades of humanity. It is not for me to gloss over, defend or extenuate the cruelty of any Hindu to any living being. That is indefensible. What

I mean to show is that Hinduism and Buddhism at their highest do not despise or condemn even the lower animals, not to speak of the lower grades of human beings.

In Hindu mythology, the god Vishnu is said to have incarnated himself as a fish, as a tortoise and as a boar. In the Buddhist Jataka stories, the Buddha is narrated as having lived in his previous births in the form of various kinds of lower animals. The belief in transmigration is common to Hinduism and Buddhism. In the Ramayana the greatest of devotees and heroes is Hanuman, the monkey-god. Some other allies and counsellors of Rama in his campaign against Ravana are spoken of as belonging to some species of lower animals or other. But they are not referred to contemptuously, banteringly or in a spirit of patronizing condescension. These facts show that in the ancient Indian view of life as a whole, there is no impassable gulf between men and the lower animals. Men are not thought to be infinitely and unapproachably superior to the lower animals, though, of course, in our scriptures it is spoken of as a rare boon and privilege to be born as man.

Coming to persons of humble birth, either on the mother's side or on the side of both parents, we find in numerous cases that they were not treated as unworthy of social recognition. The mother of Satyakama-Jabala, who attained the rank of a rishi, was a woman-servant and could not tell him the name of his father. The mother of Vyasa was the daughter of a fisherman. Sri Krishna, an avatar of Vishnu, was in infancy and childhood brought up as their own child by Nanda and Yashoda who belonged to the caste of cowherds. Guhaka, the Chandala chief, was admitted to the friendship of Ramachandra and was embraced by him. Ramachandra accepted the offerings of the forest votaress known as the Shabari, who obviously belonged to some hunting tribe. There are numerous such other examples in our ancient literature. But these few would suffice to show that to judge of men by their worth, not by their birth, was not an unusual practice in ancient India. The approved attitude towards the lower animals and the lower orders of men was summed up in the words,—“*Atmavat sarvabhuteshu ya pasyati sa panditah*”, “the wise man is he who sees others as one with himself.”

As for the uplift of the so-called depressed classes of the Hindus and of the aborigines,

I have already stated that throughout the ages many aboriginal peoples have been absorbed and assimilated by the Hindu community. Gautama Buddha, who is adored as an avatar of Vishnu, admitted many persons of both sexes who belonged to “low” castes into his orders of Bhikshus and Bhikshunis. Sri Chaitanya and Nanak and several other religious teachers made no distinction of caste or creed in admitting persons into the ranks of disciples.

Incredible as it may seem, even the efforts made by Hindus to get their widows married are, for obvious reasons, disliked and opposed by some Mussalmans. Similarly, also for obvious reasons, the efforts to get abductors punished and abducted Hindu women rescued and given a respectable position in Hindu society are resented and misrepresented in some Muhammadan organs in Bengal. But the marriage of widows is sanctioned in the Sastras and widow-marriage has prevailed throughout the ages among some Hindu castes. Even if it were otherwise, we could not be precluded from introducing the practice. As for the protection of our women, I consider it the highest of our duties both to give them protection at all hazards, including the sacrifice of life itself, as well as to train them for self-defence. Tales of the heroic sacrifices made for safeguarding the honour of women are among the priceless treasures of Hindu tradition and history, which are destined to inspire countless generations to live and die nobly. If I were asked which I would have, freedom from foreign domination, or security of the honor, persons and lives of our women, won by chivalrous men and heroic women capable of self-defence; I would say, both. But if I were compelled to choose only one of the two, I would choose the latter. The supposed alternatives placed before you may seem strange to those unacquainted with the state of affairs in some parts of the country. But it has often seemed to me as if some politically-minded Indians were disposed to make a choice exactly the opposite of that which I would make.

I would now with your permission state briefly only some of the means by which some of the objects of the Hindu Mahasabha may be gained. The first object is

“(a) To promote greater union and solidarity among all sections of the Hindu

community and to unite them more closely as parts of one organic whole".

This would be possible if our social organization were such as would make every Hindu, whatever his birth or lineage, proud of the Hindu name. At present, people of some castes are so treated and so looked down upon that it would not be strange for them to feel that their social position would be better if they went over to some non-Hindu community. Therefore, to promote greater union and solidarity among Hindus, our social system must be at least as democratic as the Islamic social organization. Each Hindu caste or sub-caste is, no doubt, a social democracy. But the Hindu community as a whole must also become a social democracy. I do not know whether that would mean the entire demolition of the caste system. But whatever the means to be adopted and whatever its effect on the present form of caste, union and solidarity cannot be obtained without thorough social democratization. I should here also state my conviction that the reclassification of Hindus on the Varnashrama model is impracticable. Where are the men who would possess in every generation the detailed knowledge of the characters and works of all Hindus, whose impartiality would inspire confidence, and whose authority would be generally, if not universally, obeyed? Many think that Hinduism cannot exist without caste. I do not think so. If other casteless communities can remain distinct social units, the Hindu community can also do so.

Paragraph 4 of the 7th Resolution passed at the 11th session of the Mahasabha held at Jubulpore expresses the opinion that "every Hindu, to whatever caste he may belong, has equal social and political rights." This opinion, if consistently and sincerely acted up to in our daily lives, would result in the realization of the ideal we have in view.

Democracies lift up as well as pull down. Examples will be found if we look around. I need not point to any particular religious community. Proper safeguards, therefore, should be adopted so that there may be levelling up but not levelling down.

The next object of the Mahasabha is

"(b) To promote good feeling between the Hindus and other communities in India and to act in a friendly way with them with a view to evolve a united and self-governing nation".

Pacts, ententes, compromises, etc., undoubtedly have some value. In times of distress, relief should be administered irrespective of communal considerations. This the Hindus do. Non-Hindus have also generally the benefit of schools and colleges founded and run by Hindus. But something deeper and more fundamental is necessary to gain the above object. There is bound to be harmony and agreement at the highest levels of thought, feeling and spiritual intuition. Therefore the different communities should know one another's cultures at their best. Then there can be mutual respect. In times past Hindu and Moslem cultures and spirituality came into friendly contact in some cases. As the poet Rabindranath Tagore says :—

"In the middle ages of India—a succession of saints were born—many of them Muslims by faith,—who bridged the gulf of religious discord by the truth of one-ness of spirit. They were not politicians, they never mistook a political pact prompted by expediency as a true bond of union. They reached that ultimate point where the union of all men is established on an eternal basis. In other words, they embraced that secret principle of India which lays down that they alone can realise the truth who see others as one with their own selves. In that age many warriors fought and earned glory; their names were recorded in histories of India written on foreign models. But they are forgotten to-day, even as their triumphal monuments have crumbled into dust. But the deathless message of these saints is still flowing like a life-giving stream through the heart of modern India. If we can derive our soul's inspiration from this source, then only shall we succeed in invigorating our politics, economics and action."

I now pass on to the third object :

"(c) To ameliorate and improve the condition of the so-called low castes of the Hindu community".

Resolution 13 (on *Archutoddhar*) of the 10th session and Resolution 7 (on removal of untouchability) of the 11th session, if acted up to, would go a great way to improve the social status of the so-called low castes. The opinion of the Hindu Mahasabha that "every Hindu, to whatever caste he may belong, has equal social and political rights," should be literally interpreted and strictly followed in practice. Another opinion should also always be borne in mind, namely, that "every Hindu, to whatever caste or class he may belong, is nearer to and deserves a better social and religious treatment at the hands of other Hindus as compared with all non-Hindus," though it would not, of course, be right to discriminate against non-Hindus.

Our sisters and brethren, the so-called low-caste Hindus, are human beings just like ourselves. It would be wicked and shameful to treat them as if they were not. It is suicidal to give them better social recognition when they are converted to some non-Hindu faith than when they remain Hindus.

Permanent and hereditary untouchability is not only wicked and shameful, but it is also an absurdity. Those who believe in untouchability of this sort tacitly and indirectly give greater rights to various lower animals, including plague-carrying rats, than to human beings. Those who are holy and pure ought to be able to raise and purify those who are not, by their company and contact. The sun purifies every impure thing it shines upon; its rays and itself are not made impure thereby. Can noisome fogs and mists obliterate the sun? God is the purifier of all. Nobody can make Him or any symbol of His impure by his approach or touch.

In order to improve the condition of the depressed classes, educational facilities, both general and vocational, should be provided for them to an adequate extent. The Hindu Mahasabha itself ought to take action in this direction, as well as get pressure to be brought to bear on the Government and local bodies for them to take such action. Social status cannot be improved without economic improvement. The provision of land and the supply of raw materials for home industries are suggested as some of the means to be adopted in addition to vocational education.

I have been obliged for the sake of brevity to refer to some of our fellow countrymen as the depressed classes. But the sooner the use of this expression is given up in the Census and other Government reports, and by us and these classes themselves, the better. When under the necessity of doing so, we occasionally refer to the example of Japan as an oriental country which is politically free, independent and progressive. But we should at the same time always bear in mind that the Japanese have abolished untouchability, and their untouchables, the *heimin* or *eta*, are no longer outcasts, but have in actual practice, the same social and political rights as others. The higher and privileged classes of Samurai and others have of their own accord given up their special privileges; so that there is at present no caste feeling in Japan, and no Japanese need

suffer from the inferiority complex. Every one there can walk erect and hold his head high.

I have said that the sooner the expression "depressed classes" falls into disuse, the better. Another thing to be guarded against is the exaggeration of their number. It is generally thought and said by our critics that these people number six or more than six crores. But it has been recently admitted officially that the number is somewhere near three crores. Possibly it is still less. I long for the day when we shall all be known only as Hindus, all in the enjoyment of equal social dignity.

Among our scriptures *Sruti* ranks highest. And in *Sruti* the classical Upanishads occupy the highest place among our religio-philosophical works. I understand no sanction is to be found in these texts for untouchability. So those among us who want really to follow Sastra, should abide by the highest Sastra and give up in practice their belief in untouchability.

There is one tendency among some of the so-called lower castes which I cannot but deprecate. Some of them say that unless the so-called higher castes give them certain facilities or certain kinds of social recognition, they would leave the fold of Hinduism, and some actually carry out the threat. But I think the "lower" castes ought to be more self-reliant. Without abusing or accusing the "higher" castes, they should simply assert themselves in a dignified manner. If they cannot get the services of the ordinary priests, barbers, etc., they should say that they would render these services themselves, as some Hindu castes actually do. The lower classes form the majority of the Hindu community, Hinduism is not the monopoly of the "higher" castes. Why should the majority banish themselves? They are the Hindu community in a larger sense than the others. Similarly, as God is nobody's monopoly, if in any place those in charge of temples do not allow the "lower" classes facilities for worship there, why should they leave Hinduism? They can claim to have temples of their own, as some classes of Hindus have.

The next object of the Hindu Mahasabha which I shall take up for consideration is—

"(e) To preserve and increase the numerical strength of the Hindus."

When I come to the consideration of the last object of the Mahasabha it will be seen

that this Association does not wish mere increase in numbers but also improvement in the quality of our people. In fact, unless we rise continually in the scale of humanity and keep pace with human progress, our numbers also cannot but diminish.

I have shown before that Hindus have absolutely decreased in some regions, and in others they have not increased as much as some other communities, so that there has been a relative decrease among them there, so to say. I have also shown that conversion to Christianity and Islam is one of the causes of our decrease. But it is not the only cause, nor is it in some regions the most important cause. For instance, it is stated in the U. P. Census Report for 1921, page 55, that "Hindus have decreased during the decade by 347 per 10,000 or just under 3.5 per cent". "Any causes other than the influenza epidemic for the decrease in this decade are, if they exist, completely obscured by the overwhelming nature of that calamity."

Similarly, it is stated in the Bengal Census Report for 1921, page 157--

"Muhammadans have increased in number faster than Hindus. The change has not been produced by conversion, for instances of conversion are few and far between, nor mainly by the greater fecundity shown by Muhammadans. Though it is true that, in Eastern Bengal especially, the natural growth among Muhammadans has been greater than that, among Hindus in the same locality, the increase of the majority of Muhammadans over Hindus has been due in the main to the accident that Muhammadans are numerically superior in the healthier and more progressive parts of the Province, while Hindus have a majority in the parts which have suffered the severest disabilities of the last 50 years."

Thus in Bengal, though Hindus have lost to some extent by conversion to non-Hindu faiths, the main decrease is due to the fact that most of them live in West and Central Bengal, which are malaria-stricken, unhealthy and less fertile than some other parts of Bengal.

Before considering other means of preserving and increasing the number of Hindus, let me dwell for a moment on the method of conversion and reconversion. I have already shown that Hindus have an indefeasible right to Hinduize others. The field of work of this description lies particularly among the aborigines who are described as Animists, among those Moslems and Christians who or whose ancestors were converted from Hinduism, and among the "border-line" sects. Hindus have a special claim to

Hinduize Animists, because it is very difficult to distinguish Animists from certain classes of Hindus. Many are entered in the Census Schedules as Animists who are really Hindus. The capricious way in which this is often done is exemplified in the Bombay Census Report for 1921, page 63, where it is said: "In 1911 Mr. Gait, the Census Commissioner, when visiting this presidency on tour, converted 70,000 Bhils in Reva Kantha from Hindus to Animists by a stroke of the pen".

It is not generally known that there are in India many sects who are on the boundary line between Hindus and Muhammadans, whom it is difficult to class definitely either as Hindus or Muhammadans.

"There are many so-called Hindus whose religion has a strong Muhammadan flavour. Notable amongst these are the followers of the strange Panchpiriya cult. Throughout India many Hindus make pilgrimages to Muhammadan shrines, such as that of Sakhi Sarwar in the Panjab. A friend of mine tells of a Mullah most of whose clients were Sikhs. On the other hand, many descendants of persons converted to Islam are far from being genuine Muhammadans, though they have been classed as such at the census. Of these the Malkanas of the country round Agra furnish a striking instance. These, says Mr. Blunt, are converted Hindus. They are reluctant to describe themselves as Mussabmans and generally give their original caste name. Their names are Hindu; they mostly worship in Hindu temples; they use the salutation Ram, Ram; they intermarry among themselves only. Of late some of them have definitely abjured Islam. In Gujrat there are several similar communities—such as the Matia Kunbis, who call in Brahmans for their chief ceremonies, but are followers of the Pirana saint Imam Shah and his successors, and bury their dead as do the Muhammadans, the Sheikhadas who at their weddings employ both a Hindu and a Muhammadan priest, and the Monnas who practise circumcision, bury their dead and read the Gujrati Koran, but in other respects follow Hindu custom and ceremonial. These and similar communities lean more strongly to the one religion or the other according to their environment." *Census of India, 1911, vol. I, pp. 117-8.*

The Hindus have a right to thoroughly Hinduize these border-line sects.

In the Census Report of India for 1911 Vol. i, page 121, it was stated:—

"Forcible conversions are of course a thing of the past, but none the less there is a steady drain going on. Though there is at the present time no organized proselytism by the Mullahs, here and there individuals are constantly attorning to Muhammadanism, some few from real conviction, but more for material reasons, such as the desire to escape from an impossible position when out-casted or, in the case of widows, the allurements of an offer of marriage. Whenever there is a

love affair between a Hindu and a Muhammadan, it can only culminate in an open union if the Hindu goes over to Islam, while the discovery of a secret liaison often has the same sequel. In Appendix II to the Bengal Census Report for 1901 I gave a large number of actual cases of conversion with the reasons assigned for each.

The workers of the Hindu Mahasabha should study all these and other cases, as far as practicable, and adopt preventive methods for the future.

Whenever men and women are Hinduized, arrangements should be made for their instruction in the highest doctrines and ideals which the proselytizing agency has to offer. Whenever necessary arrangements should be made for the general and vocational education of the converted persons.

In regions where, as in the U. P., the Hindus have decreased owing to epidemics, earnest attention should be given to the adoption of preventive measures and the provision of medical treatment, both on an adequate scale. Preventive measures and medical treatment are, however, not everything. The power of resistance to disease should be increased by the adequate nourishment of the people. This presupposes economic improvement—a very important problem, which I can only just mention here.

In some regions Hindus decrease or do not multiply in sufficient numbers, because these are unhealthy, malaria-ridden, and not sufficiently fertile, as, e. g., West Bengal. Insanitation and diseases have to be fought in all such regions, the land has to be made more productive by irrigation and other means, and industries have to be revived or introduced. I cannot here enter into the details of this very important problem. But I would only say that those who want to prevent the decadence of the Hindu community in Bengal must not forget the unhealthy and unproductive condition of West Bengal.

The consideration of the problem of the preservation and increase of the number of Hindus leads me to discuss briefly the causes of the decay of nations and peoples. First of all, we must all bear in mind that, though each individual human being is bound to die sooner or latter, no people or nation is *bound* to die. Scientists have spoken of the "diseases of nations." Before I refer to their nature and remedies, let me say that, as in the diseases of individuals, so in those of peoples, hope is an important actor in the curative process. Like

individuals, both small groups and big groups of men may die out. How they may die out unless buoyed up by hope, has been shown by F. O. Brien in his work entitled "White Shadows in the South Seas," published by the Century Co., N. Y., 1919, in which he writes :—

"A hundred years ago, there were 160,000 Marquesans in these islands. To-day their total number does not exceed 2,100."

According to him this decrease is due to the detrimental effects of "Christianization" on these people. Formerly they had their dancing, tattooing, religious rites and other so-called superstitions, which gave them a zest in life and thus had a vitalizing influence on them. But now they are "nothing but joyless machines" and "are tired of life," because they have been compelled by the white Christians to adopt alien customs and thus deprived of their old spiritual life. This author also says that to-day "all Polynesians from Hawaii to Tahiti are dying, because of the suppression of the play instinct that had its expression in most of their occupations." They are dying because they are "unguarded by hope or desire to live, willing to meet death half way, the grave a haven."

I am not, of course, for the continuance of any immoral or degrading custom or superstition. But we should all see that neither Hindus as a whole nor any section of them lose hope and joy and zest in life on account of new conditions imposed on them from outside, or on account of new circumstances. If any Hindu caste or Hindus in any area are decreasing, it should be investigated whether owing to any cause their play instinct has been suppressed, collective enjoyment of life diminished and hope decreased. The stoppage of festivals and processions is, no doubt, an infringement of religious and civic rights. But it also amounts to the deprivation of one of the vital needs of life. Therefore, such encroachments on our rights should be resisted.

When reformers want to reform any custom on grounds of morality, decency, or refinement, something unobjectionable but enlivening ought to be substituted. The obscenities and vulgarities indulged in by some people during the *Holi* have been substituted by reformers in many places by refined and innocent music and other similar recreations in the form

of *paritra holi*. The Ram Lila and some other processions are entirely unobjectionable on moral grounds. But Government and the Moslems have combined in many places to bring about their cessation on excuses which will not bear examination. This is a grievous injury. We must have a remedy.

However, we cannot be made despondent. All Indian religions are religions of hope. There is no eternal hell in them. Even Buddhism, which has been wrongly called a pessimistic faith, holds out hope to its votaries in an unparalleled manner. "In order to bring salvation to all humanity, the Mahayana taught that every man could aim at being born as a Bodhisattva; and any ordinary man, even a Pariyah, could attain salvation by the practice of virtue and by devotion to Buddha." Our history also is full of hope. Every time that we have fallen, we have risen again. Again and again has India produced great men in all spheres of life. It continues to do so. Italy has had rebirth after fourteen centuries of bondage. India's servitude has never been of such long duration.

The Hindu Mahasabha should give hope to the lowest of the low in the Hindu community, taking off the incubus of social indignities and disabilities from their backs. Hope deferred maketh the heart sick. It will not, therefore, do to tell them that their lot *may* improve at their next birth. Just as we politically-minded Indians want full political freedom during our own life time, so do they want social freedom and respectability during theirs. If they lose hope as Hindus, they will either go over to Islam or Christianity or die out.

In Hinduizing the aborigines, regard should be had to the conservation of their play-instinct and their joy and zest in life, while reforming degrading customs and amusements, if any.

I shall now dwell briefly on the subject of the diseases of nations. It will be easy for you and me to judge how far we are suffering from these diseases and what the remedies are. I should say at the outset that I am not using the word nation here in a political sense, but in the sense of a large body of men; for the Hindus do not form a nation by themselves.

Some thirty years ago Dr. Daniel G. Brinton, an American professor of the University of Pennsylvania, said that when a nation, as a unit, is chronically incapable

of directing its activities toward self-preservation, it should be held to be suffering from a national disease. He added:

"I could give you instances from history,—where, for instance, a dissolute priesthood, where an aristocracy which had become degenerate, where a particular form of government which had become untrustworthy, led to the destruction of that nation; and yet the majority of that nation may have been perfectly healthy in their feelings, and they might have survived had it not been that this particular social element was thoroughly and utterly diseased."

He classified the main causes of national diseases under four headings. The first of these is imperfect nutrition; the second is poisons; the third is mental shock; and the fourth is sexual subversion.

"Some physicians say that all diseases whatsoever in the human body begin with insufficient or misdirected nutrition of one of the organs of the body. If this is the case for the physician, you see at once how eminently important it is that the nation should be sustained by proper food, in sufficient quantities and properly prepared; otherwise it lays the foundation for those mental diseases which soon tell, with destructive results, upon the body politic."

"It is undoubtedly true that every nation must have, throughout all of the nation, enough to eat, of good quality and properly prepared, or that nation will degenerate."

"The actual effect of limited food for a long time has been carefully studied by physicians from the point of view of national economy. We can see and distinctly point out the results of a prolonged absence of food on many nations. We know that it brings about degeneration of tissue, inferiority of stature, weakening of the body, and in all other respects making them physically and mentally incapable of aiding the great work of the progress of civilization. Nothing, therefore, can be more dreadful than the prospect of national starvation, even in the limited sense of the word."

This is not the place to enumerate all the evil results of *our* national starvation. I shall mention only two. India's death-rate is far higher than that of any other civilized nation and our average length of life—23 years—is half or less than half of that of other civilized nations. How can people who live for 23 years on an average compete with people who live for 50? We have, therefore, to increase our food supply and our ability to buy food, and also to make the country more healthy. I would appeal to all our Maharajas—particularly those who have large irrigation works and much uncultivated but culturable land, such as the Maharajas of Gwalior, Bikaner, &c.—and our landholders to settle larger and larger numbers of peasants and farmers on their lands. A people which loses touch with the land is doomed. In

Bengal the number of actual Hindu cultivators of the soil has been steadily diminishing.

Our industrialists should see that factory labourers get a living wage and are taught to make a proper use of their income. On our part we should use all kinds of Swadeshi goods, so that more and more of our men may find employment and food. The sentiment should be instilled and widely acted up to that no honest avocation is mean. It is a bad sign that Hindus are rarely found to work at some trades and crafts. Among other occupations our young men should take largely to the seafaring life, acquiring all knowledge about ships and sailing, in foreign countries if necessary. Thus should we regain our ancient place in maritime enterprise.

Poisons are the second cause of national diseases. Among these poisons are mentioned alcohol, some narcotics and stimulants (including tobacco) and the germs of some diseases.

"Alcohol brings with it the elements of national degeneration and decay." "There are vast districts of the earth's surface which are so permeated with the malarial poison that no race can be there and reach a high degree of physical and mental power. Men live there—they live everywhere; but they are not in a condition ever to assist much in the great work of progress; and wherever malaria is constantly and persistently prevalent, you need not expect that that nation will ever count for much in the history of mankind."

Historians ascribe the fall of ancient Greece and Rome in great part to malaria. But the poison has been combated there and elsewhere in the world; and so can it be in India. Only we are never to forget and give rest to this our great enemy. To malarial poison I would add the syphilitic poison, originally imported into India by Europeans.

The third national disease is of the nature of the peculiar physical effect which medical men call "shock".

"Sometimes, in performing a surgical operation, the surgeon knows perfectly well that the operation will be successful under ordinary conditions; and yet he is aware that certain mental temperaments have received what we call 'surgical shock' by the operation, which imperils, if it does not destroy, life which, otherwise, under ordinary conditions, would be saved. There is something of the same kind in the history of nations. They, too, are subject to have that mental shock which seems to overbalance them. They do not any longer have control over their faculties. They yield to despair and in consequence fail."

Devastating epidemics like plague, political subjection and emasculation, inferiority complex produced by political hypnotism, etc., may produce this kind of national disease. But I hope we have sufficient self-possession and strength of mind to shake it off.

About sexual subversion the American professor says:

"Every nation, if it is to be prosperous, if it is not going to retrograde and degenerate, must increase in numbers; and it must increase not through immigration only but also through natural reproduction; therefore, fertility, reproduction, in the long run must be looked after in every nation it is not going to fall into decay. A nation is sure to become diseased when for any reason religious or secular there is a large abstention from marriage." "Mr. Galton has written a work on this subject of the 'Influence of Celibacy and Spinsterhood on the Fate of Nations.' He has pointed out that the celibacy which has been enjoined by Christianity—the celibacy of the priesthood and the conventual life—has resulted distinctly in national decay."

We have all recently read in the papers what special honours, rewards and exemptions Mussolini is giving in Italy to parents of many children. But that is by the way. Applying to India the views of the American professor and of Galton, I must say that the large number of idle so-called *sadhus* in India is an evil. Those who find it necessary to remain celibate for rendering some real religious or other service to the nation may rightly remain unmarried. But those aforesaid celibates are a curse. India does not yet suffer from any large number of women remaining unmarried. But the child-widows in India are really spinsters. Their lifelong real celibacy is productive of many evils, one of which is that many possible wives and mothers do not become such.

The evil custom of 'bride-price' prevents many persons in parts of the country from marrying at all and others from marrying while they are young. This leads to decline in the population of some castes and to other evils. Similarly, the custom of 'bride-groom-price' is a great evil. When our young men realize how mean, ungentelemanly and dishonourable it is to demand money for marrying a girl and when they want to be true lovers and real gentlemen, then this disgraceful system will disappear.

The introduction of inter-subcaste and inter-caste marriages will widen the field of choice of brides and bridegrooms. This will be one remedy for "enforced" celibacy, late marriages and marriages of elderly bridegrooms with brides very much younger than themselves, all of which go against due continuance and propagation of species.

My last observation on the subject of the diseases of nations is that, speaking broadly we as a people do not suffer from sexual

perversion or exhaustion. Great stress is laid in our highest scriptures on continence and sexual purity, and, though the number of those among us who do not lead pure lives is not microscopic, yet as a people we are not worse in this respect than any other.

The amelioration of the condition of Hindu women is another object of the Hindu Mahasabha. Hindu idealism relating to woman is unsurpassed in the world. But many of our customs fall so short of this idealism as to make us ashamed. In order that our women may be what according to our ideal they ought to be, there should be physical culture (including the arts of self-defence), moral training and heart culture, intellectual culture and training in domestic science for all our girls and young women. In order that there may be ample time for the education of girls, child marriage and premature motherhood should be put a stop to. I am glad that the 7th session of the Hindu Mahasabha under the presidentship of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya "enjoined upon all Hindus not to marry their girls before the age of sixteen", which leaves it optional to keep them unmarried a few years longer, if necessary. Child-marriage and premature motherhood is injurious not only to the girls but also to their progeny and decreases the fecundity of the mothers.

The custom of the purdah, wherever it exists, should be abolished. I need not describe its evils. As regards the condition of our widows, a great improvement will take place in their condition, if we give effect to Resolution 12 of the 10th session in right earnest. Clause (c) of that resolution requires that "every legitimate measure be adopted to save them from falling into the hands of people of other religions or leading a wrong course of life." My interpretation of this clause is that it allows childless child-widows to marry. I have the highest veneration for the ideal of true widowhood. I know that the custom of lifelong widowhood is partly an outcome of this high ideal. But child-widows are not really widows, for they have not truly known the men with whom the ceremony of marriage was gone through. Therefore, personally, I would not only allow the marriage of child-widows but would promote such marriages. Motherhood is not less sacred than maidenhood and widowhood. Hindu social reform would have been much facilitated if it had been remembered that,

as Kulluka Bhatta says in his commentary on Manu Samhita, "Sruti dvividha Vaidiki tantriki cha," "Sruti is of two kinds, Vedic and Tantric," and the following verse of the Mahanirvana Tantra, quoted by Ram Mohan Roy, had also been remembered :

Vayajñāti vichārotra Saivodyāhe na vādyate.
asapindām bhartrihinām udvāhet Sambhuskānat."

"There is no discrimination of age and caste or race in the Saiva marriage. As enjoined by Siva, one should marry a woman who has no husband and who is not sapinda, that is, who is not within the prohibited degrees of marriage." This sloka makes widow-marriage, inter-caste and inter-racial marriage and post-puberty marriage valid.

For widows who cannot or should not marry, such education should be provided as would open useful careers to them.

As has been shown first in modern times by Ram Mohun Roy and then by others, our ancient laws of inheritance for women were juster than those stereotyped by the British Government and Courts. These laws should be made perfectly just and generous to our women.

With their physical, moral and intellectual handicaps removed, Hindu women will obtain their rights as human beings and directly and indirectly help in promoting the cause of India and of the world.

The 9th resolution passed at the seventh session of the Mahasabha points out all that is necessary for the protection and improvement of the condition of cows and their calves. Every effort should be made to give effect to this resolution.

In conclusion, I shall consider objects (d) and (h) together, namely,

"To protect and promote Hindu interests and Hindu rights whenever and wherever necessary," and "generally to take steps for promoting the religious, moral, educational, social, economic and political interests and rights of the entire community."

In relation to the fulfilment of these objects, it should never be forgotten that the welfare of all classes and communities is interdependent and that Hindu welfare cannot be secured by sacrificing the welfare of other communities. Other communities should also understand that they cannot do good to themselves by disregarding or injuring the interests of the Hindus. Therefore, there should be peace and good will and unity between all communities. The deliberations and conclusions of the Unity Conference point the way to such friendly feelings. The settlement made at that con-

ference should be honestly and earnestly worked by all parties.

The encroachments on Hindu rights are many. I will not dwell on them in detail. But as the Hindus along with some others have been deprived of the right and duty of defending the country, I will refer to it in particular. With the expansion of the British Empire and the gradual evolution of British imperialistic policy in India, recruitment for the sepoy army has gradually receded from province after province in British India with the growth of political self-consciousness there, and sepoys are now for the most part recruited from some Indian States, from transfrontier Moslem territory and from Nepal. The result is that the descendants of those who at one time fought valiantly against or for the British are practically declared unfit for self-defence, British India is thoroughly emasculated, and, as Hindus outnumber other communities, they are the greatest sufferers. Proportionately there are more Moslems than Hindus in the Army. The division of the people into martial and unwarlike is unscientific, unhistorical and based on falsehood. No such classification exists in any other civilised country. There should be recruitment from all provinces and religious communities, as far as practicable. As an aid to the realization of this ideal, there should be gymnasias and sporting clubs all over the country. Both our girls and boys should be taught the arts of armed and unarmed, individual and collective self-defence. They should be placed above the fear of getting wounded and of bleeding. The Hindu Mahasabha should give the greatest possible attention to this matter. I lay stress on this subject not for any aggressive purpose, but in order that we may get rid of the softness caused by over-civilization and may be able to acquire the strength, courage and secure position which alone entitle and enable men to preach and practise *ahimsa* and *satya* which constitute India's message to the world.

I have already far exceeded my limits. So with regard to our political interests and rights I shall say only this in brief that, as in the past, so at present and in the future, the Hindus will not shrink from facing all dangers and making all the sacrifices necessary for winning freedom for all communities. In order to obtain the co-operation of the other communities, the Hindu community will honourably stand by, as it has hitherto

stood by, the Hindu-Moslem agreements arrived at as recorded in the Nehru Committee's reports, provided there is no going back from those agreements on the part of others. But if there be such going back, and if the Mussalmans persist in opposing the Nehru Report as passed by the All Parties Convention at Calcutta, the Hindus on their part will be fully justified in going back to their original national, logical and just position that there is to be no reservation of seats for any community anywhere and that the electorates for all legislatures are to be everywhere joint and mixed.

There can be no greater confession of want of confidence in the capacity of the Moslem community than for any of them to demand reservation of a proportionate number of seats even where they are in a majority. Such a demand practically means that in their opinion there must be perpetual Moslem Raj in the Moslem majority provinces. On the other hand, our great departed leader, Lala Lajpat Rai, who was also a great national leader, has declared it "as a fact that the bulk of the Hindus do not want a Hindu Raj. What the latter are striving after is a National Government founded on justice to all communities, all classes and all interests." "In my judgment," he said, "the cry of a Hindu Raj or a Muslim Raj is purely mischievous, and ought to be discouraged."

I respectfully request all to always bear in mind some facts relating to the origin and continuance of political power. The British people, nay the entire white people inhabiting the British Empire, are a minority; whereas the Indian people, even the Hindu community by itself, form the majority. Yet the British people are masters of the situation. They did not become masters by virtue of any pact or compromise. When the Moslems became masters of India, that was not by the force of any agreement. Power is gained or lost, whether there be or be not any verbal or written guarantees, pacts, and things of that description though they have their value.

Peoples' fates are determined by their possession or lack of character, strength, ability, intellectual calibre, efficiency, firm resolve and sacrifice for the cause of the whole people. Let not Hindus, therefore, be under any delusion that their mere numerical strength will be a safeguard against loss of rights and power in the future, any more than it has been in the past. Let not Mos-

lems, too, be under any delusion that reservation of seats for them, both where they are in the minority and in the majority, will secure for them a perpetual lease of powers and rights any more than the possession of supreme political power in the past in India and elsewhere has prevented their downfall. The present generation of neither Hindus nor Moslems have the right or the power to make any artificial, unjust and illogical agreements binding on their descendants. Still less can the present or any other generation make such agreement binding on the Power that rules the destinies of nations.

In addition to communal strifes, conflicts between labour and capital and between cultivators and landholders have begun to loom large on the horizon. It is necessary in the highest interests of the Hindu community and of all other communities that the points at issue between the parties should be settled by mutual consultation and agreement. Nay, these points should not arise at all. There are Hindus among labourers and peasants and their leaders, and among capitalists and land-holders. I appeal to them all not to take to the warpath in occidental fashion, not at least till the fullest trial has been given to methods of arbitration and conciliation.

In all climes and ages givers have been richer than receivers. The teacher, the man who has to impart spiritual, moral or intellectual truth, must be superior in his possessions to the man who acquires knowledge for himself alone. Hence for India to be rich in the possession of inward treasure, her sons and daughters must be in a position to give. They must not be mere learners and borrowers. In the ancient world they were rich in the possession of immaterial treasure, because they were givers. Let them again prepare themselves to take up their ancient role. A few have already in modern times become world teachers. This is the way to promote our religious, moral and intellectual interests.

But in order to give, one must also receive. He alone can give who has life. Life connotes adaptation to environment, assimilation of that which is good and elimination of that which is effete or injurious.

Let India's children, therefore, fearlessly face all climes, races and cultures. Let them go forth, as their ancestors did in days of yore, to all corners of the outer and inner world, to give and

take. The strong can digest and assimilate all that is good and reject all that is bad. Let us not be afraid of world forces and the world current. The Hindu who in modern times worked earliest and hardest to break through India's prison-house of physical and intellectual isolation, Ram Mohun Roy, had no such fear. Firmly grounded in Hindu faith and culture, he assimilated what was good in other faiths and cultures, too. He had faith in the unmeasured capacity of his people for continuous improvement. In the course of a controversy with a European Christian, he wrote :—

"If by the 'Ray of Intelligence' for which the Christian says we are indebted to the English, he means the introduction of useful mechanical arts, I am ready to express my assent and also my gratitude; but with respect to Science, Literature or Religion, I do not acknowledge that we are placed under any obligation. For by a reference to history it may be proved that the World was indebted to our ancestors for the first dawn of knowledge, which sprang up in the East, and thanks to the Goddess of Wisdom, we have still a philosophical and copious language of our own which distinguishes us from other nations who cannot express scientific or abstract ideas without borrowing the language of foreigners."

This was no unhistorical vain boast. The Rev. Dr. J. T. Sunderland writes in "India in Bondage : Her Right to Freedom" :—

"India contributed enormously to the advancement of civilization by giving to the world its immensely important decimal system, or so-called Arabic notation, which is the foundation of modern mathematics and much modern science."

"India early created the beginnings of nearly all of the sciences, some of which she carried forward to remarkable degrees of development, thus leading the world. To-day, notwithstanding her subject condition, she possesses scientists of eminence."

The world is indebted to India of the past for many priceless treasures. My hope and aspiration is that India of the not distant future, too, may again be such a benefactor. Sir Oliver Lodge has said that man's ethical condition lags behind his scientific and mechanical achievement. Hence there is no moral restraint sufficient to make wars and murderous economic competition impossible. Will not India be able to teach the world a better way? Will not her message of *Ahimsa* and *Maitri* triumph in politics, economics and industry?

Discussing in *The International Review of Missions* the subject of what Christianity can appropriate and assimilate from Hinduism, the Rev. Mr. Pelly, Vice-Principal of Bishop's College in Calcutta, mentioned the Hindu

doctrine of the immanence of the Supreme Being and the practice of contemplation or meditation.

I do not say all these things to boast and feed our vanity. Rather should we be ashamed that we are so unworthy of our lineage. I mention all these things only to revive confidence in our latent capacity. Let us meditate and achieve self-realization, and then

go forth to play our part in the world in the firm faith that the Paramatman immanent in the universe and transcending the universe will not fail to give us *Siddhi* according to our *Sadhana*, though it may not be according to our desire or expectation. For,

"Karmanyevadhikaraste ma phalesu kada-chana," "It is for us to work, but not to demand its fruit."

Artificial Silk

By B. C. BHATTACHARYA, B. SC. TECH.
(Manchester)

THE name of artificial silk is now a household word in Europe and America, thanks to its extensive use in dress materials and in the hosiery trade. In the U. S. A. they call it Rayon.

Artificial silk—the newest of the textile fibres—is at once the triumph of technical skill and industrial enterprise. Its development during the last quarter of a century has been nothing short of phenomenal. At the present time its production far exceeds that of natural silk with which it was at first supposed to compete. The world's production of the different textile fibres in 1923 is given in the following table :

	<i>Metric Tons</i> (1 M. ton = '9842 ton)
Cotton	5,227,000
Jute	1,590,000
Wool	1,364,000
Artificial silk	47,500
Natural silk	33,600
Ramie	1,130

It will be seen that in 1923 artificial silk constituted only about 0.6 per cent. of the world's textile fibres. But its increase during the next few years has been considerable. In 1926 the output of artificial silk was practically double that of 1923.

Artificial silk consists of thin cylindrical filaments, a number of which are twisted together to form a yarn. In lustre it resembles and in some cases surpasses natural silk. Because of the smooth nature of the artificial silk filaments, they do not catch dirt as easily

as cotton or wool and therefore require less frequent washing.

A no less important factor is the price. The relative prices of yarns of different kinds are shown in the table below :

	1913	1919	1927
First quality viscose (artificial silk)	s. d. 5 3	s. d. 16 0	s. d. 5 0
Canton silk, discharged (natural silk)	17 4	59 8	23 0
Italian " " "	21 4	73 8	36 0
Egyptian mercerized cotton	2 1	7 10	3 5½
Botany worsted (wool)	3 6	17 6	6 7

A few facts emerge from the above table. Taking the figures for 1927 we see that, in the first place, the price of viscose is less than one-seventh of that of Italian silk (natural) and about one-fifth of that of Canton silk. Secondly, the price of viscose is intermediate between those of Egyptian mercerized cotton and Botany worsted. Thirdly, of the five textile fibres under consideration viscose is the only one of which the price is actually lower than what it was in 1913. The last fact is most significant. Indeed, it has been said that of all the textile fibres artificial silk represents the best value at the present moment.

If there is one thing which more than any other militates against the still more rapid expansion of the use of artificial silk, it is the fact that it loses a considerable part of its tensile strength when wet. This

necessitates the exercise of a certain amount of care in washing which, otherwise, might damage the fabrics. Constant attempts are being made to reduce this risk by improvement of the fibre as well as the method of washing. Already, the newest variety of artificial silk, *viz.*, acetate silk, represents a marked advance on the older ones.

There are four kinds of artificial silk—three of which are essentially of a similar nature and differ only in their methods of production. They are known respectively as (1) Nitro or Chardonnet silk, (2) Cuprammonium silk and (3) Viscose.

The fourth and the newest variety is called Cellulose-acetate silk or simply Acetate silk. It is distinct from the first three in its chemical and physical properties. One striking difference is that unlike the first three kinds it is not dyed by the ordinary direct cotton colours. This property is taken advantage of for the production of various colour effects in union fabrics containing acetate silk and cotton or viscose.

This difficulty of dyeing at first proved to be the most serious obstacle to the widespread use of acetate silk in spite of its superiority from other points of view. But chemists were not to be beaten so easily. They persevered in their search for colouring matters for which acetate silk had some natural affinity. Ultimately their efforts were crowned with success and they were able to evolve dye-stuffs—some of them of a novel character which would dye this silk fairly easily. The production of these special dye-stuffs gave the much-needed stimulus to the acetate silk industry.

The relative importance of these four methods is shown in the following table which gives the percentages of world production for which each process is responsible.

	1909 1924	
Nitro-cellulose process	48 p. c.	78 p. c.
Cuprammonium "	36 p. c.	14 p. c.
Viscose "	16 p. c.	880 p. c.
Acetate "	—	28 p. c.

The outstanding importance of the viscose process is evident from the above.

Instead of using the artificial silk in the long filaments in which it is at first made, it can be cut up into small lengths and mixed with cotton or wool and then spun to produce mixed yarns. These fibres of short length are called staple fibre and are to be

found in the market under such names as "Vistra" and "Sniafil."

The history of the development of artificial silk is one of the romances of modern science and technology in which big successes have been achieved as well as tremendous sacrifices made. This fascinating story can be given here only in the merest outline.

The first commercially successful artificial silk was made in France by Chardonnet in 1884 which aroused intense interest at the time. The variety of silk he made still bears his name.

The next variety to be put on the market was Cuprammonium silk which was also made in France for the first time, by Despeissis, in 1890.

Only two years elapsed before the next big step forward was taken. In 1892 two English chemists—Cross and Bevan—took out their patent for the now well known viscose process by which about 80-90 per cent. of the world's present output of artificial silk is made.

The year 1911 marked a definite advance in a new direction. All the three varieties of artificial silk made up to this time consisted essentially of cellulose. In this year Dreyfus patented his process for the manufacture of cellulose-acetate which was chemically quite distinct from cellulose. During the War this substance was made in England for use as aeroplane "dope." After the War was over some method had to be found to convert the output of this factory into some peace-time product. Consequently a process was worked out for converting the cellulose-acetate into yarn. Later on, the process was taken up by other firms and was rapidly developed. Acetate silk comes on the market under various trade names, such as "Celanese," "Rhodiaseta," "Lustron" etc.

The essential raw material for all kinds of artificial silk is cellulose in some form or other. This substance is contained in an easily available form in wood pulp and cotton. These, therefore, form the basis for the manufacture of artificial silk. It has been estimated that wood pulp—mainly spruce and pine—is responsible for at least 80 per cent. of the world's total output.

Cellulose exists in a purer form in cotton than in wood pulp. The former is, therefore, more suitable for the better qualities of artificial silk. Cotton linters are used for the manufacture of acetate silk. It has been said that artificial silk made from cotton has greater tensile strength than that made from wood pulp.

There are several stages in the manufacture of viscose from the raw wood. The logs of wood are at first boiled with certain chemicals whereby the cellulose is obtained in a relatively pure condition. The pulp so produced is treated with various reagents to produce a viscous substance termed "Viscose". Finally, the viscose is squirted under pressure through narrow jets into a coagulating solution. The filaments thus formed then receive their twist in special machines.

The financial side of the industry is no less interesting. Profits made by some of the firms have exceeded the anticipations of the wildest speculator. The following table will make the point clear :

	Profits made			
	1921	1922	1923	1924
(1) The Viscose Co. of America	11'5p.c.	15p.c.	15 p.c.	20p.c.
(2) The General Society for Viscosa (Belgium)	86'8p.c.	291'7p.c.	450'4p.c.	438'2p.c.
(3) The Tubize Co. (Belgium)	25'9p.c.	102'5p.c.	138'6p.c.	133'1p.c.

The largest producing countries are the U. S. A., Italy, Great Britain and Germany. In each of these countries there is one large firm which is responsible for a considerable proportion of the total output of the country. The one in Great Britain produces about 80 p. c. of the total production of the country. Its capital at the present time is £ 20 million as compared with £ 2 million before the War. It has been estimated that the above group of four firms represents over 70 p. c. of the world's production. Their present policy seems to be towards the creation of monopoly conditions by international arrangements of a far-reaching character.

The proportion of the world's total output contributed by each of the important producing countries is shown below :

	1913		1925	
	M. Tons	P. C. of Total	M. Tons	P. C. of Total
U. S. A.	700	6	23,500	27
Italy	150	1	14,000	16
Great Britain	3,000	27	12,000	14
Germany	3,500	32	12,000	14
France	1,500	14	8,000	9
Belgium	1,300	12	5,000	6
Netherlands	—	—	4,000	5
Switzerland	150	1	2,500	3
Other countries	700	7	4,500	6
Total	11,000	100	85,500	100

The rapid development made in the U. S. A. between 1913 and 1925 will be apparent from the above table. The rise of Italy from an insignificant position in 1913 to the second place in 1925 is very striking indeed.

The progress made by Japan is no less significant. In 1925 her eleven companies produced 3,000,000 lbs. of artificial silk as against 100,000 lbs. in 1918.

The Artificial Silk Directory (1927) gives the names of two firms—both branches of British companies—which are either producing or about to produce artificial silk in India. It is also interesting to note that a German syndicate is reported to be contemplating the opening of a factory in Jamaica which will work with waste sugarcane fibres as raw material. The Directory makes mention of only one producing Company in China.

The use of artificial silk is continually extending in different directions. Some idea, however, of the extent to which it is used in different industries can be had from the following table which refers to the conditions in the U. S. A. in 1926 :

Hosiery	25 p. c.
Cotton goods	21 p. c.
Silk goods	14 p. c.
Underwear	24 p. c.
Knitted articles	3 p. c.
Braids	1 p. c.
Woollen goods	1 p. c.
Miscellaneous	11 p. c.

100

The large proportion of artificial silk consumed by the hosiery industry is no doubt due to the prevailing fashion in feminine dress in the West. Its extensive use in cotton goods is important in connection with the effect it is likely to have on the cotton industry.

Like all the countries in the West the consumption of artificial silk in India is also on the increase. The subjoined table gives the import of artificial silk into British India :

	In thousand pounds	
	1923-24	1926-27
Total Imports	406.0	5,776.1
From U. K.	247.4	654.6
" Italy	76.9	3,843.2
" Germany	9.5	232.1
" Netherlands	19.5	358.3

It is apparent that in the course of three years the total imports have increased more than fourteenfold. Here again the part played by Italy is striking.

Besides yarn, a large and increasing amount of piecegoods made either entirely of artificial silk or with admixture of cotton or wool is imported into India every year—the share contributed by Great Britain alone being worth £ 969,000 in 1926.

It may not be out of place here to venture a few remarks on the possibilities of artificial silk in India both as regards its production as well as its use in other industries. Taking the last point first, if the tendency in other countries can be taken as a guide it is practically certain that artificial silk will continue to gain in popularity and that there will be an ever-increasing demand for goods made of it. It seems that the most important line of development for the use of artificial silk in India is likely to be in the cotton industry. The reason is that hosiery goods do not form as important an item of dress in the East as they do in the West. This brings us up against the question of the effect of the introduction of this new fibre on the Indian cotton industry.

The cotton industry of India has at least one point of similarity with that of Lancashire. Both have been passing through a prolonged state of depression. Now, a larger use of artificial silk has been actually suggested as a remedy for the depression in the cotton industry of Lancashire. The reason is that the incorporation of even a relatively small proportion of artificial silk in cotton fabrics makes a big difference in the appearance of the final product.

The same reasoning applies to the cotton industry of India. Greater use of artificial silk will enable the manufacturers to diversify their products and thereby create a demand for them. In this connection it is significant that the Government of India have recently reduced the import duty on artificial silk

with a view to relieving the depression in the cotton industry of Bombay.

As regards the production of artificial silk we have got to consider three factors, *viz.*, raw materials, technical skill and capital.

It has been shown that wood pulp and cotton constitute the raw materials from which artificial silk is manufactured. India possesses enormous forest resources and it is not unlikely that some indigenous varieties of wood may be found suitable for this purpose. Of cotton India has an abundance. At the present time more than half of her annual production is exported. Specially, short staple fibres which are not very suitable for spinning purposes may prove quite suitable for making artificial silk. It is worthy of note that one of the two British firms operating in India is reported to be contemplating the production of acetate silk from cotton.

The question of technical skill need not cause any serious difficulty. For even if suitable experts are not available in India it is possible to obtain them from abroad. Of course, the labourers may take a little time to get used to the work. But this should not prove a very serious handicap because the processes are controlled at every stage by trained technical men.

Last but not least is the problem of capital. Artificial silk companies require relatively large amounts of capital. This is because one has to operate on a reasonably large scale in order to get the full benefits of the economics of mass production. Besides, new companies have got to reckon with the competition from the large combines. But these are conditions which are not peculiar to India. Japan and Italy had, presumably, to contend with the same difficulties when they first took up the manufacture of artificial silk. In this case the rewards of success are great and, given the necessary perseverance and enterprise, there is no reason why India should not take her proper place amongst the artificial silk-producing countries of the world.

REVIEWS & NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed : Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telegu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor. M. R.]

ENGLISH

EARLY ENGLISH INTERCOURSE WITH BURMA (1587-1743). By Prof. D. G. E. Hall, Longmans. Pp. viii+276. 12s. 6d. net.

One by one the empty corners of Indian history are being filled up for us with accurate knowledge, thanks to the patient ransacking of original records and the concentration of light from diverse sources by a band of true scholars. C. R. Wilson settled for us the early history of the English in Bengal and incidentally refuted "the Boughton myth" (i. e., the story of Dr. Gabriel Boughton having healed the Princess Jahanara of her burns). The Strachey's have illuminated the rebellion of Capt. Keigwin and the early history of Bombay. A. Wright has given us the true Annesley of Surat. And now Prof. Hall's researches among the India Office and Madras records have produced the standard history of the British connection with Burma while it was of a purely commercial character. If the story has not the importance of Child's wars or Job Charnock's settlement, if it lacks the interest of Keigwin's rebellion, it is solely due to the nature of the subject,—the E. I. Co. had no valuable stake in Burma, and their Syrian factory failed mainly because "it was decided to transfer Port St. George's ship-building orders from Syrian to the more efficient and less expensive Parsi yards at Bombay" (p. 11.) The near presence of raw materials is not the decisive factor in economics in every age. On the whole, the Burma ventures of the English traders were precarious and unprofitable through the local kings' hostility. In 1759 "the whole (English) factory staff at Negrais was massacred, and once more the Company ceased its operations in Burma" (p. 241). When these were renewed, the political factor dominated the economic, and "the relations between the two [nations] began to develop along entirely different lines, culminating in the Anglo-Burmese war of 1824-6."

In the history of Burma and Arracan a new chapter was opened by the arrival, in the early sixteenth century, of what the local chronicles

speak of as the "great boats", viz., the sea-faring ships of the Portuguese, and that fascinating, if blood-stained, history is fairly well known.

Prof. Hall's book throws a pleasing light on "the humanity and hospitality of the old-time Buddhist priesthood of Burma" to ship-wrecked foreigners, and furnishes curious information on the "long established custom to provide with wives all foreigners who were forced to make a protracted stay in the country.... The custom was commented upon by Linschoten in the 16th century. No foreigners on leaving the country, however, might take away with him either his Burmese consort or her children.. Thomas Bland, a sea-captain, had a real [i. e., Christian] wife in Madras and a temporary Burmese wife in Syrian. The real wife was dissuaded from accompanying her husband to Syrian on the grounds that the Burmese wife would poison her if she put in an appearance at Syrian" (!!! (p. 100.)

This is the first volume of the "Rangoon University Publications," and the series could not have made a better beginning.

J. SARKAR

CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN INDIA, A COMPARATIVE STUDY. By J. L. Raina, (Taraporevala.) pp. xii+130 Rs. 2.

This book is a compilation from the notes kept by the author during his tour through the four provinces of Bombay, Madras, Bengal and U. P. and the author's aim is "to stress the practical side of the Co-operative movement, which he believes "has always been overlooked"—though the administration reports tell a different tale. For such an important task, the book is too slight. It is not exactly a mosaic of extracts, but it does not go far enough and never rises above the commonplace, while as a collection of statistics data it is professedly insufficient.

A GLIMPSE OF ASSAM. By Upendra Nath Barooa xvi+140. Re. 1-10.

The author has been hardly fair to himself to his readers by publishing in 1928 a "sketch

written towards the close of the last century." He professes to have revised it "at present according to the light of the day"; but several of his statements still smack of the past century and are not true of to-day. For instance, we should like to know what modern writer of any authority persists in describing Shankara-dev as a pupil of Chaitanya, or what recent Bengali author has "blackened the Assamese character with one sweep of the tar (*sic*) in the public prints."

It is a pleasantly written if rambling and sketchy book, and, we are sure, the author himself will not wish it to be taken as an authority on history. For instance, he contends that the execution of Maniram Dewan and Piali on the charge of conspiracy for rebellion during the Sepoy Mutiny, was a judicial murder committed by Capt. Holroyd (District Officer of Sibsagar) and his Daroga. "It is said and still believed by old people that Maniram and Piali were executed by Mr. Holroyd after keeping back the order of Genl. Jenkins cancelling the death sentence," (p. 44.) After making this statement the author merely adds that "to secure corroboration at this distant date is a hopeless and difficult task." Thus is our history being written!

For the manners and customs of the 17th century Assamese, he has not cared to use Talish's contemporary account as summarized by Blochmann (*J. A. S. B.*, 1872) and published in full in the *Journal of the B. & O. Research Society*. Robinson is too primitive.

UNDER THE GREAT MOGHULS: *a survey of the effects of the early European trade on the economic conditions of India in the 17th century*, by Kashinath G. Warty. (Natesan), viii+148. Re. 1 (?)

Under this pretentious title has been produced a very superficial work, just a little above the standard of a college prize-essay. The author's outfit can be judged from the fact that, in writing on such a subject, he is unaware of the existence of such first-rate authorities as Danvers's *Portuguese in India*, C. J. Hamilton's *Early Trade Relations between England and India*, Macpherson's *Oriental Commerce*, and Minturn's work on the same subject, while he refers only *once* and to a single passage in a single volume of Foster's indispensable *English Factories in India* of which 13 vols. have been issued. He prefers, instead, to depend on J. N. Das-Gupta's clippings and other works of the *rechauffe* type. The only chapters of any worth are two, which are admittedly compiled from Moreland.

ORIGIN OF THE PINDARIES, *preceded by Historical notices on the Rise of the different Maratha States*: By an Officer in the Service of the E. I. Co. Reprint by Dr. Lalit Mohan Basu. (Allahabad) Rs. 1/4

The original edition was published by John Murray in 1818, and the information contained in it was heavily discounted by the appearance, shortly after that date, of Malcolm's *Central India*. Grant Duff's *History of the Marathas*, and the Parliamentary papers (in a thick folio volume) relating to the last Maratha War. The historical portion of the book under review is worthless; the substratum relating to the Pindaris is of some interest. The paper and type of the reprint are equally bad.

MIRAT-I-AHMADI SUPPLEMENT: By Syed Nawab Ali, M. A. and Charles Norman Seaton. Baroda Oriental Institute publication. Price Rs. 6-8 only.

This is the revised and corrected reprint of the English translation of the Persian text of Ali Muhammad Khan, appointed Dewan of the province of Gujarat in 1747. He compiled this interesting account of Ahmedabad between 1750 and 1760 assisted by a Hindu scholar named Mithalal. As the result of this happy Hindu-Moslem collaboration we get here a well-balanced picture of this part of India wherein we see the principal shrines of Muhammadan saints as well as the chief Hindu *tirthas* (pilgrimages) and *puras* (cities) of the locality, e.g., Somnath, Dwarka, Pattan, Birpur etc. The third chapter on the inhabitants of Ahmedabad contains a great deal of precise information about the Hindu population of the area, the Brahmanical as well as the Jain sections, the Banias (merchants) and *shewras* or ascetics. This section was written obviously by Mithalal. The 4th 5th and 6th chapters offer valuable data of administrative history of the province in pre-Panipat days (1761). The 7th and the last chapter gives valuable indications relating to the sea-ports, rivers, mountains etc. of Gujarat. At the end we get a curious Appendix on the "Horoscope of Ahmedabad."

INSCRIPTIONS OF BENGAL VOL III: By Nani Gopal Majumdar, M. A. Published by Bijay Nath Sarkar, Hon. Secretary, Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi (North Bengal), pp. X+200. Price Rs. 10.

This volume contains all the inscriptions of the Chandra, the Varman and the Sena Kings ranging over the eleventh and twelfth centuries A. D. and Mr. N. G. Majumdar, who has proved his worth by his epigraphic contributions, is seen at his best here in editing and commenting upon these valuable documents of Bengal history. The *find spots* of the inscriptions are shown on an excellent map and sixteen nicely printed plates go to enhance the value of the book. The printing and general get-up redound to the credit of the Society and its enlightened Patron Kumar Sarat Kumar Roy who spares neither time nor money in furthering the aims of this noble institution of North Bengal. Mr. Bijay Nath Sarkar, the energetic secretary, assures us that the present volume is only an earnest of two more volumes on the epigraphs of the Gupta and the Pala periods. That would not only supply a long-felt want but would stimulate first-hand study of the original documents, of Bengal history in our students. We eagerly expect the two other volumes and recommend the present volume to all serious students of Bengal history.

THE DESTERRADO: By Joseph Firdado. Chapman & Hall, Ltd. 33, pages: 6-net.

We are glad to see that English poetry is still being written and read, though it does not mean that we are enamoured of every poem in the book. Others will no doubt enjoy what we fail to appreciate owing to some defect on our part. The author has a reputation as a poet, and great wit is visible in some of his pieces, for instance in:-

Truly, men do pluck me, press me,
Cut me deep—

Curse the cutthroats, don't I always
Make them weep!

Those who like Wordsworth and love trees,
rivers, hills and dales, will derive pleasure from
this excellent book.

THE TEMPLE OF DEVI AND OTHER POEMS : By
B. G. Steinhoff. Times Press, Bombay.

The style of "The Toddy Tree" has pleased us.
The rhyming is excellent and reminds one of The
Giaour, The Bride of Abydos, The Lady of the
Lake, etc. Other poems are also entertaining.

The decline of poetry writing cannot, however,
be stopped by a few books. If such books fire the
imagination of the public and other authors, poetry
will rise again. The London Poetry Society could
not award a promised gold medal recently because
out of 25 competitors, even one could not show
poetical pathos. When our author has written
such pieces as would surpass the prevailing trash
in England and India, we shall think that he has
done a service to literature. We shall delight in
his progress.

We are no great grammatical critics. The author
might have avoided writing 'eat' in "Has eat into
his very soul." 'Eaten' would not have marred the
rhyme. 'Eat' as past participle is an
Americanism that prevailed in New York in 1911,
and died the next year. Some poetsasters and
inferior journalists made a confusion in England
and the U. S. A. with "beat, beat, beaten," so
before the War, 'eat' became a "vogue past tense"
among inferior writers who delighted in the
illegitimate 'alright' and 'like he does.' In the
U. S. A. it was "eat, eat, eat." In England it
became "eat, eat, eaten." The dictionary makers
grasped at it as a child grasps a new toy, though
older editions were silent. Oxford calls it rare.
English grammar does not acknowledge it (Bain,
1919 & 202.) Here again, our poet has but a
flimsy whimsical authority to back him.

OPPORTA ET VISA : By B. G. Steinhoff. Times
Press, Bombay, 1928.

These new verses show that the itch to write
English poetry is still present in India, after the
departure of Michael Madhusudan Dutt, Rabi Dutt,
Toru Dutt, and Kipling. Some poems are very
ingenious, for instance :-

And loyalty that's based on fear
Like flowers is upon a bier.

The author is so doubtful aware of his blemishes
as all authors should be, and states in the preface :
"Go then, little book, to a ready market or to the
pumping machines at Titagarh." His wit is better
displayed in prose than in poetry, and would no
doubt disarm hostile criticism, when he himself
indulges in such jokes. Only rhyming does not
constitute poetry, and the following looks like a
report of the Meteorological Department in verse :-

This cloudy day will rain,
and then the sun will shine again,
and yet, a familiar thought of Campbell does
seem poetry to our humble imagination.

The main, but scarce, "I never saw
the war clouds rolling down
Where furious, frank and fiery Hun,
and every war cloud on him
— and out he's
Critic

REMARRIAGE OF HINDU WOMEN ON SASTHU BASIS :
By Dr. Shimoga Venkoba Rao, B. A. Pp. 110.
Price Rs. 12. (R. C. S. Maniam, P. O. Malleswaram,
Bangalore).

In this brochure Dr. Rao has made an attempt
to prove that remarriage of Hindu women is
enjoined by the *Dharma Shastras*, from which he
quotes numerous passages. This is a praiseworthy
attempt no doubt, but the author does not seem to
be aware that Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar,
the great educationist, philanthropist and social
reformer of Bengal, declared some seventy years
ago that the marriage of Hindu widows is not
forbidden by the Hindu scriptures and published
his memorable book in English named *Marriage
of Hindu Widows* (1856.) On 4th October, 1855
the Pandit, who commanded great influence in
official circles, submitted to the Government of
India a petition, praying for the legalization of
Hindu widow remarriage and he had the satisfaction
of seeing his wishes fulfilled, when Act XV of
1856 was passed, which removed all legal obstacles
to the marriage of Hindu widows. Vidyasagar's
Marriage of Hindu Widows was translated into
Marathi by Vishnu Parashuram Shastri in 1865.

When the great Pandit advocated this social
reform, practically the whole country turned against
him, but the historian observes with satisfaction
that the seeds which he sowed are now germinat-
ing, and we see through the medium of news-
papers that widow marriages are now taking place
in every province of India.

BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI

SOCRATES IN AN INDIAN VILLAGE. (*Dehati Socrati*)
By F. L. Broyne, M. C. I. C. S. with a Foreword
by H. F. the Rt. Hon'ble the Lord Irwin, G. M. S. I.
G. M. I. E., Viceroy and Governor-General on
India. Oxford University Press, 1929. Price Rs. 4.
Pp. XIV + 130.

The world has changed, since the days of
Socrates, and village life in India is not what it
used to be in the 'glorious' days of her 'golden'
past—imagined or real. Not that our villages have
changed very much. On the contrary, they have
changed so little that they have gone completely
out of gear in the march of civilization. And so
they rot in the stagnant backwaters of advancing
Time. And so we find ourselves talking of village
reconstruction and of the revival of rural life. And
so meetings are held, programmes drawn up and
periodic appeals bawled out from the platform and
by the Press. A small handful settles down to
earnest work. A Royal Commission comes, knocks all
over the country and beyond,—seeing, hearing, deli-
berating, achieves a bulky report and fades from
our memory.

But in the meantime a Punjab civilian, posted in
the Gurgaon district, as Deputy Commissioner, sees
and thinks for himself and casts about to devise ways
and means to make life a little more attractive for
the poor peasantry of his district. The area in his
charge is a very backward one, even in India. But
he is not discouraged. The best solution is, he
reflects, to make the villagers do things for them-
selves. But they must be persuaded at first and
taught next. How? Age-long superstition and
rampant illiteracy stand in the way. And then, his
mind harks back across centuries to Socrates and

he remembers how the Greek sage talked to and reasoned with his contemporaries. And forthwith Mr. Brayne starts on his mission, walks about among the villages in his district and challenges the people he meets to verbal duels with him by flinging at them, quite in a casual way, his plain views on what he sees. He does it in the best style of Socrates, though the contents of his dissertations necessarily differ from those of his model. It is, of course, a risky venture. Socrates, it may be recalled, offered his views to his countrymen and, though his motive was the noblest that ever inspired man to act or to talk, he was offered, in turn a cup of hemlock, on terms which positively forbade refusal. The twentieth century imitation of the Greek sage in the person of an Indian district officer is, however, more fortunate than his ancient archetype. The heart-to-heart talks Mr. Brayne had with the Gurgaon villagers, which are recorded by him in the book under review, far from leading to any untoward development, endeared him to the hearts of his listeners as one of their greatest friends. Not that Mr. Brayne cautiously innocens words in his parleys with the villagers. The fact is just the other way about—he always insists on calling a spade a spade and in a manner that is deliberately calculated to offend the susceptibilities of even the most callous among his audience.

So we find that the *Dehathi Socrat* of Gurgaon twists the villagers with being dirtier than beasts; he hanters them for their ante-diluvian methods of agriculture and irrigation; he tells them to their face that the way they treat their children and women-folk is unworthy of even savages. The shafts of his ridicule find their mark: the villagers are at first provoked to angry protests, but being reasonable men, are soon shamed, by the superior logic of their adversary, into acknowledging the truth of his remarks, and, being simple-hearted and amiable village folk, accept him, with grateful love, as their guide and teacher, and resolve to carry out his advice. This is in brief the story unfolded by the conversations recorded in the pages of *Socrates in an Indian Village*.

But there is just a little more. Our Socrates is not content with giving advice only. "Both he and his wife", we are told by Lord Irwin, our Viceroy, in the foreword, "have not confined their energies to didactics but have given very ample practical demonstrations that what they teach is within the reach of the ordinary villager." These practical demonstrations have been described by Mr. Brayne in his earlier book *Village Uplift in India* to which the interested reader should refer for details of what Lord Irwin says, has come to be known as the "Gurgaon Experiment."

In his preface to the present work, Mr. Brayne claims that his efforts have been justified by results, and invites us to consider some of the concrete products of his experiment. They make a long list and include all manner of things: latrines, marriage registers, boy scouts, vaccination, iron ploughs, co-operative banks, a women's institute, a ladies' garden and even co-education. And, wonder of wonders, there is also a mixed tennis club—a dubious blessing, not because it is a 'mixed' enterprise but because it specializes in an exotic game which can, at best, serve as a highly artificial form of recreation in an Indian village, besides being costly

beyond means. But tennis is, after all, a small matter, and, tennis or no tennis, the achievements of the village Socrates compel our admiration.

The writer of this review has had no opportunity to see how the Gurgaon scheme is actually working and can therefore offer no corroborative evidence to substantiate Mr. Brayne's claim. But he can, at least, safely recommend Mr. Brayne's book to every one interested in India's rural problem, as a rich store-house of suggestions and, besides, a very interesting human document. The reviewer is also of opinion that the experiment pioneered by Mr. Brayne in Gurgaon, which may be taken as a typical Indian district, might serve as an excellent model, with slight modifications here and there to suit local conditions, for a comprehensive scheme of rural reconstruction on a country-wide scale.

The book is excellently printed and decently got up and contains several illustrations, all photographs, depicting features of village life, both post and pre-reform.

INDIAN ECONOMICS IN A NUTSHELL. Edited by Tarapada Das Gupta, M.A. and Hemanta Kumar Sen, M.A. The Bengal Publishing Company, 26, Goabagan Lane, Calcutta. Second Edition, 1929.

AN ELEMENTARY TREATISE ON INDIAN MONEY, BANKING AND FINANCE PART I: By Tarapada Das Gupta, M.A. The Bengal Publishing Company. First Edition, 1929. Price Rs. 2-8.

The first edition of *Indian Economics in a Nutshell*, was published in 1927. That a second edition should be called for within two years of the publication of the first proves that the study of economics is becoming increasingly popular in this country, which is a very welcome sign. It also proves that the book under review has been a success which, I think, is quite deserved in spite of all its defects. The most glaring of these defects is that the book appears to be more like a jumble of notes on various topics connected with the economic conditions and problems of India than like a text-book on Indian economics. The get-up also leaves much to be desired. It is to be regretted that these defects, which existed in the first edition, have not been mended in the second. Barring these shortcomings, however, the book is calculated to be of real service to all students qualifying for the degree courses of Indian universities. We hope that the third edition which the book has a fair prospect of running into, will be much better edited and better got-up.

The second book above is a more creditable performance. It gives a clear and lucid account of India's foreign trade and monetary system, both internal and external—things not always easily understood by the student of economics, far less by the general public. A great deal of controversy has of late raged round some of the problems discussed in this book. But the average educated Indian could hardly follow this controversy in all its complications, both within the Legislative Assembly and outside, and could only look on with uncomprehending wonder and not a little apprehension. To such persons the book will serve as a very serviceable introduction—it will initiate them into the mysteries of a subject, the importance of which for a proper understanding of some of the knottiest problems of our national life cannot

be exaggerated. The supreme merit of the book lies in the fact that it avoids extremes. It is neither too brief, nor too big. It does not so condense things, which require rather elaborate explanation, as to make them unintelligible except to a few, nor does it indulge in subtle discussions beyond the grasp of the ordinary reader. It steers a middle course and is therefore, just the kind of book, which people, who are interested in the subject but who do not wish to make a special study of it, should welcome.

The get-up is decent. Slips have been inserted between the pages for correcting printing mistakes—a clumsy device, which, we hope, will not be necessary in the next edition.

HIRANKUMAR SANYAL.

SANSKRIT

ADVAYAVAJRA-SAMGRAHA : By Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri, M. A., C. I. E. Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. XL. Published by the Oriental Institute, Baroda, (1927). Price Rs. 2 only.

Nearly fifteen years ago M. M. Haraprasad inaugurated a new era in the study of Bengali and Eastern Indian Prakrits by publishing the Bengali edition of "Bauddha Gan-o-Doha" a compilation of the vernacular compositions of some masters of Tantra-yana Buddhism. In the learned introduction of that volume the great Bengali *savant* gave a history of his researches into that *terra incognita* of living Buddhism in Nepal and India, and gave us the first summary notes on thirty-three *Padakartas*. It was the Durbar Library of Nepal that furnished the invaluable manuscripts and the Pandit, a worthy peer of Hodgson, Bendel Levi and Rajendralala in that field, has been working on the documents for the last thirty years. His first visit to Nepal was as early as 1897-98 followed by two more visits in 1907 and in 1922 respectively. He is literally the Columbus in the discovery of living Buddhism in Eastern India to which he drew the attention of Indologists as early as 1898 and now he gives us at this advanced age, an edition of 22 short Mahayana Sanskrit compositions of Advayavajra, a compatriot of Dipamkara of Bengal. The hopelessly corrupt Sanskrit of the text did not permit a translation but the Pandit has amply compensated by adding a brilliant exposition of the esoteric doctrines of this forgotten cult of Buddhism which is a veritable *traite-d'union* between the later Mahayana on one side and the Tantra-yana, Vajra-yana, Kalachakra-yana and the Sahaja-yana of the mediaeval period. As such the value of these texts, however baffling they may appear to us now, can hardly be over-estimated. Nepal was famous throughout history as the nearest cradle of Greater Indian culture and a refuge for Indian scholarship in the darkest days of vandalism, and the Nepal Durbar Library has given to us invaluable literary documents. The Ramacharita of Sandhyakara-Nandi, the Chatuh Satika of Aryadeva, the Saundarananda of Asvaghosha, the Bauddha Gan-o-Doha and now the Advayavajra Samgraha form the priceless legends of M. M. Haraprasad Shastri. Now that the famous Gaekwad's Oriental series, under its learned and energetic editor Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya, has boldly undertaken the task of publishing

Tibetan texts as well, we recommend the preparation of a Prakrit-Tibetan edition of the *Bauddha Gan-o-Doha*, under the able direction of M. M. Haraprasad. He has earned the permanent gratitude of Indologists by publishing so many invaluable documents of Indian culture and his encyclopaedic knowledge in that department should be requisitioned by our younger generation of philologists with a view to illumine the darkest corners of our history and literature. Terms like *Sunyata* and *Pragna Maha-Sakha* and *Karuna* that occur in the Sanskrit as well as Prakrit compositions of Buddhist Padakartas like Advaya, Luipada Kanhapada etc. are also stockwords of Asiatic Buddhism as copiously current in China and Central Asia as in Japan and Java. Hence the importance of this latest publication of *Advayavajra Samgraha*.

K. N.

MARATHI

SHREE PRAMAN SAHASREE or a collection of one thousand authoritative texts in Sanskrit translated into Marathi by B. R. Shastree Panashikar. Pages 470. Price Rs. 2-8.

The book is divided into three parts. The first part deals with physical sciences; the second with moral sciences (including social and religious customs) and the third with metaphysics. Each part contains a brief but clear exposition of the subject dealt with according to the ancient Hindu Shastras, supported with numerous Sanskrit texts with their Marathi translations. The beauty of the work lies in the way in which the writer has shown how ancient Hindu scriptures like the Vedas, the Upanishads, Smritis and Sutras, far from coming in conflict with the advanced thoughts of the modern times, actually go to support them in so far as they conduce to the good of humanity. The book deserves to be read by both the orthodox and the reformed sections of Hindu Society.

THE LATE HISTORY-SCHOLAR RAJWADE: By P. S. Sane, M. A. with a short preface by Prof. D. V. Potdar. Pages 107. Price 10 as.

A brief biographical sketch of the late V. K. Rajwade, whose unique and inspiring personality called forth unstinted admiration in recent years in a number of Maratha youths and created in them love for Maratha history.

SANKHYA SHASTRA SHIKSHAK : By K. N. Bhanu. Pages 44. Price Re. one.

What is stated in this brochure can in no sense be termed Shashtra or science in the modern sense, as it is neither backed by any rational theory nor is its conclusion proved by experiments. It is a mere humbug. The price is exorbitant.

SHASHANA-SANSTHA Part I : By S. N. Huddar. Pages 96. Price 10 as.

This little book gives very brief sketches of the constitutions of eight principal nations of the world, viz., Great Britain, United States, France, Germany, Japan, Switzerland, Soviet Russia and India.

V G. APTE

GUJARATI

ANTARNA AMI—Nectar from the Heart: By Vallabhji Bhanji Mehta of Morvi. Printed at the Saraswati Printing Press, Bhavnagar. Cloth-bound, pp. 166. Price Re. 1-0-0 (1928).

Mr. Vallabhji is known for his verse writings. his, however, is an excursion into prose, and is made up of rhapsodies on moral, ethical and other subjects.

NRITYANJALI: Published by Shayda Sadik & Co. Printed at the Sang Vartman Press, Bombay, pp. 4. Price Rs. 2 (1928).

Ragini Devi is trying her best to familiarize America with the conception of the art of dancing and the science of music as cultivated in India. This is a translation of her work with a short introduction from the pen of Mrs. Lilavati Munshi. Pictures of Ragini Devi in various poses of Indian Dance are an attractive feature of this small book in addition to the explanations of the technique of the Art, attempted to be rendered into language as simple as its subject matter would allow.

SHARADINI: By Janardan Prabhas Kar. Printed at the Khadaya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper cover, pp. 38. Price Re. 0-10-0 (1928).

A collection of original songs, such as would suit Ras and Garba singers of the modern type of girls and women, this book is adorned with a typical coloured picture of the *Rashila* of Krishna. A preface short but informative and appreciative of the writer's work by Mrs. Lilavati Munshi brings out the beauties of the contents. The quality of work shown in the writer's *Viharini* is maintained here also.

GURU GOVIND SINGH: By Thakkur Narayan Visanji. Printed at the Gujarati News Printing Press, Bombay. Paper cover: pp. 259. Price Re. 0-12-0 (1928).

Thakkur Narayan has projected a series of books bringing out the goodness and greatness of the Hindus and their religion. He is fitted to write on the subject, because of one particular reason amongst others, viz., that he studies his subject at its original source, and is always eager to absorb any new light thrown on it. He reads much before publishing a book. This characteristic feature of his writings is preserved in this book, and he has produced an admirable life of the great Sikh religious leader, Guru Govind Singh. There was a want of such a book in our libraries and it is now supplied.

K. M. J.

The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri's Work in South Africa

By V. S. C. PATHER AND SWAMI BHAWANI DAYAL,
(Vice-Presidents, Natal Indian Congress)

ON the eve of his relinquishing the office as Agent for the Government of India in South Africa, perhaps it would be interesting for the people of India to learn of Mr. Sastri's admirable work in the interests of South-African Indians.

Readers of the *Modern Review* would no doubt remember that it was with a view to securing continuous and effective co-operation between the two Governments and to seeing to the satisfactory carrying out of the terms of the agreement arrived at in Capetown that the office of an Agent was created and naturally, as is wont in such an innovation, there was wild speculation among the people of South Africa with regard to the person to be appointed to fill this ambassadorial position. And, therefore, the

news that no less a person than Mr. Sastri, who took a very prominent part in the negotiations leading to the Capetown Agreement, had been nominated, was received with great satisfaction. In fact, the South-African Indian Congress at its sixth session held at Johannesburg in December 1926 requested the Government of India to approach Mr. Sastri to accept this high office. His coming, therefore, brought with it a new hope and a new vision for the Indian community, let alone a respite after the long drawn out political struggle between the two communities.

After his formal interviews with His Excellency the Governor-General and the Prime Minister, his real work commenced. In the Union, Natal is the province where

the bulk of the Indian population reside and it was here that his arduous task lay.

INDIAN EDUCATION IN NATAL

The Capetown Agreement provided, *inter alia*: "In view of the admittedly grave situation in respect to Indian education in Natal, the Union Government are willing to appoint a Provincial Commission of Inquiry and to obtain the assistance of an educational expert from the Government of India for the purpose of such inquiry."

With a view to bringing about this Education Enquiry Commission, Dr. Malan, the Minister of Education, wisely left the matter of approaching the Provincial Council of Natal in the capable hands of Mr. Sastri, who spared no time in winning the sympathy of the Administrator of Natal, Sir George Plowman, whose term of office was then expiring. His successor, the Hon. Mr. Gordon Watson was equally sympathetic and was keen to help Mr. Sastri in his mission. With the assistance of the new Administrator his interviews with the members of the Executive accelerated the appointment of the desired Enquiry Commission, which began its labours in the month of April 1928.

The whole period during which the Commission sat, was passed with anxiety by Mr. Sastri who was present throughout the sittings and who feared that sufficient evidence might not be forthcoming in Natal, the result of which would be that the Commission would report that Indians were not anxious for their education and that their illiteracy was, therefore, due to their own fault. It was only on the last day of the Commission that the Natal Indian Congress wound up the overwhelming mass of evidence tendered by representatives from every centre in Natal, wherever Indians resided, by its comprehensive statement, and it was then that Mr. Sastri felt a ray of hope in the Commission. The discovery that out of about 32,000 children of school-going age only 9,155 were receiving education, that teachers were being miserably paid, and that the school buildings deplorable, unsightly and insanitary, came as a shock to the people of Natal. Hundreds of children were being turned away because there was no accommodation in the schools and thousands more were running about illiterate because there were no schools, though the parents were most anxious that their children should be educated.

The eagerness on the part of the Indians for education and the amount of self-help were fully demonstrated by facts and figures. Moreover, the fact that some eight to nine thousand pounds of the Union Government's subsidy on Indian Education were being misapplied annually by the Provincial authorities was brought home to the Commissioners.

Mr. Kichlu with Miss Gordon, the educational expert sent out by the Government of India, worked day and night in compiling statistics and rendering valuable information on the subject, and their help and assistance in this connection were immensely appreciated by the Commission and the Indian community.

The favourable report of the Commission resulted in the Provincial Government spending the whole amount of the subsidy and thereby improving the existing conditions to an appreciable extent.

Side by side with this part of the work Mr. Sastri appealed to the Indian community of Natal for funds for the establishment of a college where facilities could be afforded for the training of teachers and provisions made for higher education. The appeal was well responded to and a munificent sum of sixteen thousand pounds was subscribed within a period of two months. A site of some six acres in the Borough of Durban for the building of the Training College and High School was applied for, and after a strenuous fight put up by both Mr. Sastri and the Community, some 2½ acres were allotted by the Durban Town Council on leasehold tenure. The foundation-stone for the college—appropriately named the "Sastri College" was laid on the 24th August, 1928 by the Administrator of Natal and the building operations have now commenced.

It has been arranged for the buildings, when completed, to be handed over to the Provincial Government, which would conduct the college on modern lines. Mr. Sastri wished that the college should be staffed with qualified teachers from India and this has been agreed to by the Education Department. Moreover, it is his ambition that in course of time, the staff should be replaced by South-African Indians themselves, and for this purpose he has appealed for funds to create scholarships and it is hoped that his appeal would not fall on deaf ears.

CONDONATION OF ILLICIT ENTRANTS

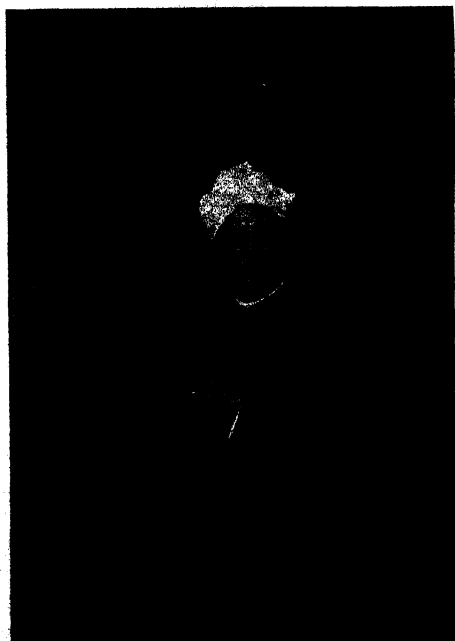
If there is anything that would remind Mr. Sastri in his later years, as the most

memorable and unpleasant event in his life as Agent in South Africa, it is the Condona-
tion Scheme.

The Government of the Union, to imple-
ment the terms of the Capetown Agreement,
brought before Parliament a Bill amending
the Immigration Regulation Act. For the
sake of uniformity in all the Provinces of
the Union, the Government sought powers
in the Bill to cancel any document obtained
by fraudulent means entitling the holder
domiciliary rights in the country. It was
here that Mr. Sastri showed his marvellous
power of statesmanship. He secured the
assurance of the Minister, who was prepared,
provided the community would not tolerate
any illicit entry of Indians into the country
in the future, to grant to such a person
who had before the 5th day of July 1924,
entered the Union illicitly, a free pardon,
and to issue to him a Protection certificate,
with the only restriction that if he had not
already introduced his wife and/or minor
children into the country, he would not be
allowed to do so. This act of grace on the
part of the Government, which was to mark
the appointment of Mr. Sastri as the first
Agent in South Africa, was expected to be
received by the persons affected with both
hands, but to the utter astonishment of
Mr. Sastri and his supporters it proved
otherwise. The position in the Transvaal was
such, that a scheme of this nature, unless a
line was drawn about the year 1908 when
registration of Indians took place, may
result in grave complications and throw a
great majority of the people there in a
state of insecurity as regards their future
residence in the country. The position in
the other two provinces of Natal and the
Cape was identical but slightly dissimilar to
that of the Transvaal and thought to be
equally grave.

During the Passive Resistance struggle
in the year 1906, thousands of Indians who
had no right of domicile in the Transvaal,
entered it, in most cases with the connivance
of the then officials and according to Mahatma
Gandhi's statement fraud was committed
openly everywhere and with the knowledge
of the Government. Subsequent registration of
the Indians was taken by them as having
established their right to a domicile and
naturally the scheme which disturbed that
belief was looked upon with suspicion. A
considerable amount of persuasion
was necessary on the part of Mr. Sastri

at all the important centres of the Union to
convince the people that the Government
was absolutely *bona fide* in their intentions
and those who came forward and confessed
would not only save the risk of being caught
at any time and deported, but would also be
free from any blackmail. It was indeed a
most difficult task for Mr. Sastri, who at
times felt that the virulent minority who
were strongly opposed to it were gaining
ground and that the scheme was on the point
of collapse, but owing to his tact and per-
severance he safely managed to lead the
people in the right direction, at the same
time obtaining further concessions from the
Government, improving the scheme, with the
result that some 1300 persons in the whole
of the Union availed themselves of the
scheme.



The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri

THE LIQUOR BILL

No less anxiety was felt by Mr. Sastri
when Mr. Tailman Roos, the Minister of
Justice, launched his Liquor Bill. Section
104 of the Bill sought to deprive thousands
of Indians employed in hotels and in the

Liquor trade, of their honest livelihood. Not only did Mr. Sastri make the position clear to General Hertzog, the Prime Minister, that it was a breach of the spirit and letter of the Capetown Agreement, but stood firm with the Community in its protest against the obnoxious section. The Government fortunately withdrew the section and thereby averted a disaster to the settlement of the Indian question. Unfortunately for us there are still certain sections in the Act, which may adversely affect the Indian employees, but Mr. Sastri has made representations to the Government that it should seriously consider amending the sections so as not to create any hardship to those at present employed.

HOUSING AND SANITATION

The Capetown Agreement further provided that "the Union Government are willing to take steps under the Public Health Act for an investigation into sanitary and housing conditions in and around Durban, which will include the question of (1) the appointment of an advisory committee of representative Indians and (2) the limitation of the sale of municipal land to restrictive conditions".

In this regard Mr. Sastri's endeavours to have an elaborate investigation in which the Union Government, the Provincial and the local authority with two Indian assessors would take part, were in vain, owing to the provincial and local authorities being unwilling to adopt the suggestion from a fear that it might lead to responsibilities which they were not prepared to accept at the present moment. However, the Central Housing Board, which was equally competent to do the work, made the necessary enquiries and its report which was published a few days ago was most favourable to the Indian community, and in most appropriate terms commented upon the utter disregard of the Durban Corporation to the housing of Indians resident in Durban.

SOCIAL UPLIFTMENT

Having been a worker nearly all his

life in the cause of humanity in India, Mr. Sastri felt soon after his arrival, that the social needs of the community were sadly neglected and those who were at the head of affairs from time to time were simply engrossed in the political life of the community only.

His first lecture in Durban on "Social Service" was not only an intellectual treat but was full of inspiration to the young men and women in the community. Previous to this he addressed the women of Durban on "Child Welfare". Both these lectures resulted in the formation of an Indian Child Welfare Society and a Social Service League, both of which are doing excellent work. Mr. Sastri himself contributed a sum of ten pounds per month to the former Society. In all his private conversations with prominent Indians, he has impressed upon them the urgent necessity of social work among the community so that it may be able to uplift itself and thus become an invaluable asset to South Africa.

Mr. Sastri has not been unmindful of the necessity of creating a friendly feeling between the European and Indian communities in order that the long-rooted prejudice may gradually die out. With a view to bringing about this happy state of affairs he delivered a series of lectures in the important centres of the Union on Cultural India, Indian Philosophy, Indian Drama and other interesting subjects. A remarkable feature of his lectures was that the halls were filled to overflowing. His masterly exposition of the various subjects always held his audience spell-bound. He was hailed as an intellectual genius and the philosopher-statesman of India.

His orations were the means of creating a very friendly feeling between the two great races. His magnetic personality and genial disposition won for him many true and loving friends from both the communities, who felt exceedingly sorry to miss him when the time came for him to depart from the shores of South Africa.

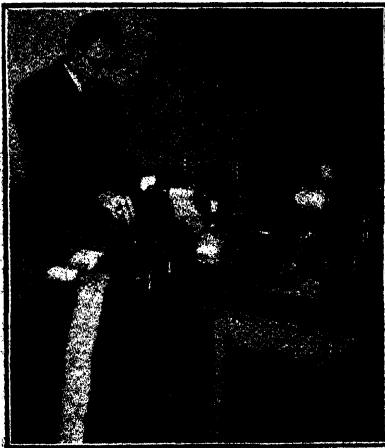


Machine Helps to Choose Career By Showing Talents

To help a person to determine his life's work according to his abilities, Dr. Clark L. Hull, of the University of Wisconsin, has devised a machine that correlates the results of various written and oral tests on the subject and summarizes the findings. Data from thirty or forty examinations as to the person's character, temperament and other qualities are represented by perforations on a

nectady, New York, we are informed in the radio section of the New York *Sun*. This odd receiver takes the exact form of an umbrella, including the cloth canopy, ribs, and handle. It opens and closes, and when in either position it is so cleverly disguised that the head telephones connected near the handle are the only visible evidence likely to betray its real identity.

The Literary Digest



Mechanism for Measuring a Person's Fitness for Different Careers

paper tape which is run through the machine. As the strip passes along, it automatically records on a length of metal, the individual's bent as regards several of forty or fifty occupations. As the choices are made, they are noted by the machine on a card which is inserted at the same time as the paper tape. By examining the card, the subject can determine his natural fitness for certain lines of work or those in which his chances for success seem best.

Popular Mechanics

An Umbrella Radio Set

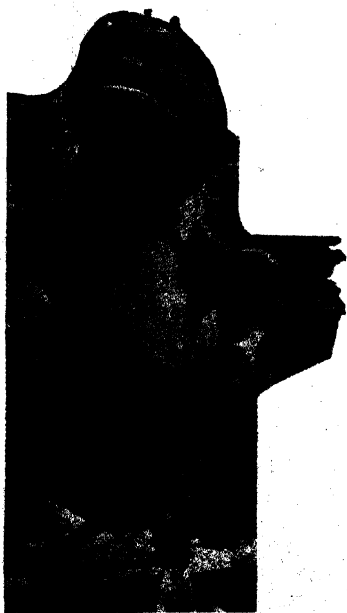
A Radio Receiving Set simulating an umbrella has been invented and patented by Marcia Estabrook Taylor and John Bellamy Taylor of Sche-



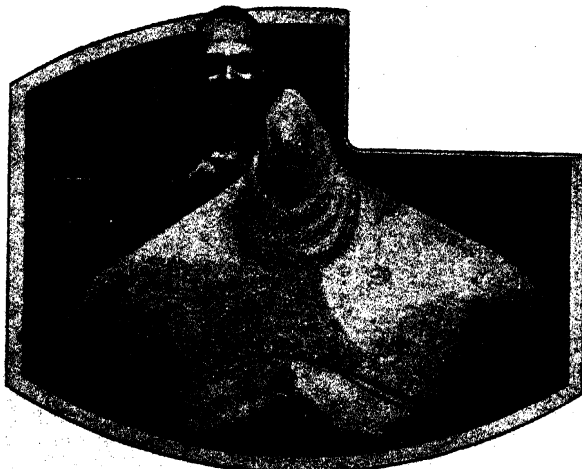
Strange Faces to be found only in Deep Seas



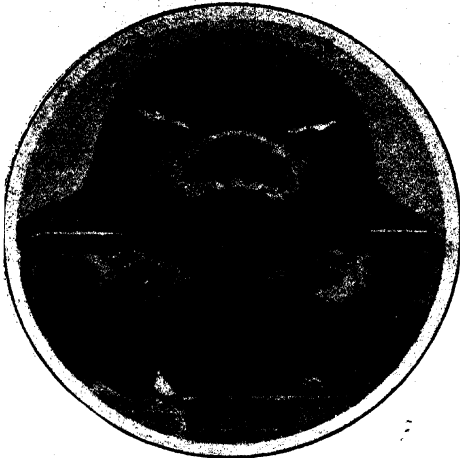
El Guarany Demonstrates His Hypnotic Power over Alligators by Inserting His Head in the Monster's Jaws.



A Tiger Shark, one of the Larger Species of Deep-Sea Man-Eaters, which Sometimes Attains a Length of Twenty-Five Feet in the Waters of the Coral Barrier Reef



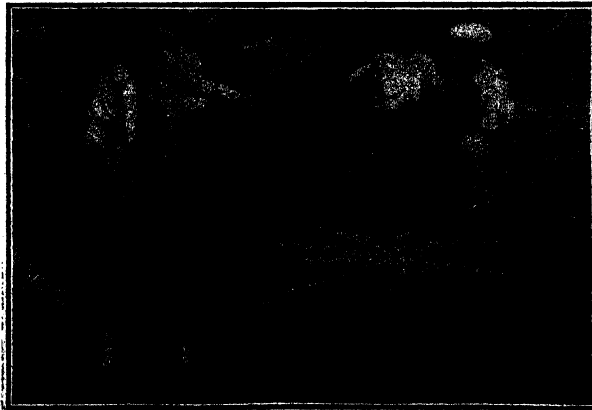
Guest with a Spotted Eagle, a Grotesque Aquiline Fish with a Long Whiplike Tail and a Five-Foot "Wing" Spread



Meet the Devilfish Face to Face, as it Appeared When Loaded on a Hand Truck Ashore; the Two-Ton Monster Bears a Close Resemblance to Old Statues of the God Moloch; It Came from Waters Full of Queer and Ugly Creatures



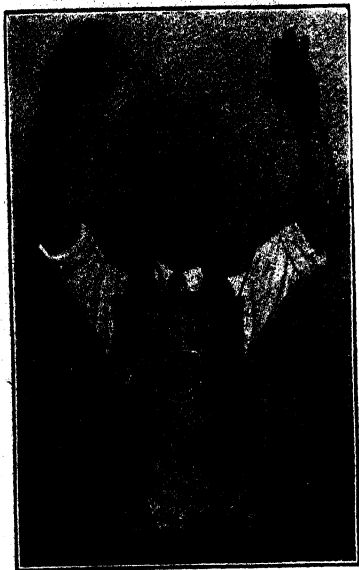
The Head and peculiar Armoured Back of a Devilfish, Caught by L. Haden-Guest, a London Sportsman While Collecting Deep-Sea Specimens in the Teeming Waters off the South Sea Island Continent



Capt. William Tucker, Deep-Sea Diver, Captured This Giant Octopus and Brought It Alive to Shore, to Be Exhibited with Himself; Perils of Deep-Sea Diving Suffice to Make Any Insurance Agent Shudder If He Is Asked to Underwrite the Diver's Life. —*Popular Mechanics*

Bullet-Proof Vest Has Gun Fired In Raising Hands

Installed at the centre of a special bullet-proof vest is a machine gun that starts firing when the wearer's hands are raised. The unit therefore gives



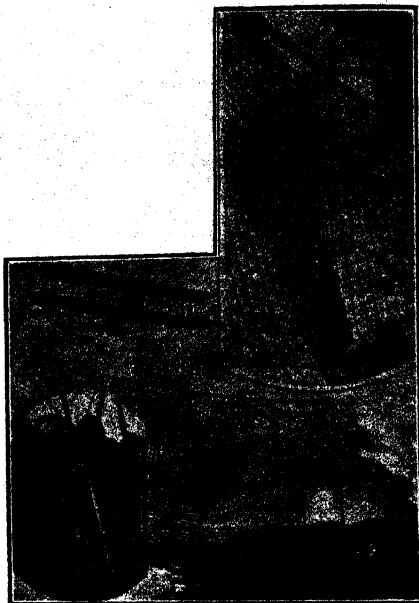
As wearer raises his hands at Bandit's order, a stream of bullets issues from the gun in the centre offensive and defensive service, and is intended to be especially effective against hold-up men.

Popular Mechanics

Toothed Net for Air-Mail Delivery

Successful tests with a special landing net for the delivery of mail-bags and other parcels from moving airplanes are reported in *Popular Mechanics* (Chicago, February).

"The bag, attached to a rope, is lowered from the plane, and as the ship moves over the net, which is stretched on uprights, the rope is severed by sharp teeth on one of the crossbars of the cage. The bag is let down from a reel controlled by the pilot, and is kept from falling forcibly to the ground by the net. This is considered an advantage over some other methods proposed for delivery of packages from planes while in motion, and is an improvement over the parachute idea, as no time is lost in recovering the bundle. There is an ample supply of rope on the reel so that the pilot does not have to descend to a perilously low altitude to make delivery. The cage is strongly braced, and can be set up or taken down in a few moments."



The Net to catch Air-Mail on the Fly

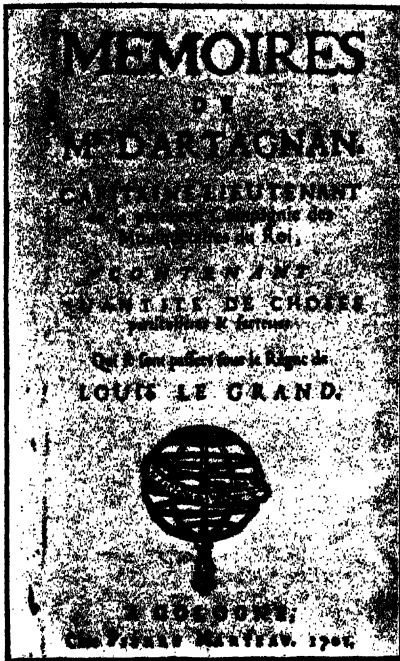
Did Dumas Steal "The Three Musketeers" ?

We learn from R. S. Fendrick, who writes, in a copyrighted Paris dispatch to the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, that a hornets' nest has been stirred up by a movement at the real D'Artagnan's birthplace to give him a monument and credit Dumas, in the inscription, with having immortalized him. Literary critics are pointing to historic evidence that Dumas did not create D'Artagnan, but "lifted" him from a chronicle written in the Bastille a century and a half earlier by Gatiien de Courtiz de Sandras, the "scribbler" who had offended Louis XIII.

Mr. Fendrick tells us that Dumas simply rewrote and jazzed up, in about 1845, a book that Courtiz de Sandras had published in 1700. The proof of this is said to be overwhelming.

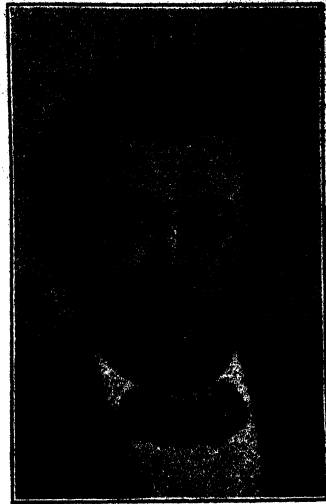
The grave, clever and swashbuckling D'Artagnan actually lived in flesh and blood, altho the *mousquetaire* was not nearly so dashing as he has been painted. His right name was Charles de Batz-Castelmore, but he took his mother's name of D'Artagnan. His family, belonging to the lesser Gascon nobility, lived in the region between Pau and Toulouse, in the extreme south of France.

It has often been alleged that Dumas and the dozen-odd "ghosts" who worked in his romance factory were notorious plagiarists, but the extent of this plagiarism is still unknown to-day. They stole much of the stuff from books printed several



Title-page of Courtilz de Sandras' book from which Dumas took the story

centuries ago, and now disappeared. Nevertheless Dumas was a marvellous "rewrite" man, or, as the

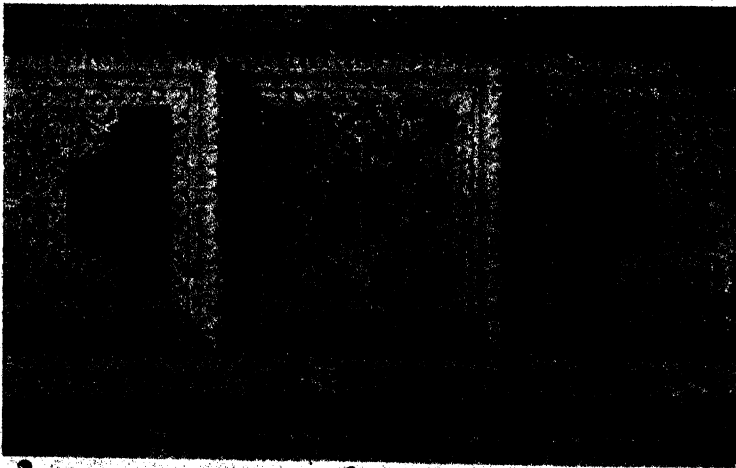


Alexandre Dumas

French say, a "cook" who could always adjust the right sauce to his dish. They called his novel factory "the kitchen."

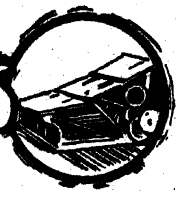
As the result of the exposure of Dumas's plagiarism, the good people of Gascony can not agree to whom they should give credit on their monument for immortalizing their hero. Courtilz de Sandras was undoubtedly his original biographer if one can call his work a biography, but Dumas really put him on the map.

The Literary Digest





INDIAN PERIODICALS



The Bauls and their Cult

The Bauls of Bengal and their Cult of Man forms the subject matter of an illuminating study in the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly* by S. Kshiti Mohan Sen, than whom no one is more competent to speak of these retiring class of devotees and of their fascinating tenets. Proceeds the writer after deriving the word *Baul* from *Vayu* in its sense of nerve-current and of regulated breathing exercise :

According to this cult, in order to gain real freedom, one has first to die to the life of the world whilst still in the flesh,—for only then can one be rid of all extraneous claims. Those of the Bauls who have Islamic leanings call such “death in life” *fanu*, a term used by the Sufis to denote union with the Supreme Being. True love, according to the Bauls, is incompatible with any kind of compulsion. Unless the bonds of necessity are overcome, liberation is out of the question. Love represents the wealth of life which is in excess of need. The idea appears to be the same as that under which the *urchista* (surplus) is exalted in the Atharva Veda (XI, 9). It should also be noted that Kabir, Nanak and other upper Indian devotees, use the word *haur* in the same sense of madcap and in their verses there are likewise numerous references to this idea of “death in life.”

Devotees from generally the lowest rank of Hindu and Moslem communities are freely welcomed by the Bauls who would enter, however, no temple or shrine ; for the human body is the temple of God, the Man of the Heart, they hold.

Most Indian sects adopt some distinct way of keeping the hairs of head and face as a sign of their sect or order. Therefore, so as to avoid being dragged into any such distinctions, the Bauls allow hair and beard and moustache to grow freely. Thus do we remain simple, they say. The similar practice of the Sikhs in this matter is to be noted. Neither do the Bauls believe that lack of clothing or bareness of body conduce to religious merit. According to them the whole body should be kept decently covered. Hence their long robe, for which if they cannot afford a new piece of cloth, they gather rags and make it of patches. In this they are different from the ascetic *sanyasins*, but resemble rather the Buddhist monks.

The Bauls do not believe in aloofness from, or renunciation of, any person or thing : their central idea is *yoga*, attachment to and communion with

the divine and its manifestations, as the means of realization. We fail to recognize the temple of God in the bodily life of man, they explain, because its lamp is not alight. The true vision must be attained in which this temple will become manifest in each and every human body, whereupon mutual communion and worship will spontaneously arise.

Many such similarities are to be observed between the sayings of the Bauls and those of the Upper Indian devotees of the Middle Ages, but unlike the case of the followers of the latter, the Bauls did not become crystallized into any particular order or religious organization. So, in the Bauls of Bengal, there is to be found a freedom and independence of mind and spirit that resists all attempt at definition. Their songs have given expression to the very heart of rural Bengal. With no claims to erudition or prestige of tradition the spiritual heights attained by these social outcastes are yet rare even in the highest of religious orders. Their songs are unique in courage and felicity of expression. But under modern conditions, they are becoming extinct or at best holding on to external features bereft of their original speciality.

They acknowledge none of the social or religious formalities, but delight in the everchanging play of life, which cannot be expressed in mere words, but of which something may be captured in song, through the ineffable medium of rhythm and tune.

Their songs are passed on from Master to disciple, the latter when competent adding others of his own but, as already mentioned, they are never recorded in book form. Their replies to questions are usually given by singing appropriate selections from these songs. If asked the reason why, they say : “We are like birds. We do not walk on our legs, but fly with our wings.”

Our religion is *Sahaja* (natural, simple), hence timeless, claims the Baul.

Bauls who have a smattering of the scriptures say that in the first three Vedas, traces of this *Sahaj* religion are to be found, while as for the Atharva Veda, it is full of it. They claim further, that the followers of the *Sahaj* cult of the Bauls are specially referred to in the Vedas under the name *Nivartiya* or *Nivrudhiya*, being described as those who conform to no accepted doctrines, but to whom, having known the truth in its purity, all directions are free. Not bound by prescribed rites or ceremonials, but, in active communion with all by virtue of their wealth of the natural, they are ever mobile. I have, as a matter of fact, found in the Atharva Veda many references to the *Vratyas* (which may be translated as *non-conformists*) in these identical terms.

The Bauls say : in the body is the essence of

the world : in the world the essence of the cosmos. In the *Mahi Sukta* of the Atharva (12. 1) and also in several other *suktas* (5, 1 : 7, 1; 8, 9; 9, 14; 9, 15 etc.), we have wonderful expressions of the mystery of creation in similar cryptic terms, which may serve to throw light on many of the Baul sayings.

Having no faith in scriptures, the followers of the *Sahaj* cult believe only in living religious experiences. Truth, according to them, has two aspects, inert and living. Confined to itself truth has no value for man. It becomes priceless when embodied in a living personality. The conversion of the inert into living truth by the devotee, they compare to the conversion into milk by the cow of its fodder, or the conversion by the tree of dead matter into fruit. He who has this power of making truth living, is the *Guru* or Master. Such *Gurus* they hold in special reverence, for the eternal and all pervading truth can only be brought to man's door by passing through his life.

The *Guru* is the past, the disciple the future, and the initiation the present, according to the Bauls. Past, present and future are thus synthesized in the communion of Master and disciple. The Master as well as the disciple have likewise two aspects. The one is spiritual (*chinmaya*) the other earthy or worldly (*mrinmaya*). The true initiation takes place when their spiritual aspects come into mutual communion. The mere physical proximity of their worldly aspects produces no result.

According to the Bauls, initiation is a life-long process, to be gained little by little, from all kinds of *Gurus*. On the occasion of one of their festivals a friend of mine happened to ask a Baul about his *Guru*, to which he received this characteristic reply :
And again :

Wouldst thou make obeisance to thy *guru*,
my heart ?

He is there at every step, on each side of
thy path,—for numberless are thy *gurus*.
To which of them, then, wouldst thou make
obeisance, my heart ?

The voice from the depths tells thee that the
guru is in the lotus of the heart.
O distraught ! Cease from thy turmoil—there
the darkness-killing light doth shine.

The Bauls say that emptiness of time and space is required for a play-ground. That is why God has preserved an emptiness in the heart of man, for the sake of His own play of Love. Therefore the *guru* who is *sunya* "fosters but pesters not." So far for the mystic theory. In practice, as we have seen, the Bauls pay high reverence to their *gurus*.

Our wise and learned ones were content with finding in Brahma the *tat* (lit. that,—the ultimate substance). The Bauls, not being Pandits, do not profess to understand all this to do about *thatness* they want a Person. So their God is the Man of the Heart (*maner manush*) sometimes simply the Man (*purush*). This Man of the Heart is ever and anon lost in the turmoil of things. Whilst He is revealed within, no worldly pleasures can give satisfaction. Their sole anxiety is the finding of this Man.

This cult of the Man is only to be found in the Vedas hidden away in the Purusha-sukta

(A. V. 19, 6). It is more freely expressed by the Upper Indian devotees of the Middle Ages. It is all in all with the Bauls. The God whom these illiterate outcastes seek so simply and naturally in their lives, is obscured by the accredited religious leaders in philosophical systems and terminology, in priestcraft and ceremonial, in institutions and temples.

The age-long controversy regarding *dwaita* (dualism) and *advaita* (monism) is readily solved by these wayfarers on the path of Love. Love is the simple striving, love the natural communion so believe the Bauls. "Ever two and ever one, of this the name is Love," say they. In love, oneness is achieved without any loss of respective self-hood. Some of their ideas on this point are to be found in the *Chaitanya-Charitamrita*.

They compare woman to a flame, of which the heat is for the use of the household itself, but the light shines far and wide. The first is called her *viaraha* (formal) aspect and the latter her *agراها* (ideal) aspect. In the former she belongs to husband and home, in the latter she is capable of energizing all and sundry. He who deals with her exclusively in first aspect, insults her womanhood in its fulness. The internal enemies that obstruct the complete vision of her are, man's lust, distraction and egotism.

The idea of *Parakya* (the woman not belonging to oneself) has been woefully misunderstood. The Bauls look upon the knowledge of self as a door to divine realization or liberation. But one's self cannot be truly known unless it becomes manifest through the love of another. Even God the Omniscient knows not His own bliss, and so seeks to discover it through the love of His creatures (symbolized by Radha in the Vaishnava Scriptures). So is the love of a woman, who is under no social compulsion, appreciated by the *Sahajyas* as a means of man's self-knowledge and liberation. The idea has unfortunately been degraded by being understood in some quarters as a plea for promiscuous love between the sexes.

Then come the terms *ekarasa* (the emotion that unites) and *samarasa* (the harmony of emotions). Space is overcome by the motion of the body ; time by the course of life. And all gulfs can be bridged by the spiritual process of *samarasa*. If *Shiva* and *Shakti*, wisdom and devotion, remain apart, they cannot function to any purpose. "When *Shiva* and *Shakti* are united then results *samarasa*."

The Education of Indian Womanhood

The *Prabuddha Bharata* for March brings out a thoughtful contribution from the pen of the late Sister Nivedita, which like all her observations still applies with equal force on the question of the education of our women :

To be able to will nobly and efficiently has been described as the goal of education. The end of all culture lies in character.

The days that are now upon us, demand of each man and woman a wider outlook than was ever before the case. No single question can be

settled to-day, in the light of its bearing upon the private home.

This intellectual training is what we usually call education. But it is evident that the name is a mistake. It is her awakened sense of responsibility that constitutes the truly educated woman. It is her love and pity for her own people, and the wisdom with which she considers their interests, that marks her out as modern and cultivated and great. The geography and history that she has learnt, or the English books she has read, are nothing in themselves, unless they help her to this love and wisdom. Scraps of cloth will not clothe us, however great their quantity! There must be a unity and a fitness, in the garment that is worn. This new knowledge, however, in a truly great woman, will modify every action. Before yielding blindly to prejudice, she will now consider the direction in which that prejudice is working. If she indulges her natural feeling, will it tend to the establishment in India of nobler ideals, or will it merely make for social vanity, and meaningless restrictions? Even the finest of women may make mistakes in the application of these new principles. But honest mistakes lead to knowledge and correct themselves. The education of woman, then is still, as it always was, a matter of developing the heart, and making the intellect efficient as servant, not as lord. The nobility of the will is the final test of culture, and the watch-towers of the will are in the affections.

Reminds us the Sister :

Let us suppose that a girl learns to read and write and spends her whole time afterwards over sensational novels. The fact is, that girl, in spite of her reading and writing, remains uneducated. Reading and writing are nothing in themselves. *She has not learnt how to choose her reading.* She is uneducated, whatever be her nationality. That many Western people both men and women are uneducated in this deepest and best sense, is proved by the character of common railway-book-stall periodicals. Education in reality means *training of the will.*

It is not enough to render the will noble : it ought also to be made efficient if the true educational ideal is to be attained ; and it is this latter clause which necessitates our schooling in many branches of knowledge and activity. But efficiency without nobility is worse than useless ; it is positively destructive. Infinitely better, nobility without efficiency ; the moral and ideal preparation for life, without any acquaintance with special processes.

The writer is sure that Indian women have strength enough to withstand *modernism*, but she is not blind to the demands of modern time.

Change is upon us, and necessity of change. The waves overwhelm us. Nothing is left for us, but to find out how to deal with them, how to make them forces of construction, how to live in our own day a life so lofty and so heroic that three centuries hence men shall look back upon this as one of the great ages of India, and desire to write a Mahabharata of the twentieth century.

Amongst other things, the education of the Indian woman must be modernized.

The Right Way to Educate a Girl

In course of her presidential address at the Patna Session of the Women's Conference published in the *Educational Review* Rani Lalitkumari Saheba of Mandi points to the right way of educating girls by presenting in the line marked out by Anatole France :

These principles are beautifully summed up in a passage in the *Crime of Sylvestre Bonnard* by the famous European novelist, Anatole France. 'It is only by amusing oneself that one can learn,' he writes. 'The whole art of teaching is only the art of awakening the natural curiosity of young minds for the purpose of satisfying it afterwards ; and curiosity itself can be vivid and wholesome only in proportion as the mind is contented and happy. Those acquisitions crammed by force into the minds of children simply clog and stifle intelligence. In order that knowledge be properly digested, it must have been swallowed with a good appetite. I know Jeanne ! If that child were entrusted to my care, I should make of her—not a learned woman, for I would look to her future happiness only—but a child full of bright intelligence and full of life, in whom everything beautiful in art or nature would awaken some gentle responsive thrill. I would teach her to live in sympathy with all that is beautiful—comely landscapes, the ideal scenes of poetry and history, the emotional charm of noble music. I would make lovable to her everything I would wish her to love. Even her needlework I would make pleasurable to her, by a proper choice of the fabrics, the style of embroideries, the designs of lace. I would give her a beautiful dog, and a pony to teach her how to manage animals ; I would give her birds to take care of, so that she could learn the value of even a drop of water and a crumb of bread. And in order that she should have a still higher pleasure, I would train her to find delight in exercising charity. And inasmuch as none of us may escape pain, I should teach her that Christian wisdom which elevates us above all suffering, and gives a beauty even to grief itself. That is my idea of the right way to educate a young girl.'

German Scientists' Use of War Prisoners

Conrad Hoffman, an American who was in Germany in August 1914 to June 1919 as a Y. M. C. A. Secretary serving the Allied prisoners of war, furnishes in the *Young Men of India* an interesting account of the service of his Association and of the propaganda work by the Germans among the Indian prisoners in Germany. Incidentally the writer speaks of the valuable use that German scientists made of these prisoners in their study and research.

The German scientific genius, ever alert and active, came into play here in spite of pre-occupation with war technique. So many representatives

of so many nationalities and tribes among the prisoners of war was too good a chance for ethnological research to let pass. And so German scientists hurried from busy laboratories to the prison camps to make extensive ethnological studies, innumerable photographs were taken, cephalic and other measurements made, language, vocabulary and songs were permanently recorded on phonograph record matrices. These are to-day a valuable asset to the Phonetics Department of Berlin University. Indeed perhaps nowhere else in the world can so complete a record of the Indian vernaculars be found. Thus even the prisoners of war contributed to German science.

The State

M. Ruthnaswamy traces in a series of well-informed contributions in *The New Era* the 'Vicissitudes of the State', its overthrow of the supremacy of the mediaeval church, the influence of Machiavelli, of Renaissance, of Reformation, of the maritime discoveries, of the seventeenth century German philosophers which went to build up the nineteenth century despotism of the State, and lastly the challenge to that by the Socialists, Syndicalists and others and the advocacy of the very same despotism by Fascists and Soviet Dictatorship. Observes the writer in conclusion :

The need for the State will exist, although one cannot see the need for the existence of some States. The State has had ups and downs and individual States have risen and fallen. But the idea of the State has persisted throughout the ages. Even during the time of the eclipse or disappearance of States and especially then has the need for the State been most felt. It was when it was absent that men hankered after it. Attempts have been made to substitute other institutions for the State. The early mediaeval Church the Jesuits of Paraguay, the Christian Commonwealth of Calvin, the Caste system of the Hindus, modern syndicalism are instances of an attempt to do without the State. But they have either broken down or have been found inadequate for the full social life of man. The State has often been expelled from men's minds but it has rarely been from men's lives. Men have criticized and cursed it. But the history of man is there to prove that man cannot do without it. The abuse of the State cannot argue its extinction. The State has in spite of the apotheosis attempted for it by German philosophers proved its right to exist as the greatest institution raised for the secular progress of man. And as the history of religion or of civilization and culture or of morality shows it is the most fruitful hand-maid that these other interests of man have secured. The most perfect religion or the most perfect system of morals cannot exist without the State. It was not for nothing that Christianity immediately after the death of its founder migrated from the land of its birth to the homelands of the Roman Empire, the strongest State then in

existence. Although man will always be the maker of his fate it is in the smithy of the State that he must fashion it. The salutary attitude of man to the State is not one of adoration or worship but of understanding and appreciation. Not reverence but respect, not grovelling fear but a manly obedience, not a monistic infusion of the individual with it, but a severe detachment, not the flattery of a courtier but the criticism of a friend, not the prostrations of a servile worshipper but the ministrations of a self-respecting lover—ought to be the elements of our attitude to the State. For, although the State is the ship which carries the earthly fortunes of man he guides his course by the heavenly stars of Faith and Love, and Honour, and Conscience.

Philosophy of Bergson

An estimate of the philosophy of Bergson is supplied by Dr. S. K. Maitra in course of the presidential address (published in the *Calcutta Review* March) of the History of Philosophy Section in Indian Philosophical Congress held at Madras. We learn :

The philosophy of Bergson sums up in itself all the various protests that have been made against rationalism. It is the strongest assertion in modern times of the irrational and the allogical. It takes Reason to be merely a practical faculty designed to make our lives happy and comfortable. Access to reality is only possible through intuition. Reason always moves in a concentric circle round reality : it is never in a position to hit reality. The conceptual world is an artificial world : it is static and lacks the essential dynamism of reality. The real is movement, change ; it is very different from the spatial representation of it, which is the work of the intellect.

As I have said elsewhere, there is something peculiarly unsatisfying in this picture of continuous movement. Movement we always understand as movement towards a goal. Where there is no goal, the movement becomes more or less a chase after a phantom.

If Bergson's object was to demolish mechanism, we must say that he has failed. A flow that is not a flow towards anything, a movement that is not a movement towards a goal, is unrelieved mechanism. In fact, it is a mechanism of time. Escape from mechanism is only possible through the notion of purpose.

It is, in fact one of the strangest ironies of fate that Bergson after demolishing the whole structure of mechanical evolution, should have himself fallen a victim to time-Mechanism. The characteristic of a creative evolution is movement guided by a purpose, change regulated by an end. Purposeless activity, whatever else it may be, is certainly not creative.

Bergson's view of Matter, moreover, is not consistent with the rest of his philosophy. Bergson thinks that when the flow of life is checked or retarded, then Matter arises. But why should the flow of life suffer a retardation at all? If reality is nothing but a flow, how can there be anything to check it? Does not the very idea of a

check to the flow of reality introduce a dualistic conception, just as the recognition of the two faculties, intuition and intellect, does?

The real value of Bergson's philosophy lies in its assertion of the *allegical*, rather than in any positive construction of its own. Bergson has shown the hopelessness of rationalism as we find it to-day. As I have pointed out elsewhere, unless rationalism thoroughly recasts its logic, there is no possibility of meeting Bergson's charges. Happily, rationalism seems to be aware of this and has already done a good deal to remove its original rigidity. But a good deal of up-hill work still remains ahead.

Whilst Bergson attacks the citadel of rationalism with new weapons, the schools of neo-realism of the present day assail it with the old rusty weapons. But rationalism is more than able to hold its own against this new attack. There may be valiant fighters in the realistic army, like Bertrand Russell and Moore in England and Perry in America, but unless the neo-realists change their methods of attack, they do not seem to have much chance of success.

Education in English Villages

Sir Michael Sadler's paper on 'The Educational Needs of England' published in *The English Review*, (reproduced in *The Educational Review* for March) is full of useful suggestions and observations. Remarks the distinguished educationist on the question of education in English villages:

In some villages the time is ripe for a small institute like the Village College at Sawston,—which the Secretary of the Cambridgeshire Education Committee, Mr. Henry Morris, has found generous supporters to build. There are many signs of a growth in England of communal enjoyment of good music and of art. For happiness in social relationships, for the fostering of intelligent interest in the beauties of the countryside and in urban architecture, and for the creation of a culture more widely shared than has been possible in England for many generations, it seems desirable that steps should quickly be taken well-considered but exciting steps—to provide the buildings in which the new communal culture may find a centre and a home. Music, both vocal and instrumental; pictures, wall-paintings, drawings, and sculpture, both in the form of original works and in reproduction; textiles, pottery, and furniture of fine but plain design; drama; books (including fiction), and advice as to choice of books; classes and lectures, both for systematic study and for stimulus. We are all appreciating these things more, finding greater pleasure in them, realizing their place in the mosaic of life, thinking of them as related to one another, as significant of some new impulse towards communal unity and not merely as separate fragments in the decorative background of private life. Broadcasting, with its thoughtful regard for adult education; the gramophone; cheap reprints of good books; the burgeoning of new life in the public library system; the Carnegie Trust benefactions for

country libraries serving rural districts; the musical festivals in various parts of England; the Eisteddfods in Wales; Sir Joseph Duveen's encouragement to exhibitions of the work of young British painters; the untiring efforts of the Arts League of Service; the lectures given in the National Gallery, British Museum, Victoria and Albert Museum, and in the public galleries in many of the larger provincial towns; the activities of the tutorial classes under the Joint Committees representing the Universities and the Workers' Educational Association; the work of the Rural Community Councils; the series of important addresses given to the Luncheon Clubs at Leeds, Manchester, and Oxford and the public spirit of rotary clubs and other societies; not least, the increasing attention given to music and the graphic arts in the Press and the growing interest in architecture, sculpture, town-planning, and the preservation of the beauty of the countryside; these are all signs of a strong movement in public opinion. Education, as we in England conceive it, is something wider and more atmospheric than organized teaching in school or college. The latter is, indeed, an essential part, but only a part of a large whole which envelops us as children and as adults, colours our thoughts by its suggestions and pre-suppositions, and penetrates our life.

England lags far behind England; even elementary education of the conventional type is not provided for here. None the less it is useful to know what village people should know.

The Salt Revenue and the Indian States

Col. Haksar, Political Member, Gwalior State, traces in course of an article in *The Asiatic Review* (reproduced in *The Feudatory and Zemindari India* for February) the history of the control exercised by Government of India on the salt production of the States, and relates how the policy injures the States politically and economically:

Treaties and agreements were negotiated with all States in whose territories salt was produced. In Rajaputana the Sambhar Lake, and later other salt-producing districts, were leased by Government and became part of the Government monopoly. In other States the production of salt was entirely prohibited, and the Darbars were required to destroy salt-pans and to prevent their subjects from collecting the natural salt which in some districts occurs without the necessity for any process of manufacture. Other States, again were permitted to produce salt but forbidden to export it either abroad or into British India. Two States were permitted to export salt to foreign nations, but not to any part of India. Thus control was secured to the Government of India, and a uniform system of taxation imposed upon the whole country.

Certain States are allowed to produce salt for their own consumption, and certain others receive

a part of the whole of the salt which they consume free of duty, but in the majority of States every person who buys salt is contributing to the revenues of the Government of India. Salt is, in the strictest sense of the term, a necessity of life, and though the variation in the amount consumed at various levels of price appear to show that the demand for it has some elasticity, the elasticity is very small. The salt tax is, therefore, a tax which none can escape. The peoples of the majority of the States are thus compelled to contribute to the revenues of a Government of which they are not subjects and in whose expenditure they have no share, while certain Darbars although they receive the money collected by the salt tax, find themselves compelled by their agreements to impose this burden upon their subjects, not because their own fiscal necessities compel them to do so, but because of the fiscal arrangements with the Government of India.

The writer illustrates the cases of the States of Jodhpur which has the Great Sambhar lake, within its territories, of Bharatpur with the Kumber lake, of Kishengarh and of the Kathiwar States. Observes the writer :

Salt is imported into India from abroad. India imports, chiefly by way of Calcutta, more than Rs. 1 crore worth of salt. A part of this is refined European salt, that does not compete directly with Indian salt, but nearly Rs. 70 lakhs worth of it is sea salt from Aden and Egypt and East Africa. If this demand in Bengal were met by Kathiawar salt the Government Revenue would not suffer (since the salt would still be subject to import duty), the States of Kathiawar would be greatly benefited, and unnecessary transportation would be saved.

It is obvious from these examples of the effect of the Government of India's salt policy upon the Indian States that the losses which they suffer are not merely losses of revenue to the Darbars, but involve an actual loss or real wealth, which affects not only the States, but also the whole of India. When the compensation which is paid to a Darbar is inadequate the Government of India gains as much as the State loses, but if natural wealth is destroyed, or left unworked, if land is allowed to deteriorate, or salt is transported from a distance to a district where salt works close at hand are lying unused, the wealth of India is by that much the less.

Salt-producing States in which—

1. *Salt works are run by Government.*
Jodhpur, Jaipur, Radhanpur (works closed by Government).
2. *Manufacture is stopped :*
Cambay, Udaipur, Alwar, Bharatpur, Dholpur, Jhalawar, Karauli, Kishengarh, Lawa, Shawpura, Sirohi, Tonk, Bundi, Shanthar, Kotak (except a small quantity produced at saltpetre works).
3. *Production is limited and export stopped :*
Patiala, Junagarh, Nawanagar, Bhavnagar, Morvi, Jaisalmer, Porbandar, Dhrangadra, Than Lakhtar, Limdi, Wala, Malia, Bajana, Gwalior, Datia, Bikaner, Jaisalmer, Cutch, Baroda, (export permitted to foreign ports outside India).

N. B.—This is probably incomplete as some

States have been prohibited from exporting salt or prevented from producing it either by political pressure or administrative action and, therefore have no agreements on the subject of salt, which appear in Aitchison.

Indian Sugar Industry

In the following extracts (reproduced by *The Mysore Economic Journal* for March) from the remarkable paper read by Sir James M. Kenna at the Indian Section of the Royal Society of Arts at London some time ago, will be found the valuable suggestions which should not be ignored :

My suggestions are :—That the work of the cane-breeding station at Coimbatore should be continued and extended and that arrangements should be made to ensure continuity. Dr. Barber has gone and Rao Bahadur Veekataraman cannot go on for ever. A thoroughly competent botanist should be in training to carry on the work when a vacancy occurs. I say thoroughly competent. The only consideration that should influence an appointment to the staff of this station is that the very best man should be secured. In Provinces in which sugarcane is of importance one deputy director of agriculture should be recognized as the provincial sugarcane expert and so far as possible his labours should be limited to the one crop. It will be his duty (a) to study the local canes and select the best of them ; (b) to make such arrangements as may be necessary for the careful testing of his own selected canes and of the Coimbatore canes and for the multiplication and distribution of such improved canes as may be recommended.

While work in the provinces must naturally be entirely under Provincial control, arrangements should be made for the closest collaboration between the Imperial sugar expert and Provincial officers, working on sugarcane. The Central Board of Agricultural Research should be in a position to arrange the necessary links between Imperial and Provincial officers. It is of vital importance that there should be the closest relations between Coimbatore and Provincial officers and exchange of visits between them should be encouraged. No obstacles should be placed in the way of the Imperial sugarcane expert and he should be encouraged to travel freely over India in order to keep in touch with the developments in the Provinces and to observe the behaviour of his selected seedlings under the varying conditions which will be found up and down India. I emphasize that to ensure success of the Coimbatore work and to guarantee its spreading all over tracts of India where Coimbatore canes are found to succeed, there must be the closest collaboration between the sugarcane expert and Provincial workers. All petty jealousies must be sunk and all must work with common aim.

Red International's Policy

The Indian Labour Review for March, which is unsparing in its criticism of Moscow leaders and stands for the policy and programme of Amsterdam Federation, reiterates its own position thus :

Mere class antagonism and iconoclastic propaganda will get us nowhere. There will have to be not only a clearer perception but the motive power of love : the love that unites and not the sort of thing that puts an unbridgeable gulf between one section of the community and another. There is all the difference in the world between say a Socialism based on understanding and love and that based either on the mere hair-splitting theories of the professional arm-chair economists, or on a ruthless dictatorship.

It adduces good grounds for distrust of the Red policy :

For our part we would be quite content to leave the communists free to organize their own Unions and carry on their own organizational work separately (as indeed they are being compelled to do now in most countries), provided they voluntarily extended to us the same liberty. But we know full well that Moscow has no such intention. At the recent Congress of Soviet Trade Unions in Russia, Mr. Lozovsky, President of the Red International Federation of Trade Unions, addressing the Congress on the subject of international policy, made it clear that :—

"In the countries where Red Unions exist the Red International supports and encourages these Unions in order to make them the central organizations of the labour movement, and to attract to them workers who are unorganized, or who belong to other Unions. In countries where red Unions do not exist the task of the Red International is to organize revolutionary minorities within the reformist Trade Unions."

"The closest attention at present, was being paid to the question of strikes. When a strike broke out, or threatened to break out, the duty of Communists was to create independent strike committees, preferably composed of non-Unionist workers and persons sympathizing with the Red International. These committees were to act on the instructions of the Red International and the local Communist Parties, and to wrest the conduct of the strike from the leaders of the reformist Unions.

"In his view, the Red International had firmly established itself in the East and in India, and nothing would prevent it from carrying out its task in those countries."

From the same journal—*Truth*, 3rd January 1929—we learn that resolutions were passed by the Congress instructing Communists "to assume the conduct of economic struggles" and pledging "active support in any disputes that may arise in the international labour movement by mobilizing the proletariat of the Soviet Union."

Banking Reconstructions—Lessons from Japan

Professor B. Ramachandra Rau of Calcutta University, whose contributions on Banking Reconstruction should recommend itself to all thinking people at the hour when a banking inquiry is proceeding in the country, examines in *Welfare* (March 16 & 23) the endeavours of Japan in banking reconstruction and points to the following lessons that can be drawn from it :

The first lesson to be learnt is the duty of the State to initiate all different kinds of the needed banking institutions. Something in this direction has been done by the Indian State in the creation of the co-operation credit system and its recent determination to start Land Mortgage Banks for securing long-time agricultural finance need not be attended to. Creating new manufactures' investment banks specializing in underwriting business and encouraging people to invest in their approved lists are the only safe channels. An industrial bank cannot hope to adequately conduct both these things. Neither should the financing of existing industries, requiring keenly liquid loans, creating of new industries requiring lock-up of money for fixed capital purposes from the very beginning be neglected. In the beginning they may be made purely semi-official banks, but with the gradual efflux of time they can be made to stand as independent institutions.

Secondly, in time of abnormal distress it is the duty of the State to empower the Central Banks to render timely aid to the solvent banks after a thorough examination of their financial standing. The depositors would welcome such a step as a useful measure and would not fight shy of bank accounts. Thirdly, the position of the ordinary small banking institutions has been rightly subjected to carefully planned legislation and an enforcement of the same. Unless this is done their crimes are rebounding on the heads of the larger banks, and, unable to distinguish the solvent from the insolvent banks of the Indian depositor begins to lock-up his savings once more in unremunerative forms. Fourthly, the guiding of the investments of the people through the Industrial Bank is a war measure as it leads to order of manner of investment. The perfection of the investment and the foreign exchange market has to be understood. If our trade is to expand the banks have to do a lot of services and this is what Japan has done. Fifthly, the invitation to foreign capital to develop the economic resources of the country and utilizing the same under the hands of the Japanese industrialists has to be copied by us. It is the foreign capitalists that has to be shunned. Similarly we may note (and copy it) that banking experts were invited to Japan, made to write books and train a personnel capable to run a modern banking system. Sixthly, the State itself has amalgamated the smaller hypothec and industrial banks and the different prefectures. This is held out as a

model for the smaller banks to imitate, apparently when the Government headed the State-owned the minimum capital requirement for joint-stock banks. Unless such a measure is forced on the loan companies of Bengal it would take a long time for them to appreciate the value of the famous saying "in union lies strength." Secondly, the encouragement of thrift as undertaken by the co-operative societies of Japan has to be followed in this country. Thirdly, the efforts made to develop banker's acceptance in foreign trade and the internal trade matters have to be grasped. Rediscounting by the Central Bank with the view of developing an open discount market has to be copied. Lastly, the indigenous bankers developed rapidly into modern joint-stock banking institutions, unless such a thing is done by the wealthy indigenous bankers of our country an efficient reliable banking system cannot be created.

The Devadasi Bill

Though not entirely satisfied with the Devadasi Bill passed by the Madras Council, Dr. S. Muthulakshmi Reddi, M. L. C. observes in *The Stri-Dharma* for March :

Madras has now earned the honour of being the first province in British India to undertake social and religious legislation of this kind, and thus make a definite attack upon the centuries-old custom. The enlightened State of Mysore long ago preceded it in this matter.

We, of this Presidency, are fully aware that this legislation is only the beginning of our rescue and reform work. It goes without saying that much yet remains to be achieved. A provision is also necessary in the Hindu Religious Endowment Act to the effect (1) that no expenditure should be incurred by the temple trustees on the Devadasi service of singing and dancing; (2) that no dedication should be permitted within the precincts of the temple, whether the girl is a major or a minor. Also, an amendment to the Children's Act, to the effect that no immoral mother is entitled to the guardianship of her own child, is very essential, and adoption by immoral women should be prohibited by law. In civilized and progressive countries, we find that moral and health laws have preceded the formation of healthy public opinion; in fact, they have been contributing factors to the development of such opinion. Mrs. Josephine Butler said in England as early as 1870 that there was no public opinion to support her demand for the suppression of State regulated vice and the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Act. But she wisely proceeded with her efforts in the face of offensive criticisms, apathy and opposition from the public and the Press. Licensed brothels were closed and the Contagious Diseases Act was repealed. But here in India, in spite of the huge illiteracy of the masses, the reception given to my appeal was of quite a different nature.

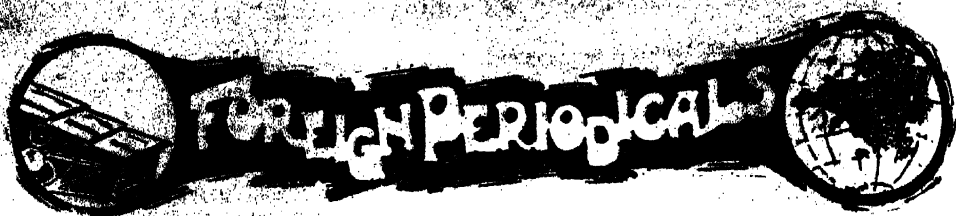
I record it with a feeling of pride and joy that I had the full sympathy and support of the Press and of the public. South India, in spite of the low literacy figure, has shown clearly how easily it could be convinced of the necessity for the removal of these social evils.

Mrs. Muthulakshmi wishes that the Government, backed by enlightened public opinion, should follow up the Bill with similar measures to remove other evils.

High Education and Political Discontent

In course of his convocation address at the Allahabad University (Published in the *Allahabad University Magazine*), Sir Jagadis Bose spoke on the question of higher education spreading political discontent, of which we hear a good deal in this country :

I will next frankly discuss the vague misgivings in some quarters that high education fosters discontent. The real question which has to be faced is whether in a democracy, spread of education and power of reasoning are more conducive to the stability of a Government than wide-spread ignorance and panic from unfounded reports which let loose forces of destruction. What came within my experience two years ago in Europe, would be found instructive in this connection. I was then invited by the Rector of the University of Vienna to deliver a series of lectures; almost at the last moment a cable reached me requesting the postponement of my visit to the present year. As is well known an anarchical movement had suddenly developed in Vienna, the first objective of which was the destruction of the University. The power of reason fostered by a place of learning was regarded as checking the spread of unreason which sustained the violence of the mob in their mood of destruction. They first tried to enter the magnificent University with its great historical associations and attempted to set fire to it. But as the Chancellor happened to be on the spot, he barricaded all access. The fury of the mob then turned against the palace of Justice and Law, which was burnt down to the ground. Of the two threatened disasters, the temporary closing of the Faculty of Law was regarded by the Viennese with comparative equanimity. For though the leaders of law who adorn our courts are essential for the maintenance of any constitutional form of government and for the protection of rights of the people, yet their indefinite multiplication is a cause of much embarrassment not only in India but in all European countries. None but the intentionally blind can fail to realize the crisis to which things are tending in a country where distress is so widespread and where the only scope for intellect at present, is the pursuit of the tortuous and uncertain career in the legal profession where the number of lawyers is tending to become more numerous than the number of litigants. The real remedy for this state of affairs is obviously the opening out of other avenues of activity for increasing the country's wealth.



Evolution and Man

After nearly sixty years of research, the theory of evolution as applied to the origin of the human species has not yet met with final acceptance at the hands of the scientists. Tennessee might become the butt of ridicule of the whole civilized world, but the opinion of a competent scientist, at any rate, deserves respectful consideration. *The Literary Digest* quotes the opinion of Dr. Austin H. Clark, the noted Biologist of the Smithsonian Institution, which has created some sensation in scientific circles:

Man is not cousin to the ape; he is an "accident" an "abnormality," to all intents and purposes a product of special creation, announces Dr. Austin H. Clark, noted biologist of the Smithsonian Institution. The statement detonated through the press like the explosion of a bomb, and brother scientists sprang to the defence of the accepted theory of evolution with denunciations of Dr. Clark's evidences as so much "rubbish," "absurd" and "distressingly vague." But Dr. John Roach Straton, pastor of Calvary Baptist Church, New York, arch Fundamentalist and foe of the theory of evolution, on the other hand, is "glad to hear a responsible man speak the truth," and believes the time for it is "most opportune." However, Dr. Clark does not discard the theory of evolution; he modifies it. Instead of evolution by a process of gradual developments, he believes it has come about by a series of jumps from one major form of life to another. He expresses his views in *The Quarterly Review of Biology*, a publication which has a limited circulation in scientific circles. "So far as concerns the major groups of animals," he says, "the creationists seem to have the better of the argument. There is not the slightest evidence that any one of the major groups arose from any other. Each is a special animal-complex related more closely to all the rest and appearing, therefore, as a special and distinct creation." According to Dr. Clark's belief, "man appeared in the Pliocene age, just preceding the ice age. He appeared suddenly and in substantially the same form as he is in to-day. There is not the slightest evidence of his existence before that time. He appeared able to walk, able to think, and able to defend himself." Dr. Clark holds that there are no missing links. "Missing links," he says, "are misinterpretations."

Dr. Clark's hypothesis does not scrap the Darwinian theory altogether. While he admits that variation plays a decisive part

in the creation of varieties and breeds within a particular species, he does not allow that these variations, even at their widest, can create new species. Dr. Clark's opinion has by no means been received with approval by other competent scientists.

"It sounds incredible that he should have made such a statement," says Roy Chapman Andrews, who has devoted years to exploration in the Gobi desert, as he is quoted in a United Press dispatch. Dr. William K. Gregory, professor of palaeontology at Columbia University, finds Professor Clark's theory "distressingly vague," according to the same source, and Dr. Arthur H. Weyssse, of the Boston University Graduate School, is quoted as saying it is "absurd." "Dr. Clark's theory won't make a ripple," says Dr. Henry A. Pilsbury, curator of the department of molluscs and invertebrates at the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences, as he is quoted in the *Philadelphia Record*. "It conforms neither to the theory of evolution nor to the Fundamentalist doctrines, as I understand them. It is inconceivable to believe that two freaks so completely altered and modified as Dr. Clark suggests could propagate a race or separate species." The same paper quotes Dr. Henry Leffman, professor of chemistry in Franklin Institute, as saying that "science knows no accidents. Everything that happens has a natural cause. If man appeared suddenly, in what form did he appear? Was he a white man, a red, or black man? Dr. Clark substitutes violent evolutions for successive evolutions."

Einstein and America

Two months ago, Reuter cabled the news which most probably passed unnoticed in this country, that the new work on which Professor Einstein had been engaged for more than a decade was out at last, and that it consisted of six pages. This pamphlet bristling with formidable mathematical signs unintelligible to the ordinary lay man is believed to embody a new and comprehensive cosmic philosophy. Einstein himself has estimated that there are perhaps twelve men in the world who can understand his new theory, but that has proved to be no obstacle in the way of its blooming into

journalistic status of the first rank. The theory, says *The New Republic*:

Has resulted in an extraordinary journalistic allabaloo. The American press, and the leading New York journals in particular, from the moment that his new publication was announced, have plundered columns of space upon it in an amazing fashion. Dozens of mathematicians and physicists have been induced to write signed articles about its significance, each article more obscure than the last. When the document itself was finally made public, the *New York Herald Tribune* had the whole thing cabled from Berlin, feat which involved great expense and long labour by two groups of men, one at either end of the cable. The *New York Evening Post* attempted to transmit the text by telephotography, and heroically printed a facsimile of part of the result, even though it was largely illegible. Other papers were similarly enterprising. The press associations combed Germany for scholars, preferably Americans, who could comment off-hand on the new theory, and their views were cabled and published, adding to the confusion already caused by the preliminary speculations of their brethren.

People of a less energetic country might well wonder over the why of it all, and the explanation which the *New Republic* offers of this inexplicable enthusiasm, shoots a revealing search-light into the psychology of the people of America:

In part, the reporting of the Einstein theory was mere journalistic bounce and (as John Galsworthy might say) zingo. Like the saluting by the bell-hop in a smart hotel, it was a needless and useless bit of swank, intended to show that the editors are on their toes. "Today's offering," they said in effect, "is a document containing (so we hear) one of the great discoveries of all time. We can't understand it, and neither can you, but since we undertake to print all the news without guaranteeing that it will be intelligible, here it is." Such journalistic super-service is typically American, just as our newspapers are much the most voluminous in the world. So far as can be learned, neither the British nor the Continental press has paid a tenth as much attention as have the Americans to "the Einstein story." Those English dailies which we have examined have printed only such facts as an average intelligent person grasp, have printed them once and let it go at that.

By American standards, there is no doubt that the editors were right, and that the publication was good business. Their readers probably enjoyed the subtle compliment of the assumption that they might be able to comprehend these complicated formulae; they wanted, from plain curiosity, to see what the stuff looked like. While they know very well that there is an aristocracy of intellect, probably they like to pretend, even with an ostentatious self-deprecation, that there is none, that one man's brain is as good as another's. "The Einstein dope?" they might say, "no, I haven't read it yet. But I clipped it out."

A Chinese Statesman

In one of the latest numbers of *The Living Age*, we read the following sketch of the personality of Lu Cheng-Hsiang, a great Chinese statesman and twice prime minister of the Republic:

While varied fortunes have overtaken the statesman at the Paris Peace Conference, none can touch for romance the fate of China's official champion. Lu Cheng-hsiang, scholar, diplomat, and gentleman, has turned his back upon earthly pomp and glory to become a Benedictine monk.

This renunciation of worldly things has behind it all the logic of the Chinese of the old school, with the culture of a man thoroughly at home in Western civilization. Born in the great meeting place of Chinese and alien civilizations, Lu Cheng-hsiang went from the Shang-hai of the 1890's—when the foreigner was all-powerful in the Orient—to Manchu-ruled Peking, as a servant of the last dynasty to occupy the Dragon Throne. His career as the spokesman of China abroad began with his appointment to represent China at the First Hague Conference of 1899. He repeated this taste of the world at the Second Hague Conference of 1907. From the Chinese Revolution of 1911 through all the troublous war years, Lu Cheng-hsiang bore his share of national adversity with the added burden of premiership during two of Republican China's innumerable political crises. His final public acts at the Peace Conference of 1919 were those of a man sadly disillusioned.

Throughout his career, he brought an adroit technical knowledge of diplomacy to support his country in its moments of greatest physical impotence. Though he had behind him the perfect equipment of the diplomat of the Western World, there was always in him something of Oriental fatalism, the Chinese pliability of will, that robbed him of the success which blunter qualities might have achieved.

His bespectacled Oriental eyes looked out across the Peace Conference table at the lofty Western leaders who had brought China into the World War under the slogan of "the victory of right over might," only to rob the revolution-torn Republic of all the things that the once proud Middle Kingdom had hoped to secure in the great settlement. The tremulous Chinese moustachios could flutter like the agitated whiskers of a white mouse as their master pleaded the Chinese cause in the most perfect French that was spoken by any foreigner at the Paris Conference, but the sparse Oriental whiskers, like straggly stubble, could not hide a chin which lacked the driving power of a man of action at the crucial moment of his career. His virtues were negative qualities; there was nothing in his perfect diplomatic manners which could meet the hard facts in the way of secret engagements which Japan dropped on the peace table with the determined bang of a powerful fist.

This cycle of conferences possibly brought home to Lu Cheng-hsiang the false face which covers so many of the acts of nations. When he returned to China, he felt the full force of his country's failure at Paris—the devastating political divisions at home. After serving as Minister to Switzerland in 1922, he withdrew from all public life in the

years that followed and turned to the West, whose ways had used him so harshly, for the consolation of the Catholic Faith. As a gesture of renunciation, he sent Pope Pius XI. in 1927, a chest symbolic of his blasted hopes. Within, there were all the civil, military, and diplomatic decorations that make a Chinese diplomat of eminence an impressive figure in any gathering. Accompanying the baubles of men's honour, there was a letter from Lu to the Holy Father which set forth his decision to withdraw from official life and seek the consolation of cloistered religion.

Toward the close of last year, the slender figure of Lu Cheng-hsiang, once the spokesman of 400,000,000 men, entered the Rembrandt-like gate of the Benedictine monastery near Bruges, to become a novice of the monks of Saint Andrew in the homeland of his Belgian wife. Early in 1929, this Chinese who knows so much of the pomp and deceit of nations completed his novitiate and took the vows in the Black Friars which shut him for ever from the pageant of world pretence and power.

Marshal Foch's Story of the Armistice

As years pass, materials for the history of the War and the eventful years which followed it accumulate. Events preceding the Armistice are not so well known from the Allied side as it was from the side of the Central powers. In the recently published papers of Colonel House was included M. Clemenceau's report of Marshal Foch's historic interview with the German plenipotentiaries who came to sue for peace. Now, M. Stephane Lauzanne, editor of *Le Matin* has obtained from Marshal Foch an interview about how he met the German delegates and how the Armistice was signed. Marshal Foch's account given below is published in *The Living Age* :

When Weygand came into my private car on the cold, rainy morning of November 8th to tell me that the German plenipotentiaries had just arrived, I glanced out of the window. We had stopped on a spur near Rethondes, in one of the thickest parts of the forest of Compiègne. It had been raining for several days and the soil was so swampy that, although the train of the Germans was only about sixty yards from my own, it had been necessary to rig up a kind of foot-bridge for them. Along this footbridge four men were advancing.

As I looked at them I said to myself, "Behold the German Empire, beaten and asking for peace. *Eh bien!* Since it is coming to me, I shall treat it as it deserves. I shall be firm and cold, but without bitterness or brutality."

They came into my car looking stiff and pale. One of them, whom I assumed to be Matthias Erzberger, mumbled a request that I make the necessary introductions. But I was content merely to reply: "Have you any papers, gentlemen? If so, let us examine their validity." Whereupon they showed

me papers signed by Prince Max of Baden, which I regarded as satisfactory. Then I turned to Erzberger and asked: "What do you want?" He replied, still mumbling: "We have come to receive the proposals of the Allies for an armistice." I stopped him abruptly. It was the only time that I was cutting. "I have no proposals to make." The four Germans looked at each other. "Well," said one of them, Count Oberdorff, "*Monsieur le Marechal*, tell us how you want us to put it. Our delegation is ready to ask you for the conditions of an armistice." But I insisted: "Are you formally asking for an armistice?" "Yes." "Then please sit down and I will read you the conditions of the Allies."

I began to read the conditions of the Armistice slowly. After each paragraph I stopped to allow the interpreter to translate. Then I watched the men to whom I was talking and as the translation proceeded I studied the impression it was making in their faces. Little by little I saw disturbance spread over their countenances. Winterfeldt especially was very pale. I believe he even wept. When the reading was finished, I said simply: "Gentlemen, I will leave you the text. You have seventy-two hours to reply. At the end of that time you may let me have your observations in detail." Erzberger, however, became pathetic. "In heaven's name, *Monsieur le Marechal*," he said, "do not wait seventy-two hours. Stop the fighting to-day. Our armies are a prey to anarchy. We are threatened by Bolshevism. Bolshevism may sweep all Germany and menace France itself." "I do not know in what condition your army may be," I answered. "I know only in what situation my own armies find themselves. Not only is it impossible for me to stop the offensive, but I am giving an order for redoubling the vigour of the pursuit." Winterfeldt intervened in his turn: "But, *Monsieur le Marechal*, it is necessary for our staffs to meet and discuss in detail the carrying out of the Armistice. How can they do this if hostilities continue? I beg you to halt hostilities for technical reasons."

Again I replied, "Technical discussions can take place just as well seventy-two hours from now. Until then, the offensive will continue." That was the last of it. The four plenipotentiaries rose and departed.

A little after two o'clock in the morning, the German plenipotentiaries came back to my car and began a final discussion. They demanded that, in view of the troubled conditions of all Germany the army should be allowed to keep a larger number of machine guns to maintain order. I therefore allowed them five thousand machine guns and a hundred motor trucks. That was all. At exactly 5:15 in the morning, they signed the Armistice writing their names in big, angry letters. A seven o'clock I ordered my car and started for Paris. At nine o'clock I reached the war Ministry in the rue Saint-Dominique, and was shown into M. Clemenceau's office. He did not seem in very good humour and he asked grumblingly, "What have you yielded to the Germans?" My only reply was to hold out the document. I added that at eleven o'clock he might fire a gun and announce the end of the fighting. He wanted to take place at four o'clock in the afternoon, the moment when he was mounting the tribune in the Chamber. But I insisted: "In two hours

the last shots will have been fired and the firing will have stopped over the whole front. It is impossible to keep the populace of Paris from knowing." Some other people who were in the office, especially M. Barthou, joined me in my insistence. "All right," the Tiger finally agreed "fire the gun at eleven o'clock." I had nothing to do now but retire. *Monsieur le President*, said I, "my task is finished. Yours is beginning."

Mr. Osbert Sitwell's Wishes for 1929

"Sitwellian" as an adjective, or "Sitwellism," as a noun, says the *Literary Digest*, has almost come to supplant "highbrow" in England. The three Sitwells, Osbert, Sacheverell, and Edith are an English trio whose books are rather well known in America; and while the three pursue their course of correcting their own country's aesthetic sins, some of their gospel spills over upon us, Mr Osbert Sitwell is regarded as important enough to be included in a list of people asked by the *Daily Mail* to tell what they most desire for 1929. His wishes embrace a programme of world-wide reform:

"That people would realize that another war would destroy everything of beauty, everything that makes life worth living for them, every remaining shred of prosperity in Europe.

"That in consequence, there should be a real and genuine outlawry of war.

"That the numerous old gentlemen who say that such a condition is impossible should be relegated to asylums.

"That all those younger men who like and believe in war, headed by several politicians, including Mr. Winston Churchill, should be conscripted to form a special permanent 'League of Nations' Army, which should act for it, as the police do in any town in every serious dispute.

"That it should be the rule of every nation that before it goes to war its chief war-makers must first engage in single combat with their rivals of the other countries, and that it must be a fight to a finish.

"That Mr. Baldwin should retire at the earliest possible opportunity into that private life of agriculture and reading-the-classics-by-the-fire for which he so often sighs in public.

"That Sir William Joynson-Hicks would join the Anglo-Catholics, and allow us to read the Prayer Book in peace if we want to.

"That in the cause of kindness to animals, electric foxes and electric poets should be substituted for the genuine article in our national sports of fox-hunting and poet-haiting.

"That there should be a permanent programme of opera, omitting the works of Wagner (this last wish is for myself), in a permanent national opera house, and that Mr. Edgar Wallace should be compelled to attend it every night so as to become familiar with the music; but that this might not interfere with the output of his books.

"That horses, dogs, and most statues, should be barred from London's streets.

"That actors and actresses should give up golf and take to acting instead.

"That the Albert Memorial should be placed on the top of the Albert Hall opposite (each seems to cry out for the other), and that the Victoria Memorial should be completed by a gigantic glass case placed over it.

"That if the next Royal Academy exhibition at Burlington House is as dull and bad as the last one, some after-dinner speaker should tell the truth about it at this year's annual banquet.

"That two plays by Shakespeare should enjoy a long, simultaneous, and successful run in the West End of London.

"That people, generally, would at last realize that to be intelligent is not only more satisfactory but also better fun, than to be stupid; and that therefore the word 'highbrow' in their mouths is more of a complement than a reproach; that brains are given us, just as much as the foot, to be used, and that there is nothing intrinsically wrong in using them.

"That people would read the books they talk about, and understand the books they read.

"That the entertainment taxes should be abolished and instead a special 'boredom tax' levied on golf, cricket, hockey, and fo thalls.

"But perhaps it would be better to compress all these wishes into one. 'Sitwellism'—though I know not for what it stands except love of beauty, ability to express it, some wit, and a good deal of common sense—seems already, judging from the correspondence on the subject, to have reached the dimensions of a political problem.

"Would it not be wiser, therefore, to crystallize all these desires into the simple one that I should become Dictator? There is only one drawback—alas! I do not believe in dictatorship; yet public spirit again enters in, and I would be willing to overcome even this personal disinclination in order to be of help and benefit to my country."

The Problem of China's Superfluous Soldiers

The problem of China's superfluous soldiers, says the *China Journal* is to find wives for them:

China's population offers a peculiar phenomenon not known elsewhere in the world, and that is that it contains a higher proportion of young adult males, than females, the ratio between these being 125.6 males to 1000 females, between the ages of fifteen and twenty-six. This means that one out of every five young marriageable Chinese men must go without a wife. Add to this the fact that in most farming families there is not enough land to go round, and we soon see the reason why there are so many young Chinese men willing to become soldiers or bandits; somewhere about two million of them neither have nor can have a wife and home of their own. And this is just about the strength of China's army to-day.

Before disbanding these soldiers, the Government must find a means for settling

them in civilian life. It is useless to send them to their homes where no wife awaits them and there is no land for them to till. They have no trade and so would be useless in cities. The government might find a way out of the economic difficulty by undertaking public works on a large scale. But, says the *China Journal* :

To supply wives for China's surplus male population is not to be accomplished quite so readily. This is a matter of education and enlightenment. Things start well enough, for there are actually more girls born than boys. Though it has not definitely been proved, everything points to two main causes for this. One is that girls are not valued as greatly as boys, with the result that they receive less care as babies. Indeed, amongst the peasant and working classes infanticide has long been the custom in regard to girls, but boys—never! This custom may be and almost certainly is dying out, but there is no doubt that the might-have-been wives of many of the wifeless young soldiers of the Chinese army to-day were strangled at birth. The second cause for the shortage of young women in China is the hard conditions under which they grow up. Compare with his sister the young Chinese village or farm lad has an easy time; he gets the best of the food and is generally much better cared for in every way than his sister; while her life is that of a drudge and full of hardship; nor does she improve her lot when she goes, as is the custom, to her future husband's home, there to become practically the slave of her future mother-in-law. The emancipation of woman amongst the working classes in China is sorely needed, and if this comes about, and girl babies are valued as much as boy babies, and growing girls and young women receive as good treatment in the homes as their brothers, then may we expect to see in a generation or so a readjustment of the strange phenomenon connected with sex-ratio in China.

Thus with work for all, a possible home for each man and with the blessing of a wife in that home, China's surplus man-power instead of being a menace may become a blessing to her people and to the world at large, and the great problem that is facing those who are trying to rehabilitate this country, will have been solved to the lasting good of all.

A Reminiscence of the Brahmo Samaj

Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe gives his reminiscences of the Brahmo Samaj in *The Inquirer* :

It is strange to recall that, when I went out to Calcutta in 1902, there was still living, in the family house of the Tagores, that noble old representative of the Church's second period, Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore, father of the poet.

The Maharshi's death, indeed, was the first event of the kind that I had to deal with editorially, and I took some little pride in the fact that the paper of which I was then in charge published a more complete obituary article than any appearing in the Bengali daily press. Much of the

material for that summary of a notable career I obtained in a conversation with Pundit Sivanath Sastri, at that time, I think, the leading minister of the younger branch of the Church—the Sadharan (catholic) Brahmo Samaj—which had come into being as the result of the schism provoked in 1878, by Keshub Chandra Sen's action in relation to the marriage of his minor daughter to the Maharaja of Cooch Behar.

Like all our independent advanced religious communities, the Brahmo Samaj had suffered at intervals from the dissidence of dissent; but it is pleasant to remember that, in his recollections of the Maharshi's long career, Sivanath Sastri uttered no single word of bitterness over the events of the past, but was full of pride in the succession of three great leaders under whom the theistic church had been built up.

The Brahmo Samaj was, of course, much more than a church. In founding, a century ago, his little religious community, Ram Mohun Roy had created the modernist movement of Bengal. He had devised a social framework within which, in the course of one generation, a new community might take shape: providing a refuge for many who, upon leaving the fold of orthodox Hinduism, would otherwise have found themselves homeless and outcast. Hence it came about that the Brahmo community was always much more important than the enrolled membership of its churches: for, under the pressure of the vast system against which its challenge was sustained, it became the one completely liberated society in Bengal, the natural ally of all progressive Western influences at work in India.

It happened that my own associations with the Brahmo community had almost nothing to do with Church matters. During my time in Calcutta I knew and visited very many of its members. Only once, I think, did I speak in a *mandir*, but I attended many Brahmo meetings and conferences, and in the University Senate and elsewhere I had much to do with the educational leaders. Without them, and without the many friendships fostered in the hospitable Brahmo society, our life in Calcutta could not have been what it was—an interlude of happy work and of agreeable personal relations enjoyed for a short spell of five years when, as we now know, the old British India was passing away.

The American Naval Programme and Disarmament

The passing of the new Cruisers bill by the American Congress on the morrow of the signing of the Kellogg Pact, has given to the caricaturists of the world an opportunity to comment sardonically upon the inconsistency between American profession and American practice. But *The Literary Digest* quotes the opinion of another American paper, according to which the cruiser victory—seemingly opposed as it is to the pacifist spirit,—may in the future lead to disarmament:

After all the bitterness of the long Senat debates, the fervent protests of preachers and

pacifists, the alarms raised about the chances of a war with Britain, and all the talk of the renewal of rivalry in warship-building at the very time we are signing the Kellogg Peace Pact, the final victory of the fifteen-cruiser programme seems to meet with general acquiescence. Over in England, the *London Times* calmly says: "The United States is the judge of its requirements, and the figure which it has chosen to describe its deficiency in cruisers will not and cannot act as a stimulus to naval construction over here." President Coolidge did not like the retention of the three year time limit in which the ships must be built, but Washington correspondents report that he will accept what Congress has done. The *New York World*, which supported the President's position as against that of the Senate majority, cannot see that the building of these ships really conflicts with the Kellogg Pact, and it wonders whether this approach towards cruiser "parity" with Great Britain will not in the end help furnish a practical basis for naval agreement. The cruiser bill authorizes the building within three years of fifteen ten-thousand ton cruisers and one airplane carrier and as finally passed by a Senate vote of 68 to 12 on the fifth, it includes an approval of a treaty regulating the freedom of the seas, and a request that the President encourage further arms limitation, in which event he is authorized to suspend the construction authorized by the bill. The argument that the fifteen-cruiser bill will actually help bring about an agreement with Great Britain on further limitation of naval building is set forth by Mark Sullivan in one of his *New York Herald Tribune* dispatches from Washington:

"It is idle to hesitate about saying that one purpose of the bill is to give evidence to Great Britain of the American state of mind.

"This purpose is to show Great Britain that America either must have a limitation agreement with Great Britain, or, in the alternative, America will build a number of cruisers adequate for its needs. It is apparent that America is determined to have at least these fifteen cruisers, and probably many more eventually. If there are to be further negotiations with Great Britain for limitation, our Government's hand is strengthened powerfully by what Congress has just done. It may in time become a question whether Great Britain can persuade us to agree to limitation."

The Buddhist Movement in Europe

The *British Buddhist* publishes the following account of the Buddhist movement in Europe by Mr. A. H. Perkins, who spoke on

the subject at the annual dinner of the Students' Buddhist Association of Great Britain and Ireland:

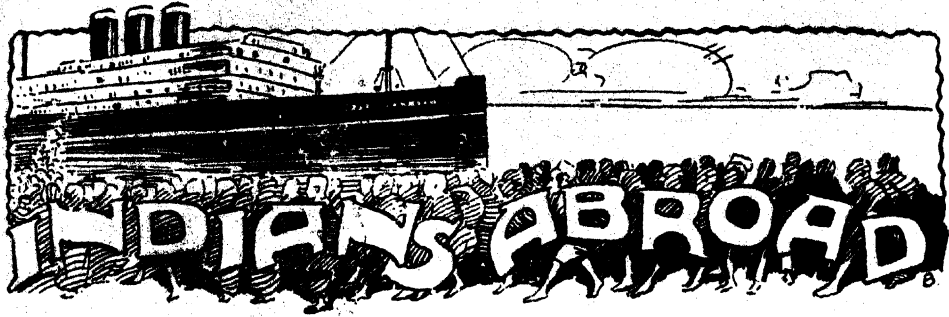
The Buddhist Movement may be said to have started in England some thirty to forty years ago, when Sir Edwin Arnold published his wonderfully inspiring work, the "Light of Asia." That book enlightened the West as to what Buddhism really was and what it taught, and led many to the feet of the All-Enlightened one. In the year 1896 the Ven. Anagarika Dharmapala came to England from the Congress of Religions in Chicago. His visit prepared the way for the mission of Bhikkhu Ananda Metteya, who in the year 1909 returned to his native land, and started the Buddhist Society of Great Britain and Ireland. The most active and enthusiastic member of this society we have with us this evening in the person of Mr. Francis J. Payne, who has done more than anyone to spread the ideas of Buddhism in the West. We are grateful to him—more grateful than we can say.

With Mr. Payne's name we must also couple that of Mr. J. F. McKeelne—better known under the name he took when entering the Sangha, *Silacara*. He too has done splendid work for the movement in the West, especially along literary lines. He has a score of books to his name, his little "Lotus Blossoms" has delighted many a seeker of the Buddha Wisdom, and his translations of portions of the Pali scriptures, and of the works of Dr. Dahlke have brought the Dhamma before the cultured man of the West as none others have done.

Of Dr. Dahlke himself it is not necessary to say much, his eloquent voice and pen have spoken for themselves. He did splendid work for the Cause in Germany, where religion and philosophy are studied and appreciated as they are not here and it is with the greatest regret that all interested in our movement heard of his passing away.

At the present time there are three Societies working to spread a knowledge of the Dhamma in Great Britain: the Buddhist Lodge, the Maha-Bodhi Society, and the Students' Buddhist Association. Of these the S.B.A. is the youngest, but if it is young it is very active and energetic.

The Maha-Bodhi Society and the Buddhist Lodge are also working, each in its own way, to make wider known the exalted teachings of the Holy One, with their unequalled wisdom and standard of ethical culture and mind-training, and if each one of their members will only work with altruistic aim to spread these teachings by example and precept, we shall know that we are indeed helping forward the evolution of the world for the benefit of Gods and Men.



By BFNARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

Wanted an Indian Agent in Fiji

The Vridhhi, a paper of Suva, Fiji Islands, edited by Dr. I. Hamilton Beatti, M. A. writes in its February issue :

When we read in the Royal Gazette nearly two years ago that the Government of India proposed to send an Agent to look after the Indians in Fiji, and that the Fiji Government preferred to appoint an official of their own, recommended by the Government of India, no one imagined that the difference was other than nominal. We have now found out our error. In the twenty months that he has been here, Mr. Pearson has not instituted and carried out any single reform for the benefit of the Indian Community, except that of arranging for the emigrant ship to berth at the wharf; and of the reforms already arranged, which we were told were only awaiting his arrival to be put into force, the new Marriage Ordinance is the only one that has eventuated: the Franchise and Education questions are still in the state of chronic postponement. One cannot avoid contrasting this with the record of achievement of Mr. Sastri in South Africa. None who know Mr. Pearson are likely to doubt that he has done his best; and we are compelled to attribute the contrast to the difference between an Agent of the Government of India, and a Secretary for Indian Affairs."

We draw the attention of the Government of India to this state of affairs. Will they kindly press the Government of Fiji to reconsider their decision regarding the appointment of an Indian Agent in those Islands?

Appointment of an Indian on Perak State Council

We congratulate Mr. Louis Thivy of Kuala Kangsar on his appointment as a member of the Perak State Council. This is the first time that an Indian has been chosen for this responsible work. It is to be noted that the All Malaya Indian Conference, which held its first sessions at Ipoh in December last, passed a resolution in this connection and this

appointment may be said to be the outcome of this resolution as well as of the splendid efforts made by the Indian Agent in Malaya. We are grateful to Rao Sahib and hope that he will succeed in persuading other states to follow the example of Perak.

Communalism in the Colonies

Few of our leaders in India realize the great harm that some of their wild communalistic utterances create in Greater India. Was it Mr. Mohamed Ali who said that the worst of Mohammedans is better than Mahatma Gandhi? I do not remember the exact words, but I heard them repeated in an out of the way place in Kenya, East Africa.

Some of our vernacular papers publish many absurd stories that excite communalism and these are read by our compatriots abroad. Add to this the mischief that is being done by some of our religious preachers in the colonies, and you can understand the grave consequences of their reckless utterances.

Here is a resolution passed by the Fiji Muslim League held on 23rd December 1928:

That this annual general meeting feels alarmed at the anti-Islamic propaganda which is being assiduously fostered up all over the colony by a certain section of the Indian community and respectfully appeals to the Government to take every precaution in safeguarding the interests of the Muslim minority community when political privileges are extended to the Indians of Fiji.

Commenting on this the Fiji Samachar of January 1929 says:

Now we regret to find that our misguided brethren are clamouring for subcommunal franchise. Our ill-advised brethren ought not to forget the existing conditions in India on account of it. The Indian public opinion is totally against it, and the witnesses before the Simon Commission

have condemned it wholeheartedly. No Indian ought ever to entertain such an idea which brought, along with other things, ruination of our mother country. We must always consider we are Indians, and therefore, in all political matters we must never divide ourselves into Hindus and Moslems, or Bengalis, Punjabis, Gujratis, Beharis, Madrasis, and others.

It is very sad to observe that the Muslim Community has taken a lead in the advocacy of sub-communal franchise. There is no anti-Islamic propaganda in Fiji and we therefore disagree with their resolution.

We do not at this moment wish to go fully into this resolution but must say that the Muslim community have no ground to presuppose that the elected members, whoever they may be, will not represent the interests of the Muslim Minority Community which forms a part of the Indian Community. However, we trust that our brethren will yet realize the folly of their advocacy for sub-communal political rights to Indians in Fiji, and in a body claim what is due to them. Let us get together and do good to ourselves as well to the Colony, our land of adoption.

We whole-heartedly support the sentiments expressed in these words but we would ask the editor of the Fiji Samachar one question: "Is it not a fact that an Arya-samajist preacher delivered some speeches in Fiji against Islam?"

We have from the very beginning condemned such communalistic speeches and we will continue to do so whether they come from Arya-samajists, Mohammedans or Christians.

We understand that a Sanatanist preacher in South Africa is trying to create disunion among the Hindus by his foolish utterances. We have asked our correspondents in the Union to send us authentic news about it and in the meanwhile we warn our compatriots there against the mischief that may be done by such fanatics.

The Work of our Agent in Malaya

Here is an extract from the Malayan Daily Express:

Coming back to the Indian Immigration Committee's decisions, we find that the question of fixing an adequate standard wage for Kelantan has been finally settled. The Committee has decided upon the higher standard of 58 cents for men and 46 cents for women for Indian labours in Kelantan. It must be noted that Kelantan, like Trengganu, is not easy to reach either by land or water. By sea one has to make a three days' journey from Singapore and that too not throughout the year; a long railway journey through South Siam is equally tedious. In addition to this those estates which employ Indian labour are scattered all over the State. Although immigration into the State

has been going on for some years past, we understand that no officer of the Labour Department has found it convenient to visit the State to inspect the conditions until quite recently. For the first time since the establishment of the Indian Agency, the present Agent undertook the very tedious railway journey at the beginning of last year. About the same time the Controller of Labour also visited the State. Rao Sahib Subbyah Naidu is reported to have forwarded an exhaustive memorandum after his return making several proposals for the amelioration of labour conditions. The public have had no opportunity of knowing the precise nature of his proposals but we have no doubt that the recent decision of the Indian Immigration Committee, the amendment of the labour laws of the State, and the proposal to appoint a whole time Labour Officer for the State are the direct outcome of his efforts. In this connection it might also be mentioned that Mr. Naidu has also visited another remote Unfederated State—Brunei. We understand that with regard to labour conditions here too he has submitted a memorandum, the outcome of which will be watched with interest."

We published a criticism of Rao Sahib R. Subbayya Naidu's Report for the year 1927, and it is our duty, therefore, to draw the attention of the Indian public and the Government towards the good work that Rao Sahib has been doing for our labourers in the F. M. S.

East African Indian National Congress

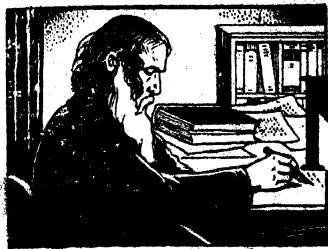
A special session of the East-African Indian National Congress will be held at Mombasa in the second week of April and Pandit Hridaya Nath Kunzru, M. L. A. has been invited to preside over it. No better choice could have been made under the present circumstances. Pandit Kunzru is one of those very few Indian leaders who take an interest in our problems. His love for Indians oversea is not of recent growth. For many years past he has been writing and speaking about Indians abroad. He helped Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya in his agitation against Indenture slavery when the latter brought his resolution in the Council at Delhi. In the Assembly also he never misses an opportunity to put questions about our problems. It should not be forgotten that Mr. Kunzru is a man of many-sided activities. His work for the Seva Samiti Boy Scouts movement is well known in India. During times of floods and famines he has always come forward to help the needy and the afflicted. We hope this special session of the East-African Indian National Congress will be quite successful under his able guidance.



Death of a Fiji Indian Girl

Ramrati, an Indian girl who had come from Fiji to receive her education in India, died at Kanya Mahavidyalaya, Jullundur, some time ago. Her picture, that was taken after her death along with other girls of Fiji, is reproduced here. Ramrati was the only child of her parents and it was her earnest

desire to receive higher education in India and qualify herself for the work of teaching her illiterate sisters in Fiji. It was with considerable difficulty that she could persuade her parents to send her to India. We sympathize with them and pray that the mission of her life may be fulfilled by her sisters who are studying in the Kanya Mahavidyalaya.



NOTES

A Great Hindu Leader on Social Reform

On the occasion of the birthday of Sree Gouranga Deb the Hindu Mission of Bengal organized a Conference of Hindus of all castes and sects in a huge pandel erected on the Wellington Square, Calcutta. The Conference included among its side shows an All Bengal Physical Culture Tournament and an exhibition which added greatly to the attractiveness of the Conference. The Physical Culture Tournament was specially interesting and included contests in short sticks, quarter staff, sword, dagger, archery, wrestling, jui jitsu, weight-lifting, boxing, feats of strength etc. etc. A large number of girls also participated as contestants in the tournament.

Pandit Pramathanath Tarkabhusan was elected president of the Hindu Samaj Sammilan as the above Conference was called. His address was vigorous, critical and uncompromising in its assertion of the right of modern Hindus to mould their social system anew in the light of pure knowledge, modern requirements and with a view to shaking off completely a thousand years' inaction and accumulated evil. He said that our external enemies were not so dangerous to our life and progress as were the internal enemies, ignorance, conservatism of the decadent sort, evil conventions, destructive social habits etc. We ought to explore afresh the ancient Shastras, the books of knowledge of the Hindus, which contain the spirit of the great Hindu civilization and reform our present decadent ways of thinking and living with the help of the knowledge we shall thus acquire so that we shall be able to revive the glory of the ancient Hindus. The reason why we are to-day feeble and worthless and devoid of achievement in all fields of life, is that we are disunited and cowardly. If we do not shake off the evil practice of splitting up our society into false groups of high and low, touchables and untouchables and boldly

denounce all things which obstruct our coming together as one compact body, our total annihilation will be only a question of time.

He then continued and asserted that Raja Rammohan Roy was the pioneer social reformer of Bengal and since his days, also, we can see the ultra-conservatives pompously trying to frustrate all attempts at social reform in the name of religion and the Shastras. Prevention of *Sati*, widow-remarriage, foreign travel, removal of untouchability, Shuddhi and similar matters demanded social action ever since those days; but barring *Sati* none was tackled with anything like the energy that one expects to be displayed in such important social matters. We can find two reasons for this spirit of inaction or half-heartedness. First, the so-called political leaders of the country always *talk* social reform but never actually try to *do* anything. One cannot find any evidence in their activities of their firm conviction in the infallible truth, that without social reform we can never expect to earn that ability which one inevitably associates with the idea of Swaraj. Boycott of foreign goods, propagation of Khaddar, Non-co-operation, non-payment of taxes etc., appear to these leaders as chief weapons of wresting Swaraj from our rulers. That without the uprooting of social inequities, evil customs and disintegrating conventions we shall never be able to make fruitful in our life whatever we may earn by means of political stratagem, is either not understood by them or, being understood, is consciously neglected. If it is the latter could one dream of a greater shame?

The learned president then made a running review of the condition of the Hindus of Bengal. Among 1,91,00,000 Hindus in Bengal 13 per cent. were upper castes, 29 per cent. middle caste and 58 per cent. such caste as were not even fit to act as drawer of

water for the Brahmins. They could not even hope for a glimpse of the earthly gods, the Brahmins. These men are Hindus, but the upper few among the Hindus do not even care to know what a life of misery, dirt and darkness they live. They are the men who march at the forefront if it comes to a fight or if it means sweating and hard work : but the soft-handed upper classes show their gratitude to these brave soldiers of Hinduism by a species of studied contempt, the parallel of which cannot be found in human history. It is from among these neglected and insulted men that Musalmans and Christians have picked out their largest number of converts. Here is the greatest weak point in the body of organized Hinduism and those that devote their energies to the continued retention of this weakness are the greatest enemies of Hindu Society. The president then put some solid arguments against the views preached by the anti-social ultra-conservatives and exhorted all Hindus to go in whole-heartedly for thorough social reform. We have been able to give only a general summary of his address above. The original address which is in Bengali deserves perusal.

A Hindi Treatise of History Proscribed

Readers of the *Modern Review* are well-acquainted with Major B. D. Basu's historical works among which "The Rise of Christian Power in India" is the most important and voluminous. Some time ago Pandit Sunderlal of Allahabad undertook to write a book in Hindi based mainly upon Major Basu's "Rise of Christian Power in India." Pandit Sunderlal probably put into the Hindi book many things which are not found in Major Basu's book and left out much that was in it. However that might be the Hindi book was purported to be a historical study of English rule in India and was called *Bharat men Angrezi Rajya*. Taking into consideration Pandit Sunderlal's reputation as a man of the highest idealism one may have no doubt regarding the truth of the contents of his book. We certainly believe he wrote the truth and nothing but the truth.

The book came out on the 18th of March 1929. A copy of it was sent to the Government of U. P. on the 20th and reached them, evidently not before the 21st. The Government proscribed it on the 22nd, as well as seized all copies of it from

the post office even before that date. There are two sides of this act of Government. One concerns everybody and the other the author and the publisher of *Bharat men Angrezi Rajya* :

First, we must challenge the Government's right to suppress an historical treatise which to all appearances could not be propaganda, incitement to murder or stimulation of class hatred or something else of that nature. Even if it contained only such historical truths as paraded against the British that should not go against the book ; for do not the government support the printing, publishing and sale of some books of "history" which contain only truths (as well as untruths and half truths) to prove the greatness of the British ? What objection can then the Government have to somebody showing the world the other side of the shield ? Next, how could Government learn at all what the book contained in such a short time as twenty-four hours ? The book contained over 2,000 pages and being in the vernacular, required to be translated before Government could humanly and legally pronounce an opinion on it. Could this be done in twenty-four hours ? Was this done at all ? Or did they take only the opinion of some sneak of a spy before shutting out of circulation a two volume treatise of history on which, one of the most sincere and ardent of India's workers has laboured hard for months and a business man has spent thousands of rupees ? Can such governmental conduct signify that there is peace in India and that people are free here to carry on their daily work unmolested ? If the Government think that historical truths should not be taught for they might increase our knowledge and brain-power, they might also some day think (like the politician of the *Arthashastra*) that Indians should not eat enough for that would increase their bodily strength. Then probably the products of rice and flour mills would be confiscated, just as the products of printing-presses are being confiscated to-day. The fact is that Government must not think that whatever goes against them is criminal. If Great Britain has committed crimes in India, no amount of repression will prove these criminal acts moral in the eye of the historian. The easiest way to have a clear conscience is not to knock one's accuser hard on the head.

Doctor of Divinity Bestowed on a Non-Christian

In these days of communal antagonism, it is refreshing to find any signs of mutual appreciation among members of different communities. Recently some Unitarian Christian gentlemen and ladies of high standing in that well-known community visited India in connection with the centenary of the Brahmo Samaj. Among them was President Franklin C. Southworth, A. M., D. D., LL. D. of the Meadville Theological School of U. S. A. On January 29, 1929 President Southworth held a Convocation



Dr. Hemchandra Sarkar, M. A. D. D.

at the City College Hall, Calcutta and bestowed the degree of Doctor of Divinity on S. J. Hemchandra Sarkar of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, Calcutta. This is perhaps the first occasion on which this degree has been bestowed on a missionary worker of a non-Christian community and may be welcomed as a sign of that inter-communal fellowship to the coming and establishment of which we are all looking forward. In the course of his Convocation speech President Southworth said :

Hemchandra Sarkar, preacher, lecturer, editor, author, organizer, social reformer, missionary, possessing as preacher the ability to inspire your fellow-men with the love of righteousness and to bring them into the presence of the Eternal ; as a writer, gifted with the power of lucid and

forceful expression and of interpreting with fairness and sympathy various religious movements and tendencies ; as a missionary passionately devoted to the task of bringing the emancipating principles of the Brahmo Samaj into the religious life of India for the enrichment not only of India but also of the world, and ever ready to undertake the most arduous journeys to any part of India in response to an appeal for service ; you have given yourself for more than a generation to the varied work of the religious leadership with the same self-forgetting devotion which has characterized not only the great Rishis and Gurus of your race but also the saints and martyrs of every faith. And in the midst of these labours you have found time to the lasting detriment of your health for organizing and carrying on work among the depressed classes.

Beholding from a distance the apostolic zeal with which you entered into the work of your illustrious predecessors and have helped to perpetuate and strengthen the institution they founded, observing the fortitude with which, in spite of difficulties and discouragements and serious physical infirmity, you have proceeded with your great task, your brethren of the Faculty and Board of Trustees of the Meadville Theological School have conferred upon you the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Divinity and have authorized me to hand you this diploma in token of the same ; and never in the history of the school has this degree been more worthily bestowed.

What Harvard does During Summer

The following account of the Harvard summer school will serve as an eye-opener to the authorities of Indian Universities who think they have overdone things if their regular lecturers hurry up matters by giving more than a bare minimum of lectures during session. As few subjects and as slowly as possible seems to be our motto here. Let us see how Harvard does it.

BOSTON—One hundred and sixty-five courses by 108 instructors are to be offered by the Harvard summer school of 1929, it is announced by P. P. Chase, '00, dean of the school, and university marshal. The courses, which will begin July 8 and last through August 17 are open to men and women without formal application, and can be applied for credit at the university of the student.

Courses will be offered this year in architecture, astronomy, botany, chemistry, the classics, economics, philosophy of education, educational psychology, history and education, educational administration, elementary education, secondary education, educational measurements and statistics, vocational education, vocational and educational guidance, the teaching of school subjects, demonstration courses, engineering sciences, English, fine arts, French geology, German, Government, history, horticulture, hygiene, Italian, mathematics, medical sciences, music, philosophy, physical education, physics, psychology, social ethics, Spanish and zoology. In addition there will be opportunity to engage in special research.

Kabul seen from Elsewhere

Afghan affairs are a dangerous topic to us. For as subjects of Great Britain we are not supposed to speculate about matters Afghan. Nevertheless, we may add to our knowledge of Afghanistan by reading through the following account of the usurpation of the Afghan throne by Baccha-i-Sakao as published in the London, *Daily Telegraph* of February 2, 1929:

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT
Peshawar, Friday.

Kabul is a city where rioting and sabotage are a daily feature, a city where the inhabitants are living in daily terror of more terrible occurrences, and where no one knows who rules, nor what may occur at any moment. This was the picture of the Afghan capital presented to me to-day by one who has watched every event since the dramatic fight of Amanulla, and who to-day arrived at the more peaceful outpost of Peshawar.

Two Vickers Victoria aeroplanes left for Kabul yesterday morning. One of them returned with several Indian passengers and a British Air Force sergeant. The other machine is remaining temporarily at Kabul, and probably will return with the Vickers Victoria machine which has for several days been stranded in the Kabul aerodrome.

It appears that Bacha-i-Sakao, the bandit king, misled ex-King Amanulla, and under a promise of support against the Shinwaris persuaded Amanulla to give him Regular troops, 80,000 rupees (£6,000), rifles, and ammunition. Having secured possession of the necessary war material, Bacha-i-Sakao then turned round on his monarch, forced his immediate abdication, and proclaimed himself King.

To-day every entrance to Kabul is impassable. Dense snowdrifts prevent the movement of troops, Regular or Irregular, and at Kabul the bandit King is looting and doing everything to provide himself with funds and material against the coming spring, when the capital will be attacked from several fronts.

So far as the British, and foreign Legations are concerned, there is no immediate need for anxiety. Bacha-i-Sakao realizes that the friendship of foreign nationals is essential in case he is obliged to evoke the aid of the foreigners to remove him to safety when the counter-attack is launched. While the bazaar streets are coloured red with the blood of those murdered daily, the Legations' precincts are comparatively safe, and every possible safeguard is offered to foreigners. The bandit King realizes that his term of office as Amir of Afghanistan must finish with the arrival of the spring, and he is at present resting on his laurels.

All the British in Kabul are well, though the conditions there are difficult. So soon as the weather clears it is hoped to bring back all the foreigners and to have Kabul to decide its own destiny, but at present the aerodrome is snowed up with an upper coating of frozen ice, and landing and taking off is hazardous.

We had been told a somewhat different story. To us Baccha-i-Sakao is a fanatical

fighter of a Jihad. Many of our Moslems have learnt to admire him as such and will perhaps like to see him made pucca King of Afghanistan in place of the heretical Amanullah. But the above version takes the green flag from Baccha-i-Sakao and turns him into a most commonplace traitor and adventurer.

What Part did Sir F. Humphry Play in Kabul

We are rather puzzled by the following account of Sir F. Humphrys' activities in Kabul which we take from the *Continental Daily Mail* of January 28, 1929:

Sir Francis Humphrys has done magnificent work. He has been instrumental in saving thousands of lives in Kabul and rescuing scores of foreigners from positions of danger.

His participation in the change to the reign of terror directed by Bacha-i-Sachao, however, is generally criticized in the strongest language by Moslems in India, and there is no doubt that that feeling is also shown in Kabul.

The inhabitants are openly praying for the return of Amanullah after seeing the work of his successor, who has visited his private prejudices on all classes. Hindus particularly have inspired the cruellest reprisals.

The revulsion of feeling in favour of the ex-king may well visit itself on the British Minister, who to save the lives of those in Kabul put the strongest man at the moment in power.

It is now clearly proved that he only acted in accordance with his unequalled knowledge of future developments.

He is now in real danger—perhaps greater than ever before. He would be in a grave difficulty if he had to hurry the rebel off the throne, though this does not mean that he is in favour of Amanullah.

India on Trial

The above is the name of a new book on India and her political future. It is evident from the name given to the book that the author considers it a great crime on the part of India to have been exploited mercilessly by Britain. If punishment is any proof of crime, we also agree with the author; for have we not been punished thoroughly during the last two hundred years for our "crime"?

No one will say that the book has been written at the command of the India Office; but the following introductory notice of the book shows how nearly 'made to measure' it is, though in fact it is 'ready made.'

Mr. Woolcott, who spent many years in India as a journalist, shows how essential it is for India

that the British connexion should be maintained and describes the great work of regeneration which has been carried out in that country by British administrators. A remarkable account is given in his book of the evils brought about by the insensate agitations of the past ten years, which led to rebellion, massacres, and an attempted invasion of India by Afghanistan. These deplorable events are traced directly to the dissemination among ignorant and excitable people of gross mendacities regarding the aims and actions of the British. The menace arising from subversive teaching, the writer contends, has become more serious owing to the intrigues of foreign Communist agents, which have recently caused widespread labour troubles, accompanied by outrages, including the derailling of railway trains, riots and murders.

In view of the momentous inquiry now being conducted by the Royal Commission, presided over by Sir John Simon, the chapters on the working of the Reformed Constitution are of especial interest. Mr. Woolacott furnishes striking proofs of the utter irresponsibility of the Legislative Assembly, and cites official testimony as to the gross maladministration which exists in the domain of local government. He also explains why it is that the Reforms have led to an accentuation of the differences between Moslem and Hindu, and he deals with the oppression of the depressed classes, the importance of the Indian States, and the great benefits which India has derived from the investment of British capital and the activities of British merchants and industrialists. A notable chapter is devoted to the social work of Christian missions among the masses.

An Ideal Mother

Whenever men go forward in this world after some ideal one may generally speaking, be sure that the mothers of these idealists were uncommon women, who could inspire their children to avoid the path of narrow selfishness and devote themselves to the happiness and well-being of their fellowmen. The passing away at Benares some days ago of Krishnabhabini Dasi removes from this world one such mother whose influence on her children urged the latter to engage wholeheartedly in social benefit work. Her eldest son Sj. Harihar Seth is a well-known writer and social worker of Bengal. He has founded a Women's College at Chandernagore, a free girls' school, a big library and many other similar institutions. The other sons of this large-hearted lady are also reputed for their social activities. Her inspiration has even been a source of great strength to her sons. May her memory and idealism be their consolation and guide henceforth.



Krishnabhabini Dasi

Arrest of "Communists" all over India

Some days ago the Government of India with the cognisance of India Office organized a series of searches and a general round up of a large number of important labour leaders all over India. It is alleged that these gentlemen are Communists and have conspired to deprive the King Emperor of his throne and sovereignty in India. They were accordingly taken under police escort to Meerut, a not very important town in U. P., where they will be tried under section 121 A. I. P. C. (conspiring to wage war against the King Emperor).

As the case is *sub judice* one is not at liberty to discuss the merits of the case; but there are other matters connected with the case on which the trying magistrates will and can have nothing to say. These may be discussed here without infringing the prerogative of the Court.

The first is the policy *i. e.*, the "wisdom, or unwisdom, expediency or in expediency, propriety or impropriety" (in the words of Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar) of the case. At a time when the conservative party in England is seeking re-election this large scale demonstration of anti-communist zeal in India by the appointees of the same party, is likely to be interpreted as an election stunt and, as such, the case will very largely lose the seriousness which it rightly deserves as a case of conspiracy to upset the government by use of force. Had it been an isolated case of some infringement of the law of the land, the question of whether one should try to bring the offenders to book would have depended entirely on the officer who detected the offence. But we find this case received close attention from such high and remote persons as the Secretary of State in London. There was therefore no question of its coming up in the usual course of things. The wisdom or unwisdom of taking it up now must have been discussed by higher authorities than that official in Meerut at whose instance apparently so many searches were carried out and well-known public men arrested. It seems that even the President of the Legislative Assembly thought that there might be something unwise, inexpedient and improper about the case being precipitated with such dramatic *eclat*; or would he permit an adjournment of the House to discuss the policy of the whole affair? The Viceroy however thought such a discussion improper as the case was *sub judice* and prevented the discussion. He was surely within his unbounded rights to stop the discussion—there are few things that the Viceroy cannot rightfully do—but was it wise to gag the House in that fashion? Would it not surprise the world very much to see the Viceroy taking so much interest in a matter which the Home Member, Mr. Crerar, declared was "nothing extraordinary" and nothing "outside the ordinary criminal law?"

Next there is the matter of locating the place of trial at Meerut. Many people will ask where is Meerut and for their information The *Indian Daily Mail* of Bombay has given us the following account of Meerut:

Meerut is the administrative head-quarters of Meerut District, United Provinces, and Military Cantonment, situated in 29 deg. 1' N. and 77 deg. 43' E., 973 miles by rail from Calcutta and 931 miles by rail from Bombay. The city is the seventh largest in the United Provinces.... The derivation

of the name is uncertain.... Meerut obtained an unenviable notoriety in 1857 as the spot where the Mutiny broke out in Upper India.... The native city lies south of the Cantonment and east of the railway line. The streets are generally of mean appearance and badly arranged.... In the Cantonment the finest building is the Church, which was built in 1921, and has a handsome spire. There are also a Roman Catholic Church and a Mission Chapel, an asylum for the relief of distressed European and native Christians, and a club. The Mall is one of the finest station roads in India. Besides being the head-quarters of the ordinary District staff, Meerut is the residence of the Commissioner of the Division of the same name, Superintending Engineers of both the Roads and Buildings and Irrigation branches of the Public Works Department, and two Executive Engineers in charge of divisions of the Upper Ganges Canal. The Church Missionary Society and American Methodists have their principal stations here, besides several branches in the District.

The arrests, we learn were made at the instance of the District Magistrate of Meerut. Assuming that that gentleman is best equipped to detect all-India conspiracies, we still hold that the trial should have taken place in a more important place than Meerut. The argument cannot, perhaps be put forward that as the Meerut Court was first and directly concerned with the case, it should have preference in the matter of holding the trial; for, from what the Home Member said in the Assembly, one can readily see that the case had more in it than mere Meerut. It would be difficult for the accused persons who have been dragged there from hundreds of miles away to arrange for their proper defence at Meerut. Therefore, at least for the sake of fair trial and justice a place should have been chosen where good lawyers are always available readily and in large numbers. The name Meerut no doubt conjures up bloody visions of the Indian Mutiny, but that is neither here nor there. That may impress people whose knowledge of India does not go beyond some fearful tales of the Indian Mutiny; but Meerut remains an unimportant and out of the way town nevertheless.

Mahatma Gandhi's Arrest and Conviction

The arrest and conviction of Mahatma Gandhi at Calcutta has much that is delightfully farcical if one looks at it in that way. It is from a different view point a truly representative instance of that bureaucratic bumpiousness which makes life so disgustingly intolerable to all self-respecting person-

in India. Let us go over the case even cursorily and see what it has to teach us. Some gentlemen, of undoubted high standing decide that they should hold a peaceful demonstration in a public park to do a little propaganda against the use of foreign cloth and for the encouragement of Home Industry. There is evidently nothing criminal in this attitude, for nearly all members of the British Parliament consider it a fine thing to encourage national industries (naturally) at the cost of foreign ones. Even the British as well as Indian Post Offices deface postage stamps with the inscription "Support British (or Indian) Industries." So that we may assume that the persons who assembled on Shradddhananda park to preach boycott of British cloth were within their rights, to do so. The method they chose to impress the assembled crowd was a bonfire of foreign cloth. The police of Calcutta at once discovered that such a bonfire would contravene a certain police regulation which forbade lighting fires with some kinds of combustibles in a public thoroughfare? Whether a park is such a place or not does not concern us. The Court has decided that a park does fall within that regulation. The police therefore went to the park and in their zeal to uphold the regulation scattered the assembled crowd with the help of *lathi* blows and arrested the leaders of the lawless crowd, among whom the chief was Mahatma Gandhi.

What one desires to learn from the Calcutta police is whether they always show so such zeal when people light fires in the streets. We have seen on various occasions, fires burning in the streets of Calcutta with no police men to extinguish the same or to disperse any onlookers or nearby persons with the help of the cudgel. It is therefore, natural for one to feel surprised at the Shradddhananda Park affair. The police deliberately took advantage of a slight infringement of an insignificant and rusty (through disuse) police regulation and vented their wrath rather viciously upon the boycotters *whose real crime was not lighting fires but Boycott.* Would anybody justify a *lathi* charge by the police to stop a violation of the law for which the violator is fined only one rupee? The disproportion between the offence and the police *zulum* is evident to everybody. What would Government say if the police cracked the skull of a motorist for parking

his car in the wrong place? Would they not severely handle that super-zealous traffic constable or sergeant? What are they going to do then with those members of the Calcutta Police who so aggressively charged upon a peaceful meeting of law-abiding citizens, urged by a disguised zeal, apparently to uphold the law but really to obstruct the boycott movement

The Shradddhananda Park affair also shows how dangerously ignorant of facts relating to India are even the highest of British bureaucrats. Earl Winterton, at the time of Gandhiji's arrest informed Parliament that Gandhiji had not been arrested. Mahatma Gandhi pointed out in the press that only arrested men are made to sign personal bonds as he was made by the Calcutta Police. We believe he must have been arrested, even though the police generously did not handcuff him, for how else could he have been tried in Court and fined rupee one?

Prabasi Banga Sahitya Sammilan



Miss Nirmal Hazra

Miss Nirmal Hazra, a Bengali lady resident at Indore did excellent work as Secretary to the Ladies' Section of the Prabasi Banga Sahitya Sammilan held at Indore. This annual literary Conference has become a regular feature of Bengali cultural life and its activities are watched with interest by cultural Bengal. The number of Bengalis who live outside Bengal has probably fallen of late due to causes which need not be discussed here; but it is encouraging to notice that the few who still go out of Bengal retain their energies unimpaired in spite of the keener struggle for existence which they have to face these days.

A New Ajanta Album

His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad should be congratulated and thanked by all lovers of Indian Art for the Ajanta Album that is being brought out under his special authority. The work will contain "colour and monochrome reproductions of the Ajanta frescoes based on photography". The explanatory text will be from Mr. G. Yazdani, M. A., Director of Archaeology, H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions and Mr. Laurence Binyon of the British Museum will write the introduction.

A Christian Review of the Indian Situation

Although Jesus Christ was not an Englishman, most bureaucrats like to think of that prophet as one of the mainstays of British Imperialism in India. A Christian and a bureaucrat are for some unknown reason expected to be of kindred spirit by all naive Britishers. It is therefore that when a Christian speaks against bureaucratic policy or pretensions one has to perforce acknowledge that the case is really bad for the steel framer. The *Guardian*, a Christian weekly of Calcutta, comments on the Budget Vote for the expenses of the Viceroy's Executive Council in the Legislative Assembly and its reduction to Rupee One only "as an action of protest against the Government of India for their failure to respond to the wishes of the people in regard to Dominion Status" in the following terms:

"The significant thing in the vote was that all non-official parties in the House united in this step and the reduction was carried by 11 votes. Only six elected members voted with the Government

apart from the 10 European non-official votes. Even the Muhammedans joined with the popular party in this expression of opinion...

It is very significant however that in spite of this very vital difference more than two-thirds of elected Muhammedan members should have voted in favour of the reduction. Both the Government of India and the Statutory Commission would do well to take note of this significant vote. It is a clear sign that all parties are united on the demand for the immediate introduction of responsible government. The question of communal differences which emerged in a better form during the debate is one that India alone can solve and it would be very foolish of the Government to attempt to exploit these differences with a view to plan obstacles in the way of Swaraj. It cannot be gainsaid that there are such real and vital differences which will need all the courage and statesmanship of Indian leaders to overcome but it has been made clear to Government that even these vital differences cannot stand in the way of Swaraj. It is symptomatic of the European point of view that one of the leading European newspapers at the head of its report of this debate should emphasize the fact that Mr. Jinnah had repudiated the proposals of the Nehru Report, rather than the fact of the union of all parties in pressing this demand upon the Government. We would advise both Europeans and Government members to read the article by A. E. in the last numbers of *Foreign Affairs* on the history of the last twenty five years in Ireland if they wish to understand how an obtuse attitude of refusal to realize the strength of a national demand can lead to disaster. The vote in the Imperial Legislative Council has shown clearly that in India to-day the demand for the introduction of real responsible government on the Dominion model is a National and not a sectional demand.

Race for Armaments in the West

Although the Western world constantly talk of peace and disarmament, judging by actualities all the "powers" in the West are slowly drifting into a race for armaments which will ultimately end as it did in 1914. The chief competitors in this revived race are Great Britain and America. Great Britain is superior to America in strength of cruisers, which fact does not please America. The latter country desires Britain to limit her cruiser building programme, in such a way as would make the cruiser power of both countries equal. But Britain with her far-flung Empire to guard and defend dares not restrict her building programme. So we find Senator William E. Borah, head of the U. S. Senate's Foreign Relations Committee saying: "Unless we can reach an understanding with England concerning the War-time rights of neutrals at sea, I venture the opinion that in 1931

the last vestige of the Disarmament Conference will be wiped out and then two Great nations will engage in building navies according to what they believe is necessary to protect their commerce. And if we come to building a navy to protect commerce, we must not only build against England, but we must build against any combination at sea that England can make; and if that were the case, the future would have nothing in store save a fearful burden of taxation upon the American people and possibly in the end another cataclysm like that of 1914."

The right of neutrals at sea during war-time seems naturally to be America's pre-occupation, for America expects to remain neutral during most wars of the future. This means that if there be freedom of seas as desired by America, in any war of the future in which Britain might get involved, the latter's attempt to blockade her enemy will largely fail as a result of the American rights at sea. Therefore, expecting to fight more wars as Great Britain evidently does, she dares not agree to observe this principle of freedom of the seas. And, America with her growing and worldwide commercial interests desires to be prepared against any eventuality in which a belligerent naval power, may be Britain, will injure her commerce in order to apply the strangle hold of blockade on an enemy with perfection.

The whole affair, it seems, rests on the question of neutral rights, just as it did when America entered the battle field in the Great War as an act of revenge on Germany for injuring her commerce by unrestricted submarine warfare. American commerce has grown since then and so has America's determination to be prepared against any future repetition of Germany's destructive conduct by some other nation.

The trouble is that Commerce, Imperialism and War are so closely related that one may not expect to profit from any of them without going in for the others. America's present attitude may be one which is merely commercial and entirely peaceful; but with a relatively powerful navy and increased commerce, she may soon begin to use her navy to further increase her commerce and then 'protect' the latter solidly by political conquest.

Germany Springs a Surprise on Naval Powers

Germany has sprung a real surprise on the "powers" by building a powerful miniature dreadnaught within the tonnage limit set by the Peace Treaty. It was then thought that cruisers below 10,000 tons could never hold their own against heavier battleships and therefore Germany was "made powerless" by the tonnage limit mentioned above. But German ingenuity has got the better of Anglo-French political craft. Germany has under construction a 9,000 ton "cruiser" driven by internal combustion motors of 50,000 horse power, "that could put two of America's 10,000 ton 'treaty' cruisers out of commission, and even offer a 'stiff argument' to a 35,000 ton battleship." The steel armour of this "vest pocket dreadnaught", as the Americans call it, is welded instead of riveted. This has saved 1,000 tons in weight. The weight of its engines is also very low compared to the average of the general run of cruiser engines. The *American Literary Digest* says:

Although not quite so fast as the British and American cruisers of the same class, naval experts of both countries admit that the six 11-inch guns of the German ship could dispose of even the most modern cruisers built under the terms of the Washington treaty before it could get within firing range. For the guns of the miniature dreadnaught with their range of fifteen nautical miles are said to outrange the 8-inch guns on the British and American cruisers by several miles.

The new German cruiser has also a cruising range equal to the British and American ships of the same class, but can travel 33 per cent. faster than the latter, so we are told.

Enacting the role of a modern *Emden*, it is easy to conceive that one of them might paralyze high-seas commerce in any war to which Germany was party.

Regarding the armament of the *Ersatz Preussen*, as the new ship is called, we are given the following details:

The main battery of the *Ersatz Preussen* will be supplemented by eight 5.9-inch guns to repel torpedo attacks, and four 3.4-inch anti-aircraft guns. She also carries six 19.7-inch Torpedo tubes on two triple mounts. The new German ship will be able to throw from her six 11-inch guns a broadside totalling nearly 4,000 pounds, for each shell weighs 662 lbs. Eight 8-inch guns, with shells weighing 260 lbs. apiece, could answer this with a broadside of not much over 2,000 lbs.

Thus, broadside for broadside, the German ships would have the post-conference cruisers

out-gunned nearly two to one. The 8-inch guns can be fired faster, but against this must be balanced the long range of the German 11-inch gun, which is reported to have an extreme reach of 30,000 yds., or 15 nautical miles.

The new German ship has set naval men thinking in Europe and America. Just as during the War Germany upset the naval equilibrium by using newer types of under-water-craft, will she in a war of the future turn things topsy turvy by her freak surface crafts of which the *Ersatz Preussen* is merely a forerunner?

Moslem League breaks from Nehru Report

It has not been much of a surprise to us to learn of the summary rejection of the Nehru Committee Report by the Council of the All-India Moslem League on March 28 at New Delhi. It is however sad to note that Moslem leaders have at last definitely gone over to communalism in order to achieve success for the Musalmans of India through political action. How far individuals may hope to attain success in any walk of life—economic, intellectual, moral or spiritual—through increased voting power is however a highly doubtful question. More votes do not make men more rich, more wise, more efficient, more self-sacrificing or more virtuous for any length of time. *Voting strength* should be the expression of *real strength* rather than its parent. However, let us proceed with the facts of the rejection of the Nehru Report by the Moslem League. The press report of the reelection reads as follows:

The draft resolution prepared by Mr. Jinnah to accommodate various points of view in regard to the policy and programme of the League in respect of the forthcoming constitutional reforms is very comprehensive and tries as far as possible to keep to the line chalked out by the League previously. It runs:

"Whereas the basic idea with which the All-Parties Conference was called into being and the convention summoned at Calcutta during the Christmas week of 1928 was that a scheme of reforms be formulated and accepted and ratified by the foremost political organizations in the country as a National Pact:

"And whereas the Nehru Report was adopted by the Indian National Congress only conditionally for one year ending December 31, 1929, and in the event of the British Parliament not accepting it within the time limit the Congress stands committed to the policy and programme of complete independence, of civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes:

"And whereas the attitude taken up by the Hindu Mahasabha from the commencement through their representatives at the Convention was nothing short of an ultimatum that if a single word of the

Nehru Report in respect of the communal settlement were changed they would immediately withdraw their support to it:

"And whereas the National Liberal Federation delegates at the Convention took up an attitude of benevolent neutrality and subsequently in their open sessions at Allahabad adopted a non-committal policy with regard to Hindu-Moslem differences:

"And whereas the Sikh League had already declined to agree to the Nehru Report:

"And whereas the Non-Brahmin and Depressed Classes were entirely opposed to it:

"And whereas the next reasonable and moderate proposals put forward by delegates of the All-India Moslem League at the Convention, in modification of the Nehru Report, were summarily rejected by the Convention the All-India Moslem League is unable to accept the Nehru Report."

The reasons for the rejection are rather puzzling and look like forced rationalization of a powerful, elemental and irrational desire. Why should the conditional acceptance of the Nehru Report by the Congress affect the Moslem attitude towards it? The conditional acceptance has nothing to do with the Moslems; its aim is to keep the Nation's right to adopt different methods for the obtaining of Swaraj intact, in case the British refused to make the Nehru Scheme effective. Would the Moslems like to see the Congress pledged to a scheme of reforms which our masters will not accept? It is only sensible for the Congress to give a time limit to the British for accepting that scheme after which other methods will be used to get concessions from them. We do not see why this point should worry the Moslems, or for that matter anybody else other than the British. Secondly the Hindu Mahasabha's insistence upon keeping the Nehru Scheme absolutely intact has displeased the Moslems. This again is incomprehensible; for anybody can see that by even slight alterations the entire nature of a scheme of reforms may be changed. The Moslems could also have insisted similarly. But why should the Mahasabha's desire to keep the Nehru Report intact discredit the latter to the Moslems? The other reason given are also not very convincing. On the last one explains the situation. It meant that the Moslems are not agreed to a policy of give and take. They agree to the taking only.

The Fourteen Points

The memory of President Woodrow Wilson the Peace-maker has been honoured by the fourteen points put up by the uncompromising

Mr. Jinnah. These fourteen points may mean the beginning of a great political conflict just as Wilson's fourteen brought about the end of the greatest of armed conflicts. Let us see what Mr. Jinnah's fourteen points are. We are told :—

The League after an anxious and careful consideration most earnestly and emphatically lays down that no scheme for the future Constitution of the Government of India be acceptable to Muslims in India until and unless the following basic principles are given effect to and the provisions are embodied therein to safeguard their rights and interests :—

(1) The form of the future Constitution should be federal with residuary powers vested in the provinces :

(2) A uniform measure of autonomy shall be granted in all provinces ;

(3) All Legislatures in the country and other elected bodies shall be re-constituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majority of any province to a minority or even equality ;

(4) In the Central Legislature the Muslim representation shall not be less than one-third.

(5) Representation of communal groups shall continue to be by means of separate electorates as at present, provided it shall be open to any community at any time to abandon its separate electorate in favour of joint electorate ;

(6) Any territorial redistribution that might at any time be necessary shall not in any way affect the Moslem majority in the Punjab, Bengal and North-West Frontier Provinces ;

(7) Full religious liberty, i. e., liberty of belief, worship, observances, propaganda, association and education shall be guaranteed to all communities ;

(8) No Bill or resolution or any part thereof shall be passed in any Legislature or any other elected body if three-fourths of the members of any community in that particular body oppose such a Bill, resolution or part thereof on the ground that it would be injurious to the interests of that community or in the alternative such other method is devised as may be found feasible and practicable to deal with such cases ;

(9) Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency ;

(10) Reforms should be introduced in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan on the same footing as other provinces ;

(11) Provisions should be made in the Constitution giving the Moslems an adequate share along with other Indians in all the Services of the State and in self-governing bodies, having due regard to the requirements of efficiency ;

(12) The Constitutions should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of Moslem culture and for the protection and promotion of Moslem education, language, religion, personal laws, Moslem charitable institutions and for their due share in grants-in-aid given by the State and by the self-governing bodies ;

(13) No Cabinet, either Central or Provincial, should be formed without their proportion of Moslem Ministers of at least one-third ;

(14) No change to be made in the Constitution by the Central Legislature, except with the concurrence of the States constituting the Indian Federation.

THE ALTERNATIVE

The draft resolution also mentions an alternative to the above provisions in the following terms :

"That in the present circumstances the representation of Muslims in different Legislatures of the country and of other elected bodies through separate electorates is inevitable and further that the Government being pledged over and over again not to disturb this franchise so granted to the Moslem community since 1909 till such time as the Muslims chose to abandon it, that Muslims will not consent to joint electorates unless Sind is actually constituted into a separate province and Reforms in fact are introduced in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces and further it is provided that there shall be a reservation of seats according to Moslem population in the various provinces but where Muslims are in a majority they shall not contest more seats than their population warrants."

(Note : The question of excess representation of Muslims over and above their population in the provinces where they are in minorities to be considered hereafter.)

Point 3 demands "adequate and effective" representation of Muslims where they are in a minority but does not quite demand equality or more than that. This is singularly graceful. Point 4 merely demands for a section of the Indian people forming 20 per cent. of the whole a representation of not less than 33 per cent. Following this principle the Hindus in Bengal may well claim a 50 per cent. excess of seats in the legislature compared to their number. That is to say, instead of having say, 44 seats per centum they should be given 66. Or if so much cannot be conceded to mere Hindus let them have 49.9 seats per centum in the Bengal Legislature. This arrangement will not further infringe point 3 of Mr. Jinnah's 14 points. A similar arrangement could also be made for the Hindus in the Punjab and the N.-W. Frontier Province.

Point 7 is rather promising of trouble. Full freedom of propaganda, for example will lead to many repetitions of *Rangila Rasul*, *Risala Vartman* and corresponding Muslim *Fatawa* (not that the latter are prohibited now).

Point 12 demands protection for Moslem culture, language etc. We do not understand this. Are we to apply the infant industry argument here or should we call these Key industries. That is to say, must we believe that Moslem culture etc. are just beginning to grow now

and would be crushed out by other and stronger cultures etc. if left unprotected or is it that the very existence of the Moslems depends on their retaining their culture, language etc.? By the way, what is the Moslem language? Arabic, Pushtu, Persian or Urdu or none? Point 13 is most favourite wife like. If in a province the Moslems form only 10 p. c. of the population or 5 p. c., must one appoint there 33 p. c. of all cabinet members from among these few Mahomedans? Most of the points are a bit vague. Hence one finds it difficult to comment on them properly. We hope these points will be soon published with explanations for the benefit of the public,

Leader of Indian Delegation to League of Nations

Sir Pheroze Sethna's resolution demanding leadership of this year's Indian delegation to the League for an Indian drew from the Government a confession to the effect that this year's leadership may also fall on an Englishman or an Indian Prince. We do not think an Englishman or an Indian Prince could in any sense be a representative of the Indian nation. If the Government would not trust a true representative of the nation to lead the Indian delegation, they should at least have the decency and honesty not to call the person chosen representative of the Indian nation. He should be called what he truly would be—A nominee of the British rulers of India.

A British General Writes Indian History for the American Press

The *Living Age* of America publishes an article in its March 1929 number on "How the British came to India: A brief outline of the History of the Great Asian Peninsula and the Racial Hotchpotch it contains." The writer is a former Quartermaster General, Lt. General Sir George MacMunn, K. C. B., K. C. S. I., D. S. O. The entire history of British occupation of India has been written up by the distinguished military man in less than twelve hundred fifty words out of which a few hundred words contain only touring hints and journalistic smartness. Let us take a few samples from this excellent historical monograph.

Although the article is meant to tell the reader how the British came to India it

devotes most of itself to telling how good the British are and how the Aryan Hindus came to India and how savage, unjust, and tyrannical they were. Thus one is told, "Nearly all of the inhabitants acknowledge the rule of Great Britain and do so cheerfully and happily, though at present it has pleased some of the intelligentsia whom the British have educated in their own system to turn bitterly hostile to their European step-parents." When the Aryan Hindus came to India they came with "culture of some kind and a developed religion, the Hindu religion, which survives in all its early conceptions even to this day." They conquered the Dravidians and "they also wrought the greatest injustice that ever man unto man has done." They turned the conquered people into slaves who are forced to do every kind of unclean and hard work. "Sixty million of them exist in Hindustan to this day, and, when the Prince of Wales was in India four years ago, they surrounded his car in many places by thousands, crying that from the British alone did they get protection and justice, praying and petitioning that India was not fit for Home Rule in any form. A curious story, incredible almost, yet as true to-day as five thousand years ago." Then there is the story of a deceased Indian sweeper in France whom the Indians would not allow to be buried with the Indians and who was later buried by the British next to a "crusading knight."

Then the Hindus conquered more and built temples and developed a great civilization. Then prince Gautama came and preached, but his colourless cult could not appeal to the colour-loving Indians. So Hinduism remained supreme. Then, came Alexander who conquered and formed alliances and went away.

Again for hundreds of years Hindus fought against one another 'but never in all history' could any Hindu prince rule over all India. Then came Islam. First, the Arabs invaded the Indus valley and next their Turkish converts set up a throne at Delhi. "The conquerors spread over India, forcibly converting many, and tempting others by the simplicity of their faith, so that gradually there were no Hindu rulers left." But the Turkish rulers also failed to make one kingdom out of all India. They also fought among themselves. Then came the Moguls who for a short time ruled peacefully and well, but fell to quarrelling soon. At

at time there were some English traders in India who had to defend themselves, for the Moguls could protect them no more. When they became more powerful and at last became rulers, for the Moguls had ceased to rule. So, "for the first time in history" the Indian people got "peace and prosperity." Their land became "homogenous" (and they lived happily ever after.)

Bengal's Involuntary Service or Disservice

In his book, entitled "India's Hope," published this year, Mr. F. H. Skrine, I. C. S. (Retired), writes with reference to Bengal:—

The province proved of immense value during the era of struggle and consolidation. Its revenues enabled the East India Company to carry on the warfare in which it was involved, and to pursue its policy of annexation which was forced upon it. Sixty years ago Sir George Chesney declared, in his *Indian Policy*, that Bengal was "the one part of India worth retaining were the rest to go." His words apply with tenfold force at the present day.—Pp. 39-40.

In some of our back numbers we have referred to the fact that Britain's Indian Empire was built up in its early stages mainly with Bengal money, and we have also given authorities for this statement. Mr. Skrine's testimony is a fresh proof. As for Britain's political expansion, so for her 'industrial revolution' and growth in the eighteenth century, she is greatly indebted to Bengal. Brooks Adams writes in his work on "The Law of Civilization and Decay" (Sonnenschein, London):

"Very soon after Plassey, the Bengal plunder began to arrive in London, and the effect appears to have been instantaneous, for all the authorities agree that the 'industrial revolution,' the event which has divided the nineteenth century from all antecedent time, began with the year 1760." Pp. 263-4.

The author then goes on to give details to prove his assertion, and these are to be found in Major B. D. Basu's book. "Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries."

The political and economic services thus rendered by Bengal to Britain were, however, involuntary and inglorious. But even if they had been otherwise, Bengal could not have claimed anything in return from a grateful Great Britain. For gratitude is a word which is not to be found in the dictionary of imperialists.

Sir George Chesney has declared that Bengal is the one part of India worth

retaining were the rest to go, and Mr. Skrine has confirmed his dictum emphatically. Perhaps no subject country can be held under subjection for ever unless the spirit of its people be crushed. One wonders whether that is the reason why Bengalis have suffered to a great extent from the "lawless" methods of deportations, internments, etc., in addition to the legal methods of repression.

What has been spoken of above as Bengal's involuntary services to Britain, may be considered disservices by the inhabitants of those provinces which were annexed by Britain by using the revenues of Bengal. To all such aggrieved non-Bengali Indian patriots, Bengal may say in self-defence that she was not a conscious and consenting party to the use of her revenues in this way.

It is to be hoped that present-day non-Bengali patriots will not stand in the way of Bengal's obtaining financial justice on the ground of her past unconscious and unintended offence. If Bengal be enabled to spend at least as much for education, sanitation, agricultural improvements and industrial and commercial expansion as any of the other and less populous provinces of India, her children will gratefully repay this friendly service by redoubling their efforts to win a glorious position for the whole of India.

Europeans' Debt to Orientals

Olive Schreiner writes in "Man to Man", p. 179:

"We Northern fair-skins have had great men; our glimpses of new truths, new masteries over matter, have added our gain to humanity's sum of riches even in the direction of creative art; but when we look around us on what we call our civilization, how little is really ours alone and not drawn from the great stream of human labours and creation so largely non-European?"

England in 1869

Alfred Russel Wallace wrote in 1869 in "The Malay Archipelago," (p. 599): "We are the richest country in the world, and yet... more than one-tenth of our population are actually Paupers and Criminals." What is England like now?

Bloody Riots and Dominion Status

Some time ago Reuter cabled the following message to India :

The "Daily Telegraph" says that the bearing of the grim record of bloodthirsty fanaticism upon the Nationalists' demand for full Dominion Status by the end of the year is too obvious to need emphasis.

The burnings of thousands of heretics at the stake in free and independent Christian countries were not real burnings but were stage-managed for the preparation of cinema films for the angels in heaven to witness, and consequently there was no bloody fanaticism at their back. The massacres on St. Bartholomew's Day took place in India. The political and industrial changes in England have been brought about throughout her history by the sprinkling of rose water. Ireland became "free" by the same process. Neither in England nor in any other free Western country is there anything but Christian charity among political parties and labourers. From Great Britain to Russia, in Europe, the Jews have received everywhere at all times nothing but kisses and embraces. And when Jewish blood has been spilt, it has been owing to the oozing out of their blood owing to the tightness of the embraces they have received. Canada and South Africa obtained Dominion Status by extreme forms of pacifism and *ahimsa*. There have never been any lynchings in America. The Ku Klux Klan is an association of Quakers for the establishment of peace on earth and good will among men. Mr. N. N. Sircar, Advocate-General of Bengal, did not say the following things recently at the Calcutta University Institute :—

Speaking of Law and Order, or rather Law and Disorder, Mr. Sircar said that it was a matter of history that from October, 1927 to April, 1928, 63 bombs had been dropped in Chicago alone. They wondered who were the people who dropped bombs. But bombs were thrown by all sorts of people. There were the political parties fighting with one another, the prohibitionists fighting with those who want to make the country wet; but as had been pointed out, law and order were of very recent origin

in America and had not taken yet that firm root there as in other countries.

Both New York and Chicago had unenviable reputation in the matter of criminals. But this did not mean that an ordinary peaceful citizen stood in risk. But the fact remained that there was always a kind of armed warfare. The policemen there did not resort to firing as the last resort. They rather started with shooting and they expected the bandits to shoot. That was why he said law and disorder instead of law and order. But no comment was made by newspapers as to why the police fired and whether firing was justified or not.

Chamber of Princes on Cry of Independence

The Chamber of Princes, which does not include some of the foremost Indian rulers, like the Nizam of Hyderabad, in their last session discussed and unanimously passed a resolution deprecating the cry of independence raised in British India and declaring that they would not assent to any proposals for the adjustment of their relations with British India unless based on the British connection.

Poor men ! They could not but pass the resolution they did.

The resolution refers to "their policy of non-intervention in the affairs of British India." But is not the resolution itself an act of intervention ? They repeat "their assurance of sympathy with the continued political progress" of British India. How can there be "continued" political progress, if it is to stop short mechanically and automatically at Dominion Status ? The princes speak of "mutual obligations arising from their treaties and engagements with the British Crown." But suppose, Britain becomes a republic, which is not quite impossible. The princes would then have to transfer their allegiance to the republicans of England, mostly horny-handed sons of toil. Why then should they fight shy of having direct relations with a national government of India formed of men of various classes ?

Whatever the Princes may say, if British India can muster strength to become independent, they will lose no time to establish good relations with it.



THE MODERN REVIEW



VOL. XLV
NO. 5

MAY, 1929

WHOLE NO.
269

The End of Nadir Shah

By JADUNATH SARKAR, M. A., C. I. E.

I

NADIR Shah has been rightly called "the Napoleon of Asia" (Sykes). From Asia Minor to Delhi none was able to withstand his victorious arms. Like Napoleon he founded an empire stretching over half a continent. Like Napoleon he restored the orthodox State Church to his country. Like Napoleon he brought the spoils of many nations to his capital. Both of these supermen made themselves national idols, but lived to be execrated by their countrymen for the miseries they ultimately inflicted. Their end was equally tragic: the French emperor died a miserable captive at St. Helena; the Persian fell under the assassin's dagger. Their empires perished with them: Napoleon's in his lifetime, Nadir's immediately after his death.

II

Nadir Shah had entered Delhi as conqueror on 9th March 1739 (Old Style) and left it on 5th May, laden with the plundered wealth of the Indian people and the accumulated treasures of eight generations of Emperors. His territorial gains from the Mughal empire were Afghanistan, and all Panjab and Sindh west of the Indus, besides Tata and other

ports at the mouth of that river. The spoils taken by him from Delhi were estimated at seventy crores of Rupees,—fifteen crores being in cash, forty crores in gold silver and jewels, nine crores worth in thrones and richly jewelled arms and vessels. In addition to these, he carried off three hundred elephants, ten thousand horses and the same number of camels.

His soldiers and subjects shared these splendid gains of their chief from a rich and effeminate people. From the conquered city of Delhi Nadir Shah issued a proclamation (16th March) excusing the entire population of Persia from the payment of revenue for three years! The chiefs of his army were lavishly rewarded, and the common soldiers received eighteen months' pay together, of which one year's was an advance payment and six months' pure gratuity. Even the camp-followers received Rs. 60 per head as salary and Rs. 100 as bounty.

III

From India, Nadir returned to Kabul on 21st November, but set out in a few days to subdue Khuda Yar Khan, the governor of Sindh, whom he pursued to Amarkot, in the heart of the Indian desert (26 Feb. 1740), and entirely crushed.

Then followed in rapid succession the conquests of Balkh, Bukhara and Khwarizm (modern Khiva), which carried the frontier of the Persian empire to the Oxus river. The Sultan of Constantinople sent his armies from Kars to Baghavad to oppose the Persian advance, but Nadir utterly routed these forces.

The only place where his arms failed of success was Daghestan, west of the Caspian Sea. The highlands of this province are covered with forests and difficult of access through the broken hilly nature of the land surface and the utter lack of roads. The natives are sturdy fighters, extremely fond of liberty and expert in raiding the neighbouring lands. For many centuries they successfully defied the Turks, Russians and Persians. The air in the lower passes is pestilential. No food for a large army can grow locally, while the lack of roads and the enemy's ambuscades prevent the coming of provisions from a distance. Nadir fought the Daghestanis fiercely in 1742 and 1744, but had to retire precipitately in order to save himself from starvation or complete investment. Heavy snow-fall during the retreat increased the losses and sufferings of his army. He could hold only the coast-towns in the plains.

IV

Nadir's character henceforth rapidly declined. He became a fierce tyrant, delighting in wanton cruelty and bloodshed and giving frequent vent to outbursts of fury. Even his Secretary, Mirza Muhammad Mehdi, is constrained to write:

"His Majesty was unique in administrative capacity and a paragon of justice, generosity and other kingly virtues from the time of his rise to the period when after conquering Khwarizm he turned towards Daghestan; and the people of Persia, too, of all races, had been loyal and devoted to him to the extent of being ready to devote their lives for him. But after he became engaged in the Daghestan campaign, on account of some suspicions having overcome his mind he blinded Mirza Riza Quli, his eldest and faithful son and heir. Melancholy due to this event altered his character and his temper grew furious. At the same time certain [disloyal] acts of the Persians destroyed his trust in them and he adopted a policy of harshness to them."

Daghestan was the Moscow of this Asiatic Napoleon. The spell of his invincibility was now broken. Rebellions broke out in many places of his empire,—in Fars and the ports of the Gulf of Oman, in Shirwan, Tabriz, Astrabad, Sistan and the land of the Kurds (Khabushan). Everywhere the rebels set up pretenders to the local thrones and killed the loyal officers of Nadir.

V

Strangely enough, the ferocious tyrant also developed into a miser. The gold and jewels brought away from Delhi were hoarded by him, while the cash was exhausted in these long wars.

Two ambassadors from Nadir, named Muhammad Ali Beg and Muhammad Karim Beg, came to Muhammad Shah the Emperor of Delhi with some presents and a complimentary letter. After a few days they reported that Nadir Shah had entrusted them with an oral message to the effect that owing to his wars in Central Asia Daghestan and Asiatic Turkey, and the vast expenses of his army, their master's treasury had become empty and he would consider it a friendly act if the Emperor of Delhi would help him with fifty or sixty lakhs of Rupees in cash! Muhammad Shah replied, "My brother the Shahanshah, when taking leave of me had advised me to believe only in what he would write to me and never to accept as genuine any oral message, which might be an invention of his envoys. Besides, owing to the weakness of my Government, the violence and disobedience of the peasants and landlords, and the slack administration of my local officers, nothing is coming to my treasury from the provinces. My expenses exceed my income." After sending this reply, Muhammad Shah and his ministers lay trembling in fear lest Nadir Shah should repeat his invasion, and they were relieved only when they heard of his death! [*Ashub.*]

Nadir Shah now resorted to the cruellest extortion to fill his treasury. As his Secretary writes, "These rebellions only increased the violence of his temper and his acts now became even more mild. He summoned the administrators (*amals*) of the provinces, to render accounts, and though no defalcation was proved against them and no complaint was made by any subject that they had taken illegal exactions, Nadir declared them as owing heavy sums to the

State, hung them up by the heels and put them to torture till these innocent officials signed bonds for paying ten lakhs or twenty lakhs of Rupees to the Government as arrears of revenue collection and did their utmost to procure the signatures of their friends and kinsmen and even distant people and beggars as securities for the payment!" Many of them perished under torture or from failure to find securities.

Ashub tells us that Nadir's physician, the wise Sayyid Uluvi Khan, used to mix gentle advice with his medicine and succeeded in abating the Persian monarch's ferocity of temper and getting him to promise to be kind and moderate in his acts. But on the departure of this healer of the body and mind, his successors were too timid to contradict their master and his violence and bloodthirstiness returned.

By a natural vicious circle, the rebellions provoked by Nadir Shah's cruelty only aggravated his fury. People were put to death, mutilated or blinded on the merest suspicion. On the plain outside Isfahan he burnt alive some Hindus, Muslims and Armenians. When, in January 1747, he set out from his capital for Khurasan, in every province that he passed through he built towers of human heads after beheading local nobles and commons. Each rebellion was suppressed with ferocious cruelty, but a new one soon broke out in another quarter.

VI

The last years of Nadir Shah's reign were years of unspeakable misery for his subjects (Sykes). Nadir became utterly distracted by rebellions breaking out in every part of his empire. He sent all his sons to the fort of Kalat as prisoners, in order to place them beyond the reach of mischief-makers who might set them up as leaders of revolt and pretenders to the throne. The most influential element in the Persian population were the Qizilbash (literally, *Red Heads* from their red Turkish caps.) These were the descendants of certain Turkish tribes long settled in Persia and formed very good soldiers, often acting as king-makers. The pure Persians, of Aryan descent often mixed with Arab blood, did not count for much. Every day Nadir Shah brooded over plans for destroying all the Qizilbashs of any note or influence.

At length he summoned the Uzbek and Afghan captains of his army, whom he trusted and favoured most, to a secret consultation and arranged that next day he would invite all the Qizilbash chiefs and captains to his presence and there massacre them under some pretext, and while their soldiers were yet ignorant of the fate of their leaders the Afghan and Uzbek troops would attack them by surprise and exterminate them and seize all their property. Then, before the news of these acts could reach the turbulent people, Nadir would go with his confidants and servants and the Uzbek and Afghan forces to the fort of Kalat and there in freedom from anxiety engage in dealing with the rebels and the Iranis.

"It was not God's will that this act [of atrocity] should be committed." One of the persons present at the secret council divulged the plot that very evening to Md. Quli Khan, Kashakchi Bashi (head of the Palace Guard.) It was the first quarter of the night. Md. Quli Khan immediately went to the palace as usual and took counsel with some trusty captains. They all felt that if Nadir Shah were not cleared off that night, their own heads would be gone next morning. They were embittered by the thought that though they had so often gladly shed their blood in the king's service, the king now trusted only the Afghans and Uzbaks and wanted to massacre the Qizilbashs as their only reward! Seventy of these men quickly formed a conspiracy to murder Nadir Shah in his tent at midnight and slay his beloved Uzbek and Afghan captains next morning.

The leaders were Md. Khan Qachar Irwani, Musa Beg Irlui Khalkhali, Fucha Beg Gunduz lui Afshar Arumi, and Md. Salih Khan Qarqalui Abiwardi. At midnight, 9th June 1747, they started with seventy followers in silence for the tents of Nadir Shah. But terror of the great king paralyzed the feet of fifty-seven of the conspirators and they hung back on the way. Only thirteen [according to the *Mujimil* only three] men were bold enough to enter the outer tent-wall. The eunuch on guard at the entrance to the harem, wanted to raise an alarm, but one of the conspirators seized his throat and whispered, "If you utter a word you will be a dead man. Tell us in which tent the Shah is sleeping." The eunuch pointed out the tent with his finger and his throat was then cut!

That night Nadir Shah was sleeping in the tent of the daughter of Md. Husain Khan. A strange unrest had seized him. He repeatedly entered the tent and came out of it, unable to stay in one place. His attendants were perplexed but durst not ask him the reason of it. Hasan Ali Beg, one of his oldest and most faithful servants, inquired what ailed him. Nadir Shah called him to his side and told him that he had had an evil dream, which Hasan Ali must keep a secret from others. The Beg pacified him and Nadir Shah retired to his tent. Here he was so fully overcome by sleep—the reaction of his late excitement and alarm—that he did not undress himself but merely took off his *nadiri* crown (with four aigrettes) and laid it down on the floor, and soon closed his eyes in a deep slumber which was to be his last.

Md. Salih Khan rushed forward and struck his sword at Nadir's shoulder, severing his arm. But the lion of Persia was not yet dead. That voice of thunder which had rung clear above the din of a hundred battles and heartened the Persians on to victory against fourfold odds, had not yet been stilled. Salih Khan quailed before Nadir's glance and roar. He had struck his first blow when maddened by fear, but immediately afterwards reaction drove him to the opposite extreme. He stood rooted to the ground by terror, his feet unable to move and his hand to rise. Just then Muhammad Beg Qachar entered the tent, and taking in the situation at a glance, promptly finished the perilous business by cutting off Nadir Shah's head,—“that head which in loftiness of power and grandeur had soared into the highest heaven.” (*Mujmil.*)

Fall of the Last Hindu Kingdom of Java

By DR. BIJANRAJ CHATTERJEE, M.A., D.LITT. (*Paris*)

THE last Hindu kingdom of Java was Majapahit—a name which its poet and historian Prapancha translates into Sanskrit as *Bilva-tikta*. This principality in East Java rose to the height of its power under King Hyam Wuruk (1350-1389 A. D.). Hyam Wuruk (a Javanese name meaning the young cock) is also known by his title of Sir Rajasanagara in Prapancha's chronicle *Nagarakritagama*. This king and his *pati* or minister Gajamada brought the whole Archipelago under the sway of Majapahit. This maritime empire stretched as far as New Guinea to the east and the Philippine Islands to the north. Many names given in the long list of its dependencies cannot now be identified—some of these may have been places on the north-west coast of Australia. Considerable portions of the Malay Peninsula also acknowledged the suzerainty of Majapahit. But after the death of this great king Majapahit's foreign possessions rapidly fell away. Majapahit itself had to fight for its existence against enemies among which the most formidable was rising power of Islam.

Before we commence the history of its decline and downfall we might turn for a moment to a bright picture drawn of the

great capital city by Prapancha in his *Nagarakritagama*. Prapancha was a contemporary of Hyam Wuruk and followed the king during the royal tours:—“The capital Majapahit (*Bilva Tikta* or *Tikta Shriphala*) is encircled by a wall of red brick—thick and high. On the west there is a great open space surrounding a deep artificial lake. Brahma-sthana trees, each with a *bodhi* terrace at its foot, stand in rows, and here are posted the guards who keep watch by turn in this public square. In the north there is a *Gopura* with iron gates. Towards the east there is a high cupola—the ground-floor of which is laid with *vajra* (cement). From the north to the south runs the market square—exceedingly long and very fine with buildings all around. In every Chaitra the army meets here. In the south there is a fine cross-road and a wide and spacious open space. North of this square there is an audience hall where the learned and the ministers sit together. East of it is a place where the Shaiva and the Buddhist priests speak and argue about their doctrines. There is also accommodation here for making offerings during the eclipse of the moon for the good of the whole country. Here also are the *homakundas* in

groups of three. In the centre is a lofty Shiva temple and to the south of it dwell the *vipras* in a building of many storeys. Near an open space in the vicinity the Buddhist clergy dwell in a building of three storeys adorned with pinnacles and fine sculpture. All this is bestrewn with flowers when the king comes there or when there is a sacred festival. To the south is the grand stand for the public—where the king gives his public audiences. The road which runs towards the west has got beautiful buildings on both sides and in the middle of the road there are everywhere *mimusapana* trees in flower. At a certain distance in this direction there is a cupola round which the army marches on state occasions. Then in the middle of an open space we find an ample pavilion where innumerable birds are always chirping. Here again is the audience hall which communicates with the second entry of the palace. These buildings have solid walls and pillars and there are galleries connecting them together. Here, *i. e.*, in the open square in front of the audience hall ivory cocoanuts and betels, conches and excellent elephants are offered to the royal ladies by people who have come from the forest districts and by sailors from distant seas. The officers of the royal army have quarters to the north of this second entrance of the palace. To the south are the quarters of the *bhujangas*—the learned people. Towards the west are many buildings occupied by the ministers on duty. . . . Entering by this second gate one comes to a lovely square with many beautiful covered seats. Here those who want to pay their homage to the king, have to wait. To the east is the magnificent pavilion, incomparable in beauty, where His Majesty gives audience to those who humbly approach him. . . . The Prime Minister, the *Aryas*, . . . and the 'Trusted Five' (this is the cabinet of Majapahit)—these are the highest who approach the throne. The *Kshatriyas* and *Bhujangas*, the *rishis* and *Brahmans* stand in the shadow of the Ashoka tree near the royal *vitana*. The two Chief Judges with their five assessors who in their behaviour are so *arya* as to deserve imitation, also approach the *vitana* hall to have audience with H. M. Sri Rajasanagara."

Thus Prapancha goes on to describe the other palaces of the relations of the king—most of whom held important administrative posts in the realm—situated in squares full of *mimu-*

sapana, *Keshara* and *Chmpaka* flowering trees.

The court religion of this period appears from the *Nagarakritagama* to be a curious mixture of Mahayana and Shaiva doctrines both strongly imbued with Tantric influence. Tantrayana texts like the *Kamahayanikan* were composed about this period. Gross Tantric rites in aristocratic circles prepared the way for the progress of Islam in Java.

The art of this period was reverting to Polynesian influence—*e. g.* in the fantastic but still artistic *Ramayana* reliefs of the Chandi Panataran.

Such was the capital city of Majapahit in its palmiest days of glory. Just after the death of Hyam Wuruk (or Rajasanagara) in 1389 A. D. there was a partition of the kingdom. Virabhum, the son of the late king and his *selir* (concubine), had been ruled out of the succession but he took possession of Eastern Java by force while Majapahit itself with the rest of the kingdom fell to the share of Hyam Wuruk's son-in-law Vikramavardhana who had married the crown princess. Vikramavardhana and his queen had a daughter Suhita on whom the throne of Majapahit was conferred by her father—excluding his sons who were the issue of his *selirs* (concubines). There was civil war, famine, and great disorder. The foreign possessions of Majapahit could not be kept together any more. In Java itself a certain Bhra Daha made himself independent at Daha. His descendants were to be the mortal enemies of Majapahit. Queen Suhita was succeeded by her younger brother Kritavijaya. Muhammadan chronicles mention that Kritavijaya's queen was a princess of Champa who favoured Islam. If the story be true then this princess would be the sister of Jayasimhavarman V of Champa—who with the help of the Emperor of China won back the northern provinces of Champa from the Annamites. Another sister of this Champa princess is said to have married an Arab priest—Sheikh Ibrahim. Her son Raden Rahmat, it is said, came to Java to visit his royal aunt and in Islamic chronicles he is celebrated as the first apostle of the new faith in Java. He assumed the title of Susuhunan and is believed to have constructed the first mosque built on Javanese soil. Sir Stamford Raffles however dismisses the whole episode as mere fiction.

The successor of Kritavijaya was Rajasavardhana who reigned only from 1451 to

1453. How he was related to his predecessor is not known nor is it clear why he left Majapahit and resided at Keling.

After him for three years there was an interregnum. Then two princes followed one another on the throne of Majapahit. Both of them had short reigns and the last left the capital.

The king, who is usually called Bhra Vijaya V, reigned from 1468-1478 and died in his capital. Such are the unconnected facts which we know about the last years of Majapahit.

It is generally accepted that Majapahit fell in 1478. Sir Stamford Raffles gives the popular Muhammadan version of the story. Among the wives of Browijoyo was a Chinese lady. She was repudiated by the Javanese monarch, when pregnant of Raden Patah. She had to seek shelter with Arya Damar, the chief of Palembang (the old Shrivijaya in Sumatra), who was a relation of Browijoyo. Raden Patah, when he grew up, accompanied by Raden Husen, a real son of Arya Damar, came to Java from Sumatra after becoming converts to the Muhammadan religion of which Palembang was the most important centre. Raden Patah, who was really the son of Browijoyo, became a devotee while his step-brother Raden Husen sought temporal advantages and soon became the commander-in-chief of the Majapahit army. Raden Patah began to intrigue for the subversion of the Hindu religion. Having at last formed a considerable party and mustered a respectable force, he gave the command to a Javanese—for he himself was not a military leader. This is said to have happened in 1468 A.D. The Muhammadan force was defeated by the Hindu army under the command of Husen. Raden Patah was, however, not discouraged by this defeat at the hands of his step-brother. He obtained succour from the faithful at Palembang and was soon able to assemble a fresh Muslim army. Husen, still the commander of the Hindu army of Majapahit, was now in his turn defeated. Majapahit fell and was destroyed. And this triumph of Islam took place in 1400 Saka, *i. e.*, 1478 A.D.

This version however is refuted by an inscription dated 1408 Saka (1486 A.D.) found engraved on a rock in the south-east of Surabaya. Prof. Krom in his new book on the Indo-Javanese period (*Indo-Javansche Geschiedenis*) gives all the facts

bearing on this matter brought to light by recent research work. In this inscription a Brahman, Brahmaraja, versed in the four Vedas, is mentioned as the recipient of gifts from a Hindu ruler. This Brahman is represented as having inspired this king with ambitious ideas which led the prince to a position of overlordship. This prince is mentioned in the inscription as living at Janggan "where the battle was fought against Majapahit." The name of this king is given as Ranavijaya Girindravardhana and it is he who may have seized Majapahit in 1478 A.D.

The coast-line of Java was however already Islamized, but the Muslim rulers of these places still recognized a Hindu suzerain ruling inland.

Barros, a Portuguese writer, writes about 1498 A.D. that in the East (he means thereby the Archipelago and the Malay Peninsula) the Hindus ruled but Malaka, a part of the Sumatran coast and some sea-ports in Java were in Muhammadan occupation. Barros refers to the influence of Islam as a pest which spread from Malaka along trade channels.

Malaka, in the second half of the 15th century, had become a great emporium of trade between East and West (*i. e.*, China and Java on one side and India and Arabia on the other). In India Gujrat was the province which had most frequent trade relations with Malaka.

Thus at the end of the 15th century the suzerain power was still Hindu though places on the sea-coast were fast becoming Muhammadan. In 1509 Malaka itself, the stronghold of Islam, was afraid of an attack by the Javanese Hindu king. In the same year the first Portuguese ships appeared before Malaka. In 1511 came Albuquerque himself from Cochin capturing Gujrat ships wherever he could find them.

There was a Hindu settlement in Malaka which was a discordant element in a Muhammadan atmosphere. The leader of the Hindus, Timut Raja, entered into secret negotiations with the Portuguese. The Javanese Hindu king himself sent an ambassador with presents to Albuquerque—for he was not on friendly terms with the Sultan of Malaka who oppressed his Hindu subjects. The Sultan was driven out by the Portuguese.

In 1513 Albuquerque wrote to the king of Portugal referring to the Hindu overlord of Java as seeking the alliance of the Portu-

guess. Albuquerque adds : The other towns, which are in his territory, will necessarily be on friendly terms with us—or we shall send a small fleet to the help of the Javanese king.

The last trustworthy Portuguese account of Hindu Java is of the year 1514. The Governor de Brito writes to King Manuel of Portugal in January, 1514 :—"Java is a great island. There are two Kafir (i.e., non-Muslim) kings—one is called the King of Sunda (W. Java) and the other of Java. The rulers on the coast are Muhammadan and some of them are very powerful. They have many ships and great influence."

The Italian Pigafetta, who travelled in these regions in 1522 with the great Magellan, writes—"The greatest towns in Java are these : Majapahit, the king of which place when he lived, was the greatest prince of all the islands and was called Raja Pati Unus ; and then Sunda, Daha, Demak, Gaj mada, etc...."

Now we know from earlier Portuguese accounts that Pati Unus was a warlike Muhammadan prince of Japara (in W. Java). He had fought naval action with the Portuguese admiral d'Andrade in 1513 in which he was beaten only with great difficulty by the Portuguese. After this Pati Unus is mentioned as the conqueror of Sunda (westernmost part

of Java). Did he also win for Islam the great eastern kingdom of Majapahit ? The last Hindu ruler of Java must then have fallen before the victorious arms of Pati Unus between 1513 and 1522.

Later Javanese tradition, as recorded by Sir Stamford Raffles, points to another person as the champion of Islam. This Muslim apostle was the Sultan of Cheribon (in W. Java)—still revered as Sheikh Maulana. He was an Arab by birth and he and his two sons are said to have conquered and converted the whole of West Java towards the close of the 15th century. The ruling Muhammadan princes in West Java still look on Sheikh Maulana as their common ancestor.

Thus the Arab traders, who first came to Sumatra and Java as early as the end of the 7th century—to carry on trade and commerce with the Farther East succeeded by the beginning of the 16th century in winning political supremacy and propagating their religion throughout the Archipelago and the Malay Peninsula. But already enterprising mariners from Portugal and Spain had made their appearance in the arena and the Dutch were soon to follow. Political supremacy was to be wrested soon from the Muslim princes but the religious supremacy of Islam is still unquestioned in these regions.

A Tribune Of The People

By "VINOD"

DR. Sumant Mehta's is a household name to-day in Gujarat. Excepting Sjt. A. V. Thakkar, that most unostentatious and silent social worker, the friend of the Bhils and the untouchables, there is hardly another man to-day in the province who occupies that lofty, unique position amongst the ranks of social workers that Dr. Mehta occupies. It is not always desirable to attempt an estimate of the life-work of any individual when he is alive. The task is extremely difficult if the writer is on terms of close friendship with him. In this short account, therefore, an attempt is made only

to acquaint the reader with the man as he appears to the public. To know Dr. Mehta in true perspective, one requires to recall to his mind two pictures—one of a fashionable young Indian clad in perfect European costume and living in an English style in pre-Non-Co-operation days, the other of a peasant-like looking social worker, anxiety-craven, sweating under his brow with his little kit in his hand while measuring on foot a little distance here or there under a scorching sun, living amongst the poor, as one of them in Non-Co-operation and in post-N.-C.-O.-days. That furnishes, in short, the

real keynote to an understanding of the man. His cultural attainments, his ideals, his convictions have not changed, they are just the same as they were two decades back but they have only been now directed into another channel and it is now altogether a changed life.

Culture and intelligence he inherited in abundance. He is the grandson of that eminent Gujarati scholar and novelist Nandshanker Mehta on the maternal side. He was given the best available education both here and in England. In the early portion of this century, it was considered almost an essential in life for a young man aspiring for a brilliant and lucrative career to be educated in a foreign land, necessarily in England. In Dr. Mehta's case, not only were the circumstances favourable, but there was an affluence of means. The moulding of life in his early days was influenced by and had a distinct stamp of the atmosphere and environment of a royal family, his father being the Gaekwad's personal physician. However, even in these days, as in those, his religious temperament, his notions of social usefulness, or service, and love of independence were the same.

The future is to all men a sealed book. Hardly did this young man know when he joined the Baroda State Service on return from Europe that a day was awaiting him when he would be called upon to take up his cudgel against the same service of which he was once a high official. The young cricketer, a terror on the field at Navsari in these days, he had no idea that a much wider field was awaiting him in life, where he was to be called upon to play not the gay, recreative cricket but a much harder game—a life of penance of a true Karmachari. Dr. Mehta soon realized that sport was not the whole of life in India, but only its recreation. Though a great social force in Gujarat to-day, the stamp that the young medical officer and his large-minded liberality and almost instinctive courtesy left on the public life of that town is still to be felt in all its splendour.

Dr. Mehta later served the State in many capacities and rose to a very high rank. But, the Government service and that too in an Indian State, never once damped his spirits, enthusiasm or love of independence of speech or action. The Government service even to-day as in these days, is a synonym for servility. The best of our men have unfor-

tunately under its suffocating influence succumbed to the temptations of a life full of pomp and power. Dr. Mehta not once allowed those temptations to have a sway over him and that is why he has been found stubbornly fighting the administrative cranks of that once progressive State. Unlike many an Indian youth, he has imbibed the spirit of liberty in England, not of licence. That stands in good service to him to-day. Very few persons had facilities which Dr. Sumant enjoyed, of having not less than five tours round the world, and it was during these tours with the Maharaja, that he got opportunities to come into contact with the best intellects of these lands, with the young Egyptians, radical Republicans and Parnellites of Ireland, and thus to cultivate a very broad view of life. The first sparks of patriotism in him were ignited in those countries and he acknowledges the fact with a grateful heart even to-day.

This much about his early life. Even then he was connected with many institutions in this province and had put in a fairly creditable record in the field of social service. But then his real solid work commenced since he gave up the lucrative post in the Civil Service of the State. As an officer he was very popular, he was not dreaded and forsaken as officials generally are, by the people, barring a few flatterers or hangers on who always find their place where officialdom reigns supreme. This officer was cast in a different mould. He used to mix freely with the people and tried to penetrate into their lives, their hardships and their miseries. While in districts on duty, he was never a burden to the people, and resented the slightest indulgence, if offered to his children, even by his friends. Stern rigidity was the rule of his life. If there is one individual who has rendered the greatest possible service in the cause of advancement of female education in Gujarat, it is Dr. Sumant. Of course his cultured wife was his helpmate in every activity of his. Names of both Sumant and Sharda Mehta will go down to posterity—will be remembered by them with gratitude when Gujarat reaps in future the fruits of this benediction they have bestowed on her.

To-day village life and Sumant are two synonymous terms, though in old days, village life was not less dear to him. He has never flinched a bit from wandering about from cottage to cottage in the Rani-

paraj area or from sleeping under the canopy of heaven at their cottage door.

From his last visit to England Dr. Mehta returned just on the eve of the historic session of the Congress at Ahmedabad in 1921. He was all the while feeling that his ideals of service were not being realized while in Government service and wanted to get rid of the shackles. That historic session afforded him an opportunity, and he, without the least hesitation, sent in his resignation and presented himself at the Congress, clad in Khaddar. This sudden change surprised many of his friends, though the most intimate of them did expect it some day or other. He had twice attempted earlier to join the Servant of India Society but his independence of temperament could not suit the ultra-moderate policy of the Society. He had a little later to attempt to found a home to train up "Servants" for Gujarat—in Ahmedabad, with a small band of young aspirants. He had an inspired unerring vision of the moral strength which must be at the back of physical strength and the intellectual attainments. He perceived that the first element of that moral strength must be *Tyaga*, complete self-sacrifice for the country and complete devotion to the work of liberation. He wanted his workers—servants—to be political "*Vairagees*" or 'Fakirs' who have no other thought than their duty to the Supreme Deity—the *Mother*. The second element of that moral strength to him was self-discipline and organization. His *Fakiri* or renunciation has during the last seven years, brought many a recalcitrant to his senses.

Prominent amongst his many-sided activities, are those in connection with the Kaliparaj Association and Satyagraha in Petlad. Through the instrumentality of the former he carried on a vigorous campaign of prohibition amongst the people known as Raniparaj, a vast populace sunk in drunkenness, a prey to the machinations of greedy Parsee liquor shop-keepers and a corrupt officialdom, leagued in conspiracy against their helpless prey; and thus invited the wrath of the Baroda bureaucracy over his head. This is not the place to narrate at length the history of the movement that was over three years an eyesore to the sun-dried, obdurate officials of the State which claimed for itself a name for progress and yet could not brook its people going dry. Baroda resorted to a policy of repression and served

the workers of the Kaliparaj Mandal with an order not to enter the area and preach prohibition. Mr. Mookherji, the then reactionary Suba of the district, tried his utmost to put down the movement, defended the Government policy in the columns of the *Times of India* and that high-priest of autocratic officialdom, Sir Manubhai, as the Dewan, supported the man on the spot. But the reactionary orders were defied and, thanks to the sagacity and well-planned organization of Dr. Mehta, the Baroda steel-frame had to bend down, the Suba was transferred and the orders were withdrawn. Thousands of families went dry and even to-day they remember with gratitude their benefactor and his small band of workers. This spade-work done in these days stands in good stead to-day to the workers in British India in the surrounding districts. Dr. Mehta had the fullest co-operation and help of Sjt. Amritlal Thakkar in his Kaliparaj activities.

Another enduring monument to his efforts was the Petlad Satyagraha—a no-tax campaign against the unjust increment in land assessment in that Taluk of the Baroda State. Petlad Satyagraha was a land-mark in the annals of Gujarat even as Kaira, Borsad or Bardoli are. The agriculturists of the Taluk stood rock-firm against all the tyranny and oppression of the Government. And subsequently the just cause of the peasants triumphed, putting a fresh laurel in Dr. Mehta's crown. A marked characteristic of his life is that Dr. Mehta shuns in every form and place, the exploitation of the peasant and the worker by either the fat capitalists, land-lords or a capital-ridden Government and puts his shoulder to the wheel to put an end to it, wherever found. Dr. Sumant has rendered a very creditable account of himself in this respect and helped directly or indirectly the awakening of mass consciousness in the oppressed and the down-trodden throughout the province. Kaliparaj and Petlad are enough to be the life-work of any one individual. The doctor has much more to his credit.

Had he continued to serve the Baroda State, Dr. Mehta would have lived an easy and affluent life as a medical practitioner. He had made a name as a surgeon. In securing an efficient surgeon, Gujarat would have lost a veritable servant of the people! Dr. Sumant in his choice of "Vocation" therefore has, no doubt, rendered a service

of supreme importance to Gujarat which was destined to lead India and be in the vanguard of national development. The mere recognition of the desirability of freedom cannot be an inspiring motive. There are few Indians at present, whether loyalist, moderate or nationalist in their political views, who do not recognize that the country has claims on them or that freedom in the abstract is a desirable thing. But most of them, when it is a question between the claims of the country and other claims, do not in practice choose the service of the country, and while many may have the wish to see freedom accomplished, few have the will to accomplish it. There are other things which we hold dearer and which we fear to see imperilled either in the struggle for freedom or by its accomplishment. Dr. Mehta was above all these and has not paused for a moment to consider, while consecrating his life to the service of the country, whether he was not risking his well-earned pension. It must have been very difficult for him to rough it out to the extent he has at present done.

Dr. Mehta is also reckoned as an inspiring writer, though here too he is a thorough utilitarian and would write only on subjects that would directly or indirectly help his missionary activities. Those who are to-day ardent admirers of his writings will be surprised to know that only ten years back Dr. Sumant could not write Gujarati well. He soon perceived, when on the threshold of this new life, that a nation could not grow without finding a fit medium of expression for the new self into which it was developing without a language which would give permanent shape to its thoughts and feelings and carry every new impulse swiftly and triumphantly into the consciousness of all. Realizing this he made a strenuous effort to obtain mastery over the language of the populace for whose betterment he had dedicated himself to work. He very ably edited that premier monthly of Gujarat, the *Yuga Dharma* for over a period of two years, in the forced absence of Sjt. Indulal Yagnik in Baroda jail and proved that he could shoulder even a literary venture. *Yuga Dharma* proved to be a veritable medium for Dr. Mehta to preach his ideals of "Yuga Dharma" (i. e. the religion of the present age). His writings may not rank as first class literary pieces, but they at least display his sincerity of purpose, his courage of conviction

and a transparent geniality of heart and soul.

Dr. and Mrs. Mehta are connected with many educational institutions of Gujarat. Both of them were amongst the chief lieutenants of Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel in the Bardoli campaign and rendered yeoman's service to the cause. But Dr. Mehta's main life-work consists in the emancipation of the Baroda State subjects. He is to-day the unchallenged leader of two millions of Baroda subjects groaning under all the evils of the rule of an absentee ruler. They have always in times of their trials, turned their eyes toward him and felt that the rudder of their ship was in quite safe hands. His lead has never yet failed them; and he commands their entire confidence. He is the soul of the Baroda State Subjects' Conference (Praja Mandal) and his masterly Presidential addresses at the Bilimora special session of the Praja Mandal and the Sojitra Agriculturists' Conference reveal his wonderful grasp of the problem of the agriculturist and his oneness with the cause of the forsaken and the poor. He stands to-day at the door as a cautious watchman to safeguard the interests of 20 lacs of human souls.

It would be an unpardonable omission not to mention, in this narration, Shrimati Sharada Mehta, a name to conjure with, a name so universally revered and respected throughout the length and breadth of this province. In the whole of Dr. Mehta's stormy life, his home has been the green spot. Sharada Mehta is the presiding deity of the "home", a solace to many an agrieved soul and wounded heart. This couple has been for over two generations, an ideal for young Gujarat. The wells of that small hut-like bungalow in Sayaji Ganj must have witnessed many a broken heart coming to its occupants to seek solace and going out full of hope and joy. Many a young missionary may have derived their inspiration from this quarter. Dr. Mehta's house in this sense is not a residence but an institution—the birth-place of many fruitful schemes. For her serene sincerity, her over-flowing kindness and love to all, her culture and her social nature, Mrs. Sharada Mehta stands unequalled. She is an ideal housewife, a loving mother and a sincere friend and is a living contradiction to the prevailing false notion that educated ladies could never be good housewives. She has in adapting herself to her husband's

life of renunciation and service displayed an admirable spirit of sacrifice. Mrs. Mehta, now in her fifties, was the first amongst Gujarat Hindu ladies to graduate from the Bombay University, one of the early pioneers of female education. In imparting the highest possible education to her daughters she has given an impetus to the movement she all through pioneered. One of the girls is a Science graduate while the other has been reading at the London School of Economics. After graduating from Karve's University Mrs. Mehta takes a very keen interest in Karve's University and is a member both of its Senate and the Syndicate. These are some of the merits of the lady who is to-day a great social force in the province of Gujarat, but her greatest attraction is her "Motherhood." She is the very personification of that divine spirit. Mahatmajī once while proposing her to the Chair of the Social

Conference at Godhra paid a very high tribute to the afore-said virtue of hers by saying that 'he would very much wish—aspire—to be born to her,' and the Mahatma is hardly a man who unnecessarily lavishes encomiums on any person. Such is the lady Dr. Mehta had the good-luck to secure as his life-companion. Mrs. Mehta can unreservedly claim not a little share in all the successes in his life. All honour to the man who may not be a *Sadhu* but who is striving by his deeds, unconsciously though, to attain to *Sadhuta*. His is a life of strange vicissitudes, with its bitter trials and its glorious poverty. May he enjoy it long, exemplifying the words of the poet :

"To serve thy generation, this thy fate,
Written in water, swifly fades thy name.
But he who loves his kind does, first
and late.

A work too great for fame."

Some Men I have Known

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

ANANDA MOHAN BOSE

IT was during my stay at Karachi that I first met Ananda Mohan Bose at Lahore.

On my way from Calcutta to Karachi in 1887 I halted for a few days at Lahore and stayed with Sitala Kanta Chatterji, then Editor of the *Tribune*. I found there Ananda Mohan Bose with his wife and his brother Dr. Mohini Mohan Bose. That was the beginning of our acquaintance. At the Bombay Congress in 1889 we lived together in the same house. Surendra Nath Banerji and several others were also there. We had our meals together. Our conversation referred often to Charles Bradlaugh, who was attending the Congress and whose accession to the representation of India in the House of Commons was a great gain. Afterwards I met Ananda Mohan Bose several times in different places. He came to Lahore to interview Sardar Dyal Singh in connection with the founding of a theistic college in Lahore, and he called on me on that occasion.

Ananda Mohan's brilliance and intelligence were stamped upon his features. He had a fine face and particularly bright eyes, and was an excellent conversationalist. As a public speaker he was fluent and impressive. There was a story about him which I believe was quite true, that Mr. Sutcliffe, a famous Principal of the Presidency College, Calcutta, used to say that Ananda Mohan was the most brilliant student that had ever passed out of the college. I never heard him gossiping or discussing other people. The last time I saw him was in 1899, the year that the Congress was held at Lucknow. Romesh Chandra Dutt was President elect and one afternoon, while I was sitting with him in his house, he proposed that we should go and consult Ananda Mohan Bose, who was living close by, about certain matters connected with the Congress. We just walked over to the house and found Ananda Mohan ill and lying on a sofa. It was his last illness for he never quite recovered from it. He was in evident pain but the

did not prevent him from keeping up an animated conversation for a pretty long time, discussing the lines that should be followed at the next Congress and letting R. C. Dutt have the benefit of his experience of public life. Romesh Chandra had recently retired from the Indian Civil Service and though he was a publicist as well as an ex-official, he rightly considered that Ananda Mohan Bose would be able to give him valuable advice.

KALI CHARAN BANERJEE

Kali Charan Banerji was present at the Lahore Congress of 1893 and came to see me at my house one morning. Of course, I knew all about him, had seen him often in Calcutta and had heard him speak, and considered him one of our finest public speakers. Besides, his nephew Bhavani Charan (Brahmabandhava Upadhyaya) had told me all about his beautiful domestic life. The best speech of Kali Charan that I had heard was at a meeting at the Calcutta Town Hall to protest against the arrest and imprisonment of some members of the Salvation Army, Commissioner Booth-Tucker being one of them, in Bombay on a charge of obstruction of a public thoroughfare. The party had just come out to India and were preaching in the streets of Bombay in their own fashion when all of them were arrested and locked up. Keshub Chandra Sen presided over the Calcutta meeting and the best speech was made by Kali Charan Banerji who asked those present whether they would show sympathy or antipathy with the salvationists and spoke with great force and eloquence. It was an honour and a pleasure to have him sitting in front of me and talking with great simplicity and frankness. Several years afterwards when his health was failing rapidly, Kali Charan Banerji was present at the Calcutta Congress of 1906, where were heard the first mutterings of the storm that broke out in a tempest the next year at Surat. Kali Charan fainted at the Calcutta Congress and was taken home.

SIR NIL RATAN SIRCAR

In 1892 a friend wrote to me from Calcutta that Dr. Nil Ratan Sircar was a candidate for election as a Fellow of the Calcutta University and I should help him with the votes of the graduates of that University residing in the Punjab. Dr. Sircar was not known to me personally but

I had of course heard of his remarkable career and the grit and perseverance that had enabled him to overcome all difficulties and to obtain the M. A. and M. D. degrees of the Calcutta University. I spoke personally to the Calcutta graduates in Lahore and wrote to others who lived in other districts in the Punjab. Every one of them voted for Dr. Nil Ratan Sircar. After the Congress of 1892 at Allahabad I paid a flying visit to Calcutta and while passing the Senate House on College Street saw a crowd on the steps and at the entrance of the Hall. I suddenly remembered that the election of fellows was in progress and I thought I would inquire how it was going on. At the head of the stairs I met my friend, excited and jubilant, and he rushed in and brought out Dr. Nil Ratan Sircar, who warmly thanked me for the Punjab votes, which had been given to him solid, a few minutes later Ashutosh (afterwards Sir) Mukerji, who had been counting and checking the votes in a room came out and he was surrounded by the friends and supporters of the candidates. In reply to their eager questions Ashutosh Mukerji said, "I cannot tell you about the other candidates yet but you all know who will top the list", and we understood that Dr. Nil Ratan Sircar was leading by a substantial majority. This was the beginning of a friendship which I prize and I and mine have been the recipients of many kindnesses from Sir Nil Ratan Sircar. Somehow or other I have admired Calcutta mostly from a distance, but during my periodical brief stay my people often have had the benefit of Dr. Sircar's great skill as a physician. I remember in particular a striking instance of his devotion to the science of medicine. In the house next to mine on Grey Street were living some relations of the late Sarada Charan Mitra, at that time a Judge of the Calcutta High Court. There was a girl of about twelve living in the house who had an attack of high fever. Dr. Sircar had been called to the house of Sarada Charan Mitra on the other side of the road to examine someone and there he was asked if he would kindly also examine the girl in the other house. He went over at once, examined the patient very carefully, refused a fee and said he would come again. I was with him and he told me it was a very peculiar case, but the symptoms were not yet sufficiently marked to enable him to pronounce a definite opinion. He came again in the afternoon, and I went with

him to the bedside of the little patient. The suspicion that Dr. Sircar had was confirmed at the second examination. It was a case of scarlet fever. There was the high temperature, the peculiar rash on the stomach, the throat trouble and all the other symptoms. In England and Europe scarlet fever is well known and dreaded as one of the most fatal diseases of children. Dr. Sircar said he had not seen diseases of children. Dr. Sircar said he had not seen a single case in his experience and he had actually brought his books for consultation and to verify the symptoms. As all eruptive fevers are highly contagious Dr. Sircar thought it imprudent for me to be present. I might carry the infection to my children though I might not catch it myself. But as I did not touch the patient I prevailed upon Dr. Sircar to let me stay. From that day until the girl was quite out of danger and convalescent Dr. Sircar visited her twice and sometimes thrice every day, explaining to me the distinguishing symptoms and the various stages of the disease. The skins of the palms and the soles of the feet came off entire and Dr. Sircar put them in a jar of spirit and took them away. Long strips of slough came up from the throat. Dr. Sircar not only accepted no fees but he used to compound and bring the medicines himself and spend long hours watching and examining the patient who was in a very critical condition for some days. It was not the professional physician, but the kind-hearted physician devoted to his noble science, the enthusiastic scientist exerting all his skill of healing that I saw during the protracted and serious illness of that child. Singularly enough it was an entirely isolated case and no other was heard of either in Calcutta or elsewhere.

PRATAP CHANDRA MAJUMDAR

I had seen Pratap Chandra Majumdar at the house of Keshub Chandra Sen and I knew that he had spoken kindly of the little brochure I had written after Keshub's death. During my stay in Lahore Pratap Chandra Majumdar came to that city on mission work. The Brahmo Samaj of Lahore was not affiliated to any particular section of the Samaj and preachers belonging to the New Dispensation, the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj and the Prarthana Samaj of Bombay were all welcomed and invited to preach and deliver lectures in the Samaj building.

I met Pratap Chandra at one of his lectures and afterwards he came to see me at my house. He was staying in a room near the Brahmo Samaj and I asked him whether he was quite comfortable. Pratap Chandra Majumdar used to suffer from diabetes and was rather particular about his food. He complained that the Panjabi food was not to his liking, though otherwise he was quite comfortable. I ventured to suggest that he should take his meals at my place and he immediately agreed to my proposal. The next morning he came to breakfast and after a hearty meal we had a long talk about Keshub Chandra Sen and the political and other signs of the times. Pratap Chandra Majumdar was a highly intellectual man of wide culture, an admirable writer and speaker, widely travelled and had an attractive manner of conversation. I met him once more in Calcutta some years later in a tram-car. He told me he wanted to read the eleventh *Skandha* of *Shrimad-bhagavat* with a Pandit and he wanted to know whether I knew of anyone who could help him. I gave him the names and address of two or three Pandits. Pratap Chandra Majumdar died shortly afterwards.

SIVA NATH SASTRI

One of the most delightful and lovable men I ever met was Pandit Siva Nath Sastri of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. Like Pratap Chandra Majumdar he came to Lahore to deliver some lectures and sermons in the Brahma Mandir. After his first lecture Abinash Chandra Majumdar of Lahore introduced me to him and the next afternoon he called on me, and afterwards hardly a day passed that we did not spend some hours together. Before I met him I knew Siva Nath Sastri as a fascinating Bengali writer. Born in an orthodox Brahmin Pandit family, he had broken through the trammels of caste and had joined the Brahmo Samaj. After the schism over the Kuch Behar marriage he had gone over to the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj of which he was a leading member. Siva Nath Sastri was deeply religious, but he was by no means an ascetic or a habitually grave man. He was an excellent humourist both as a writer and in conversation. He wrote a screaming parody of a poem by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and when I repeated a few lines which I happened to remember he laughed and recited the rest of the poem. He was full of anecdotes and

flashes of humour, and occasionally he was a bright mimic. He knew that I dabbled in literature, and spoke appreciatively of certain essays written by me. He told me numerous anecdotes about Ramkrishna Paramhansa and Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, and as we both happened to know Ramtanu Lahiri intimately we exchanged our impressions about that remarkable man. After the death of Ramtanu Lahiri Siva Nath Sastri wrote his life. I met him once again in Calcutta shortly before his death.

DR. KALI PADA GUPTA

Another winter visitor to Lahore was Dr. Kali Pada Gupta of the Indian Medical Service. For some time he was Sanitary Commissioner to the Government of Bengal. He was a native of Halisahar so that we were fellow villagers. I saw a good deal of Kali Pada Gupta during his stay at Lahore. He was a Christian, but he was a homely Bengali of the good old school, and was proud of the fact that he was a Kulin Vaidya. He rightly reproached me and some of my people for having done nothing for the village of our forbears. He himself had a house in Calcutta, but he took great interest in the well-being of Halisahar and gave some money for the building of a hospital. He was a frequent visitor to the village and personally knew most of the residents. He was very different from the class of the "England returned" Bengalis of those days, men who pretended to have forgotten everything about their own country, because they had passed two or three years in England.

RADHA RAMAN RAHA

Radha Raman Raha was one of the first two Bengalis who had proceeded to the Punjab, the other being Golaknath Chatterji. They were both Christians and had come under the influence of Dr. Alexander Duff. There was no railway at that time beyond Raniganj, and the rest of the long way to the Punjab had to be traversed in bullock-carts and camel vans. Radha Raman Raha had been a teacher in a Mission School for some time and was in charge of the Religious Books and Tracts Society when I went to Lahore. The first house I occupied was just opposite the premises of the Society in which Radha Raman had comfortable quarters. We became good friends at once, and our friendship

remained unbroken until Radha Raman's death in 1910. He was about 51 years of age when I first met him. He had never married and there was a romance of disappointed love in early life. Radha Raman was a short man with benevolence and kindness beaming in his eyes, and face. He was a devout Christian, but lived like a Bengali wearing the dhoti at home, and chapkan abroad. From his small income he helped several persons, including Dr. Kali Pada Gupta, to complete their studies in England. He was a great friend of students, and constantly looked after the Bengali students reading in the Lahore Medical College. The leading Bengali residents like Pratul Chandra Chatterji, Kali Prasanna Roy, Jogendra Chandra Bose, Chandra Nath Mitra and Dr. Braja Lal Ghose treated him with great respect and he generally spent his evenings with his Bengali friends. But his Punjabi, English and American friends were equally well aware of his worth and showed him every respect. He was frank and simple and a man of high character and never spoke a single word in disparagement of Hindus or their religion. He retired in 1894 and used to spend the winter months at Lahore, and stayed every year with me as long as I was there. Pratul Chandra Chatterji and Kali Prasanna Roy were much older friends of Radha Raman than myself and they used to chaff him for giving me preference over them.

ABINASH CHANDRA MAJUMDAR

Abinash Chandra Majumdar was a member of the Sadharan Bhahmo Samaj and held an appointment in the Railway office at Lahore. He was a man universally respected for his high character, amiability of disposition, and unflinching readiness to help the distressed and deserving. He had learned homeopathy and gave homeopathic medicines free to a number of patients every morning. He had also an installation of Buisson's Vapour Bath for anti-rabic treatment, which was used on one occasion in my own family. Abinash Chandra was to be found wherever any good work was to be done. He was one of the most gentle-hearted men I have met, as well as one of the sincerest and most devout. He was an instance of a man who was widely admired and esteemed for the goodness of his heart. He had only a small income and lived a simple life, but the time

came when every community in Lahore paid him the homage due to a great and good man. After his retirement and when his health began to fail he used to spend the winter months at Lahore, while the summer and monsoon months were spent at Solon half way to Simla from Kalka. The last time I saw him was at Lahore in 1924. He was then very feeble though his intellect was quite unclouded, and people still came to him for help. He died the following year in the seventieth of his age, and his remains were followed to the cremation ground by practically the whole of Lahore.

KALI PRASANNA ROY

When I went to Lahore Kali Prasanna Roy, a graduate in Arts and Law of the Calcutta University, was the acknowledged leader of the Indian Bar, while Sir William Rattigan was the leader of the other section. I had known K. P. Roy before I went to Lahore for he had been my guest at Karachi for a month, where he had gone for a change. We became very intimate friends at Lahore, and the family intimacy was maintained even after K. P. Roy's death in 1904. Kali Prasanna was not a scholarly man but he was an accomplished advocate, brimming over with humour and wit. He was a man of great independence of character and marked dignity of bearing. Kali Prasanna was among the early Bengali settlers in the Punjab. He was greatly respected and was elected Chairman of the Lahore Congress Reception Committee in 1900.

SIR PRATUL CHANDRA CHATTERJI

The other most prominent member of the Lahore Bar was Pratul Chandra Chatterji, a man of considerable culture and charming manners. He was widely read, and had the gift of making conversation. He had built a house and was one of the leading *reises* of Lahore. He was what is called an acceptable man among all sections of the community. He was a member of the Punjab University and was for a short time an additional member of the Governor-General's Legislative Council. The first Indian Judge of the Punjab Chief Court was Pandit Ramnarain, a Kashmiri Brahmin, but he officiated for only a short time, and died soon afterwards. Pratul Chandra

was appointed a Judge early in 1894 and was afterwards confirmed. He told me an amusing incident of how his appointment was regarded by the other Judges. After his appointment he called on one of the Judges, an English Civilian, who told him bluntly, "I don't like the idea of having a Bengali on the Bench, but to you personally I have no objection." P. C. Chatterji wrote admirable judgments which are still highly praised in the Punjab. In politics Pratul Chandra was a cautious man and took care not to offend the bureaucracy. After his retirement from the Bench, he was appointed Dewan of Nabha, but he held this appointment for only a year. Towards the end of his life he was almost a daily visitor at my house in Calcutta, but when the end came in 1917, I was away at Bombay.

LALA LALCHAND

Lala Lalchand was also a Calcutta graduate and a leading lawyer. He was the President of the Dayananda Anglo-Vedic College and a prominent member of the Arya Samaj. After the retirement of K. P. Roy, and the elevation of P. C. Chatterji to the Bench, Lalchand became the leader of the Bar. Once he officiated as a Judge of the Chief Court for a year. Later on, another man who had nothing like the standing of Lalchand, was appointed to the Bench, and was subsequently confirmed. When the next vacancy was offered to Lalchand he rightly refused it. Lala Lalchand was highly respected for his ability and high character, and filled an important place in the public life of the Punjab.

BHAI RAM SINGH

Bhai Ram Singh was a native of Amritsar, and a carver in wood. He had received no education and was merely one of the many artisans to be found in that city. John Lockwood Kipling, Principal of Mayo School of Art, Lahore, discovered him as a craftsman of unusual gifts, and when Indian artisans were wanted for decorating the Indian Darbar Room, in Queen Victoria's Palace in the Isle of Wight, Ram Singh was selected on the recommendation of Lockwood Kipling. He more than justified his selection for his decoration of the Durbar Room was a work of art and the Queen and almost

all the members of the Royal Family were much interested in his work and showed him much kindness. He picked up a little English just sufficient to maintain a conversation, and on the conclusion of his work was sent back to India, as Vice-Principal of the Mayo Art School, an appointment which was specially created for him, at the personal recommendation of the Queen. Ram Singh used to come to me constantly to get letters written to the Queen and to members of the

Royal Family. He showed me several short notes in the characteristic hand-writing of Queen Victoria, Princess Beatrice and others. He received orders to send some furniture designed in Indian style for the Princess. Ram Singh afterwards became Principal of the School. He retired about 1915 and died a little later. He was undoubtedly a man of genius which showed itself in numerous original and striking designs of decorations and decorative art.

Comment and Criticism

[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, The Modern Review.]

"Mahatma Gandhi and the Calcutta Congress"

I am young and perhaps that may be the reason why I could not control myself when I read a note under the heading "Mahatma Gandhi on the Calcutta Congress" in the February issue of such a representative and widely-read magazine as the *Modern Review* certainly is.

Does the editor of the *Modern Review* mean to charge the Mahatmaji of having hired delegates in the Nagpur Congress for the passage of his Non-Co-operation movement or of having connived at others doing the same for him.

You say that the Mahatma was either blind or kept his eyes closed when the late Mr. C. R. Das was alive, presumably, as it would appear, because the Mahatma dared not do or speak anything against Mr. Das or against his pleasure! This indeed is another terrible charge against the Mahatma, though the world as a whole now fully know that he is not the man any the least fit for such a charge.

P. K. Krishna Menon

Error's Note.—We never said or suggested that Gandhiji ever hired or was capable of hiring

delegates, nor could we ever imagine that any intelligent man could misconstrue our words in such a way. Similarly, we never suggested that Mahatmaji was afraid of Mr. C. R. Das.

An Unhistorical Adage

In the March number of the *Modern Review* (1929, Page 291), Babu Nagendra Nath Gupta in his article "Govindadas Jha, the poet of Mithila" says—"It is merely a case of Muhammad and the mountain. The mountain being at Mithila we have no alternative but to negotiate its heights." Nagendra Babu has borrowed this proverb from the mischievous propaganda of the Christian Missionaries against Islam. This misconception has been repudiated by the Muslim authors and writers. The life and smallest accident of Hazrat Muhammad (may peace be on him!) have been truthfully depicted in the world-renowned six works of Hadis (Sia Sithah) on which is founded the structure of Islamic religion. But nowhere in any work of the Islamic literature such a false story is found.

Muhammad Ahabab Chaudhury B. A.
Duhalia—Sylhet

The Indians That Ceylon Wants*

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

SOME time ago the Health Officer of Newera Eliya—Ceylon's famous mountain resort—complained at a meeting of the Improvement Board of the scarcity of scavengers and the difficulty, in consequence, of keeping the town in as good a sanitary condition as he would like to have it. He suggested that an Indian in their employ, presumably himself a sweeper, be sent to South India to recruit Indian sweepers.

needed from Southern India and yet save the money that they would have to spend upon sending one of their own men to the Madras Presidency to import them.

Newera Eliya is not the only place in Ceylon which looks to India to supply her with men and women to keep her streets clean and remove nightsoil from private residences and hotels. The same is true of Colombo, Kandy, and many another town



A Group of Indians Employed by the Colombo Municipality to act as Sweepers and Conservancy workers. They live in the shadow of the Incinerator.

Thereupon an unofficial member of the Board suggested that the good offices of the Controller of Indian Immigrant Labour—a highly paid and exceedingly efficient Irishman belonging to the Ceylon Civil Service—be sought to enable them to get over the difficulty. Through that device the residents of that Ceylon sanitarium would, he hinted, be able to secure all the scavengers that they

in the Island. I do not, in fact, remember any place of any importance that I have visited in Ceylon—and I dare say there are not many even among the Ceylonese who have travelled much more extensively than I have in this Island—where the conservancy work was not left entirely to Indians.

Some time ago I was visiting Anuradhapura, which once was the proud capital of the Sinhalese kingdom but now is little more than a collection of monuments of a glorious past. A motor lorry drove into the yard (

* This article may not be reproduced or translated in or outside India without first securing the written consent of the author.

the Grand Hotel, where I was staying. The sun was at the meridian and the day suffocatingly hot. The men standing in the conservancy lorry looked, however, to be Indians and I went out to find if that was the case.

Sure enough, they were Indians. They were employed by the local Council and went from place to place collecting nightsoil and refuse. The driver of the lorry and his helper were, however, sons of the soil.



Two of the many Indians who collect the nightsoil and garbage for the Kandy Municipality. They have not passed out of bullock-cart stage.

The other day the "latrine cooly" of the Grand Oriental Hotel in Colombo, which has been my home for nearly two years, salaamed me very obsequiously and told me that he was "going India." He had his tip and went away.

The next day I found another man at work in my bath-room. He, too, was an Indian.

On the north-eastern edge of Colombo the Municipal Corporation presided over by a British member of the Ceylon Civil Service, another exceedingly able officer—has erected the refuse destructor. One day when I was out inspecting the slums in the company of a highly socialized member of the Municipal Council, I asked to be taken there so as to be able to study the system of refuse destruction.

In a small room at one end of the building I found some men at work shovelling garbage into the furnace. They wore dirty clothes and were barefooted. One of them had a cut on one foot, which looked sore and angry. When I called the attention of the overseer to the danger of infection that that man ran he replied: "Sir, these men are supplied with boots and I am constantly after them to get them to wear them. But when my eye is off them for a moment they slip off their boots and go at their work barefooted. What can I do?"

Upon enquiry I found that all these men were Indians. They lived in the "lines", built in the shadow of the tall chimney of the destructor. So did other Indian scavengers in the service of the Municipality.

The "lines" were not bad, as "lines" go. Each family was given a double room—one opening into the other—and the verandah in front.

The petty official who showed me round remarked that he feared that lodgers were taken in. When he remonstrated, however, they were passed off as relations. It was impossible to tell, he philosophically added, who was a relation and who was not.

"Why did the Municipality put these lines down right in the shadow of the incinerator?" I next enquired.

"The process that we employ is supposed to take away the smell," was the reply. But my own olfactory nerve told me another tale.

Presently I expressed the desire to make a photograph. Men, women and children trooped out and stood nonchalantly in the burning sun while I made the snapshot.

Upon my return to my rooms in the Hotel I found a friend who lives in Kandy waiting for me. Once the capital of the Sinhalese kingdom, that town is still supposed to possess a tooth of Gautama the Buddha. When I told this friend where we had been she said that only the other day she had had some trouble with a Sinhalese servant. She had ordered him to remove some mess from floor. He refused and made her understand

that that was not his work—that she must get “the cooly” to do it. She was forced, she said, to send for an Indian, who readily obeyed her.

“Then ‘the cooly’ and ‘Indian’ are synonymous terms in Ceylon?” I remarked.

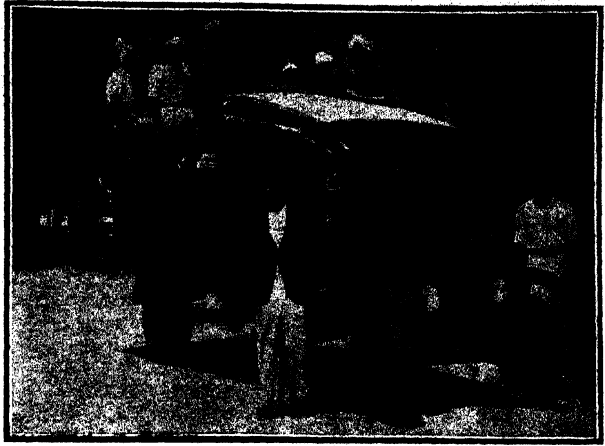
She smiled and acknowledged that this was the case.

Indians and the performance of dirty work, too, are synonymous in the Island. So accustomed, indeed, have the Ceylonese as a community become to having their streets cleaned and their nightsoil removed by Indians that whenever they find that our people are not coming from India in sufficient numbers to attend to their conservancy needs they take recourse to measures such as the sending of special agents to increase the supply.

India has, in consequence, become, in the Ceylonese eyes, the land to which they look for their sweepers and scavengers. It once was the country from which their ancestors came, where Gautama, whom most of them adore, was born, and where places of great sanctity or religio-artistic interest, such as Kapilavastu, Bodh Gaya, Sanchi, Ajanta and Ellora are situated—places to which those who can afford to do so make a pilgrimage at least once in a lifetime.

Is it any wonder that India—and Indians—have gone down in the estimation of the Ceylonese? How could the Buddhists of Ceylon look upon our land as *dhammadripa* when it is the land that supplies them with persons in plentitude to perform offices that they regard as “too dirty” to do themselves? India has fallen, indeed. At least she has fallen in Ceylonese eyes.

How low India has fallen in the Ceylonese estimation was forcibly brought home to me the other day. A medical officer told me that when he ordered Sinhalese villagers to give goat's milk to their children who were suffering from anaemia from lack of nourishment, and explained to them that goat's milk was very strengthening and good for their health, they declared that they would never dream of doing such a thing. The “coolies,” they declared, gave goat's milk to their



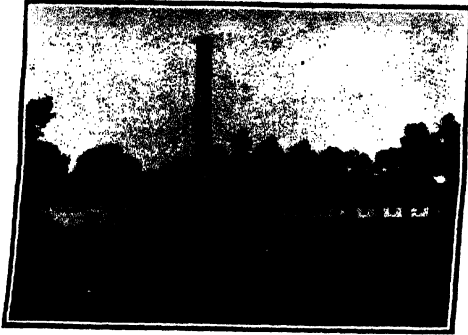
Some of our countrymen who keep the Town of Anuradhapura clean for the Ceylonese. The driver and the cleaner are not Indians—since they do not have to perform any dirty work.



Buddhist monks on the steps of a Vihara.

children. Did the doctor wish them to lower themselves to the level of the coolies?

It appears to me, however, that our people at home are unconscious of this fall. Or if not unconscious, they are apathetic and do not care how they and their kind suffer in the estimation of other nations.



The huge incinerator where the refuse gathered from Colombo streets and homes by Indians is burned, on the outskirts of the city. Indians live in the structure over which it towers.

In other countries it is different—in Italy, for instance. For years and years, to my personal knowledge, Italians have been going to Belgium, France, Britain and the United States to engage in beggary. They usually took along with them monkeys, or acquired (or even hired) them after they got there. They also obtained (nearly always rented by the day or week) barrel-organs and “hurdy-gurdies”—mechanical music-players. Thus armed they

went about the streets grinding out tunes while the monkeys they took along with them collected the coins. They really made monkeys of themselves.

So long as Italy was half asleep nationally she did not care. With the awakening that has recently taken place, however, apathy toward that sort of thing has disappeared. Some time ago a powerful agitation was started to prevent Italians from going out of the country to engage in occupations abroad that brought all Italians into contempt.

Some Italians declared that to prevent their countrypeople from going out of their home-land would be to condemn many of their poorer compatriots to poverty and probably to actual starvation. That was an argument for improving the economic condition of the State, and not for permitting injury to be done to Italian honour, was the rejoinder. It was moreover asked how many Italians actually went out of the country to engage in such a calling, and what percentage they formed to the population left behind. It would only be a case of a drop in the bucket if these few persons were compelled to stay at home.

When the matter came to the notice of Mussolini, he, with one stroke of the pen, forbade the issue of passports to any Italian who had been known to have engaged, or wished to or it was suspected, would engage in a calling that would lower his nation in the estimation of the foreigners among whom he chose to practice it. So effectively has that edict been carried out that I understand, the Italian “monkey-men” have ceased to be the common sight in European and American countries that they once were.

I commend that example to Lord Irwin!

Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar

By BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJEE

Retirement From Government Service

VIDYASAGAR had done his work as an educational officer with extraordinary zeal and intelligence. He had reformed Sanskrit education, laid the foundation of vernacular education, and promoted female education in Bengal. His official superiors

were quite satisfied as to his ability. It was, therefore, natural to expect that he would be appointed to the post of Inspector of Schools, South Bengal, which had recently fallen vacant, on account of Mr. Pratt having gone home on leave. In fact, some conver-

sation on the subject took place between him and Halliday, as the following letter will show :

"When I had the honour to wait on you on Saturday last and solicited your permission to make a few suggestions regarding the appointment of an Inspector for South Bengal, you were pleased to direct me to submit a written memorandum upon the subject. I have accordingly availed myself of the permission and beg respectfully to suggest that if you should feel inclined to transfer me to that post, the appointment of my successor in the Sanskrit College may be made in consultation with me, as from an intimate personal knowledge of the several parties from whom the selection may be made, I think I will be best able to recommend the most proper person for the place. If however it should be thought inexpedient to place the division under my charge on account of the Government English colleges and schools in it, I would earnestly solicit that at least the districts in which there are model schools, *viz.*, Hughli, Midnapur, Bardwan and Nadia may be placed under me, the colleges and schools being without inconvenience in charge of the person who may be appointed Inspector of the division." (May, 1857).

But before this letter reached Halliday, he had already nominated (April) Mr. Lodge to the vacant inspectorship.

This was a great disappointment for the Pandit. He felt that he had been unjustly treated and that his just claims to promotion had been repeatedly passed over. He was already dissatisfied with his present situation, owing to the obstruction and discouragement he had received from Mr. Gordon Young, the D. P. I., a young and inexperienced Civilian, although the kind intervention of Halliday had removed some of the causes of friction. The Pandit now seriously thought of an early retirement from Government service, as he was convinced that he had reached the limit of promotion that an Indian could hope for in the Educational Service. On 29th August, 1857 he intimated his determination to the D. P. I. :

"As you are about to leave town for three months, I consider this a fitting occasion to intimate to you that I have made up my mind to retire from the public service in a short time. The reasons which have induced me to come to this determination are more of a private than of a public nature, and I therefore refrain from mentioning them.

"The new arrangements for the Sanskrit College have not yet been fully developed and as I am desirous of completing them which will occupy two or three months more, I wish to continue in my present office until the end of December next, when I shall tender my resignation in due form.

"My object in addressing you now is that you may have ample time to consider the arrangements

that you may deem most desirable for supplying my place in the Education Department."

At the same time, he took care to forward a copy of this letter to Halliday for his information (31st August). Halliday at once wrote to Vidyasagar :

"My dear Pandit,—I am really *very sorry* to hear of your intention. Come and see me on Thursday and tell me why it is that you have come to this determination." (31st August).

Halliday was always loath to lose the services of efficient officers, and therefore he now tried his utmost to dissuade the Pandit from taking this hasty step, and evidently Vidyasagar agreed. He continued at his post for a year longer, though half-heartedly ; but as his health declined, he finally sent in the following letter of resignation to the D. P. I. on 5th August, 1858 :

"The unceasing mental exertion required by the discharge of my public duties has now so seriously affected my general health, as to compel me to tender my resignation of the Education service to the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

"I feel that I can no longer devote the assiduous attention to my duties which their due performance necessitates. I need repose, and in justice to the public interests, as well as to my own comfort and happiness, can only secure that repose by retiring into private life.

"The moment my health is restored, it is my intention to devote my time and attention to the composition and compilation of useful works in the Vernacular language of Bengal. Thus, although my direct official connection with the education and enlightenment of my countrymen will have ceased, I venture humbly to hope that my remaining years will still be devoted to the advancement of a great and sacred cause in which my deep and earnest interest can only close with my life.

"Among the minor causes that have led to my taking so serious a step, are the absence of all further prospects of advancement and the want of that immediate personal sympathy with the present system of education, which every conscientious servant of the Department, should possess.

"With regard to the former, I can occupy my time more profitably and with infinitely less strain upon mind and body, than in my present position. It would be idle to deny that such considerations must have weight with one who has not yet been able to make any permanent provision for his family and who fears that failing health will prevent his doing so, if he delays longer the severance of his connection with the arduous and onerous duties that belong to the offices he holds.

"With respect to the other, I feel that I have no right to obtrude my views and opinions upon the Government : yet I could not conceal from those I serve, the fact that my heart is not in my work, and that thereby my efficiency is, and must be, impaired. More I am unwilling to say, less I could not express, with the maintenance of the honesty of purpose which I deem to be an essential quality of a conscientious public servant.

"I retire with the conscious gratification that I have always laboured earnestly to discharge my

* Halliday to Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, dated 27th May 1857.

duties to the best of my humble ability and I trust that I shall not be deemed presumptuous in tendering my most sincere and heartfelt acknowledgments for the unvarying kindness, indulgence and consideration, which I have always experienced at the hands of the Government.”*

The D. P. I. recommended to the Bengal Government the acceptance of the Pandit's resignation in the following letter :—

“I have the honour to forward herewith copy of a letter dated 5th instant from the Principal of the Sanskrit College and Special Inspector of Schools and to recommend that his resignation be accepted. Until more permanent arrangement can be made, the charge of the Sanskrit College, together with the Calcutta Normal School and the Patshala may be confided to the Assistant Principal of the College, Babu Dinabandhu Sharma, and his duties as Special Inspector may be divided between the regular Inspectors of Schools in South and East Bengal, an arrangement which, as the Lieutenant-Governor is aware, has been for some time in contemplation

“It is not necessary that I should dwell at any length upon services so well known to the Lieutenant-Governor as are those of Pandit Ishwar Chandra Sharma. Suffice it to say he has laboured earnestly and to good purpose in the cause of native education, and has established a claim to the gratitude of the Government and of his countrymen on this account.

“It is pleasing to find that, although the Pandit retires from office, his time and energies will still be employed for the benefit of the cause he has so much at heart.” (18 Augt. 1858).†

Mr. Buckland, in his *Bengal under the Lieutenant-Governors*, says that the Pandit came into conflict with the D. P. I. and threw up his appointment on account of the difference created by his establishment of girls' schools. But we find in his D. O. letter to Halliday the Pandit's own account of the various causes which led him to quit Government service. In it he says :

“After mature deliberation I find that I cannot either with consistency or propriety omit the parts of my letter which appear objectionable to you. It is true that ill-health is one of the principal causes which have induced me to resign. But I cannot conscientiously say that that is the sole cause. If it were so, I could have applied for a long leave and renovated my health. I had often represented to you, that I frequently felt it disagreeable and inconvenient to serve Government under existing circumstances, and that I considered the present system upon which the department of Vernacular Education was conducted, was a mere waste of money. You are aware that I often met with discouragement in my way. I saw besides no prospects of advancement and more than once I felt my just claims passed over. Thus I hope you will be pleased to admit that I had reasonable grounds of complaint. But I would nevertheless

have continued in my present post for some time longer, if I were not forced to take the step I have taken by prolonged ill-health, which has made me unfit for my responsible duties.” (15th Sept. 1858).

Vidyasagar's letter drew a prompt reply from Halliday who, as will be seen from the following extract, was of the opinion that the grievances of which the Pandit complained, were altogether groundless :

“I mentioned that I thought it possible you might be asked to explain the cause of your dissatisfaction with the administration of the department, and as you expressed an insuperable objection to do this in a public form I suggested that it might be better to omit what you were unwilling to account for and merely allude to your illness which though not the sole was certainly a sufficient reason for resignation.

“You ask me to admit that you have had reasonable grounds of complaint. I am quite unable to admit this as to what is now assigned as your grievance—namely, (1) that you thought the present system of Vernacular Education a waste of money, (2) that you often met with discouragement and (3) that your just claims to promotion have been passed over.

“It will be sufficient to say that I quite differ with you as to the last point, and as to the second can see nothing in which you have ever been discouraged by me* but the contrary. As to the first point, it is a mere matter of opinion and moreover cannot relate to the special system of Vernacular Education with which only you had to do.” (15th Sep. 1858).

The Bengal Government, in accepting the recommendation of the Director of Public Instruction, added :

“It is to be regretted that the Pandit should have thought fit to make his retirement somewhat ungraciously, especially as he can have no fair reason for dissatisfaction. You will, however, be good enough to inform him, that he carries with him the acknowledgments of the Government for his long and zealous service in the cause of Native Education.” (25th September, 1858).

We see from the above that Vidyasagar left Government service prematurely from a sense of disappointment and disagreement with his chief, though declining health was undoubtedly a consideration of some weight with him. Halliday had, on the whole always appreciated his merits and treated him with personal kindness and courtesy. But these could not counteract the unfriend

* Vidyasagar never meant Halliday. In his reply to Halliday (dated 18th Sep. 1858) he remarked :—“In referring to the discouragement I met with, I meant to say, that obstruction. I often met with, in my way to remove which I was frequently obliged to trouble you. You were always pleased to lend an attentive ear to my representations and very often those obstacles were removed by your kind interference.”

* *Education Consultation* 13 September, 1858, No. 14.

† *Education Con.* 13 September 1858, No. 13.

liness and obstructiveness of his immediate superior, the new Director of Public Instruction, under whom his daily work had to be done. The situation had become impossible for Vidyasagar, and therefore it is quite incorrect to say, as the Bengal Government does, that the Pandit "made his retirement somewhat ungraciously." Vidyasagar's service was too short (about 10 years) to entitle him to even a fractional pension, but some gratuity would have looked gracious on the part of Government.

Mr. E. B. Cowell took over charge of the Sanskrit College on 4th November, 1858.*

Shortly afterwards Vidyasagar also resigned the membership of the Board of Examiners on grounds which he explained to the Lieut.-Governor in a personal interview (May 1860).†

* Most of the correspondence relating to Vidyasagar's retirement is printed in Mitra's *Ishvar Chandra Vidyasagar*, pp. 136-44 (2nd ed.)

† *General Dept. Con.* June 1860. No. 80.

An Itinerant Art Exhibition in South India

By RAMENDRANATH CHAKRABARTY

SO long as art is divorced from the reality of life and does not take root in its native soil, it can never be a living thing. Its progress becomes stunted and it gradually dies away;—for extension without growth is indeed death.

The main reason for this is that our art is not in touch with our life. It does not enter into our daily activities. In past ages art was to be found in every sphere of



Birabhadra Rao Chitra

At present art in India has come to a point from where it does not extend further.



P. Hariharan

life. Then art was not merely an ornament but people lived, moved and had their being in art. Even to-day we see this living art when a country girl decorates her door-steps and mud-walls with *Alpona* and 'saris', 'kanthas' and other articles of daily use with beautiful embroideries.

This fine artistic sense, beautifully expressed in everyday requirements of

Art is taught in schools and colleges to enable the student to earn a living, and art wares, good, bad and indifferent, are exhibited incongruously huddled together at some exhibitions in cities, which have developed into fashionable functions where society people pay their annual 'visits for the sake of form.

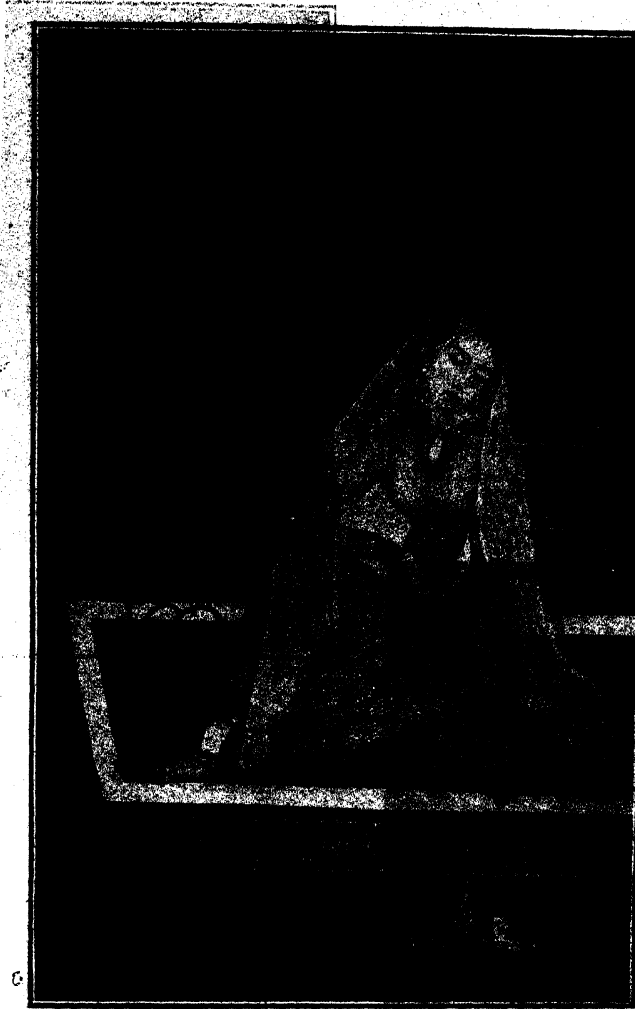
And the artists now-a-days feel ashamed



The Paroquet—Surendranath Kar

existence, is gradually dying away from our country. Art is not now a necessity of life, but a mere plaything provided for the well-to-do middleclass people and rich aristocrats devoid of all good taste.

of taking their art works to the village-home of the common people for their enjoyment and enlightenment. There are many artists in Japan who go over to distant countries with their pictures and other art objects



Jodhbai—Indusudha Ghosh

exhibiting them year after year in the villages and small provincial towns, giving the common people food for enjoyment and keeping them informed about the current movements of the art world.

Thus in Japan even a poor farmer has at least one good picture in his cottage which he 'worships' night and day.

The Kalabhavan artists of Santiniketan, with the help of the great master Nandalal Bose, have turned their attention to this

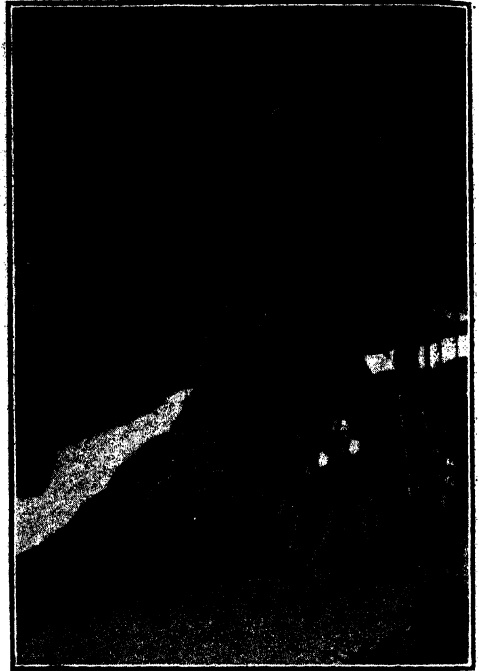
direction and the first Itinerant Art Exhibition was held this year in the Madras Presidency.

Two of the Kalabhavan artists are the founders of this movement. They collected really good pictures by celebrated artists including Abanindranath Tagore and Nandalal Bose, travelled from place to place throughout the Andhra country, overcoming all obstacles by sheer force of their enthusiasm, and showing these pictures to people who never saw them before.

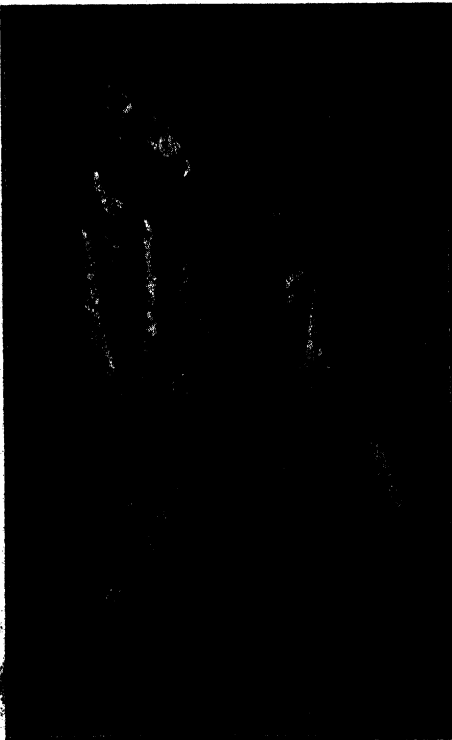
The effect was immediate and far-reaching. Imitations came to these young artists from all parts of the country where people eagerly awaited the artists' arrival to show them these beautiful things of the spirit.

V. R. Chitra and P. Hariharan had been at the Kalabhavan for more than six years. Their works were praised and purchased at many exhibitions in India and abroad. Their homes are in South India, and they started this Itinerant Art Exhibition with the object of showing to their countrymen what the Kalabhavan artists had done for the development of art in India.

Their first haltage was at Vizagapatam. There never was before this an art exhibition at this place. The people there daily watched the doings of these young artists with eager suspense. At last the doors of the Town Hall were opened by Mr. Narasingha Raju, President, Madras Legislative Council. Visitors, who were waiting to be admitted, thought when they saw what

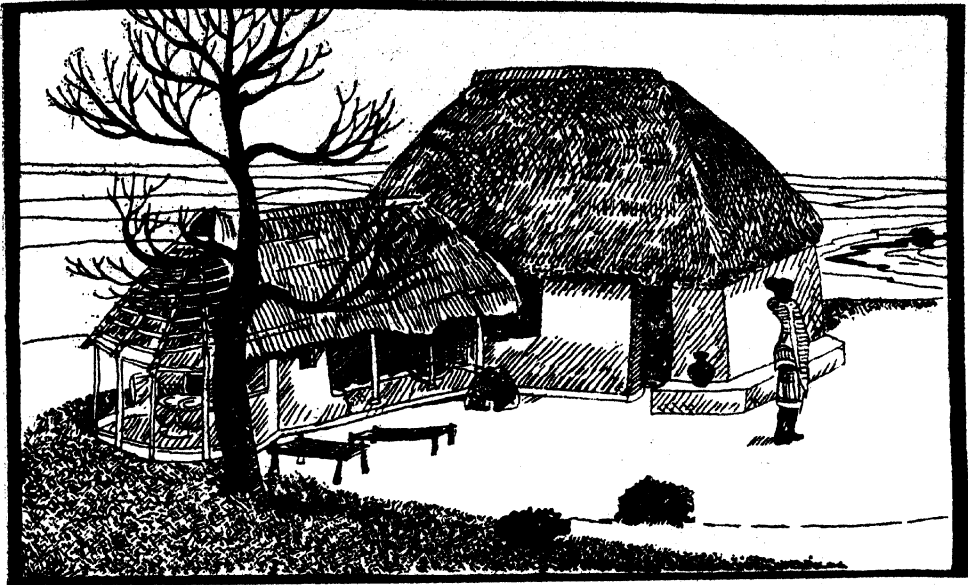


In the Rains—Jadupati Basu



The Dancer—P. Hariharan

was before them that they had come to a temple instead of an Art Exhibition. The floor was decorated with the finest decorations of *Alpona*, the rooms were filled with flowers and furnished in real Indian fashion, with simplicity and dignity. Incense was burning in a corner and filled the air with divine fragrance. The pictures were tastefully arranged according to a well thought-out colour scheme and composition. The exhibition remained open for five days, and there by the side of fashionable folk stood the uncared for village man, who came from his distant home in the country. The poor villagers were admitted free and welcomed by the artists, who took them round explaining in detail each picture in the exhibition. It was marvellous to see with what uncommonly good taste these common simple folks of the country appreciated and enjoyed the exhibits. A day was specially reserved for the ladies, who came in multitudes to make their offerings at the shrine of beauty. From Vizagapatam the artists went to Berhampore and in succession passed on to Vizianagram, Cocanada



End of the Village—P. Hariharan



The Wood-cutter—Gauri Devi

Rajahmundri, Bezwada, Masulipatam, Guntur and Madras. Enthusiasm in these places was so great that shortly after the Exhibition in many of these places art societies were

formed to discuss art subjects and hold art exhibitions. The artists never failed to encourage the common people to come and see these works of art in any of these places.



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 enjoyed the artist
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 multitude to
 share of the
 artist's work

Professor Karl Friedrich Geldner

By MANILAL PATEL

(Marburg University, Germany.)

KARL F. Geldner was born on December 17, 1852 at Saalfeld, Germany. He died on February 5, 1929 after a short illness in his own new house here, at Marburg. After finishing his school education he entered the Tuebingen University and began to study Sanskrit under Prof. Rudolf Roth, the greatest Vedic scholar of his time. Notable among his other fellow-students were Adolf Kaegi, the writer of the well-known treatise *Der Rigveda*, R. Garbe, who made his name afterwards by writing *Die Samkhya Philosophie*, *Die Bhagvadgita* and other books, Charles R. Lanman—the founder-editor of the Harvard Oriental Series, and Arnold—the author of *Vedic Metre*. Whitney also was his fellow-student for some time. Roth must have indeed felt proud to have such a band of pupils, all of whom distinguished themselves afterwards by their work in the field of Indology.

I had the pleasure of knowing an esteemed friend a few weeks back in order to congratulate him on his 75th birthday: "Well may it be, that the hopes and plans of your life, certainly like those of mine too might have been vague at the time of our student life. But even in those days you were fully possessed of fiery zeal for learning which was simply marvellous and which has remained marvellous till to-day in spite of all the disappointments of life. You stand there triumphant!"





Home-Keshava Rao

The Itinerant Exhibition has finished its work for this year but the young exhibitors have given to the people of Madras a joy which they will always remember in silence and which will give them strength to bear the burdens of life with a cheerful smile.

It is hoped that artists of other provinces will follow the example of the two young Kabbhavan artists and help their people to live a more beautiful, more joyous and nobler life.

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By MANILAL PATEL
(Marburg University, Germany)

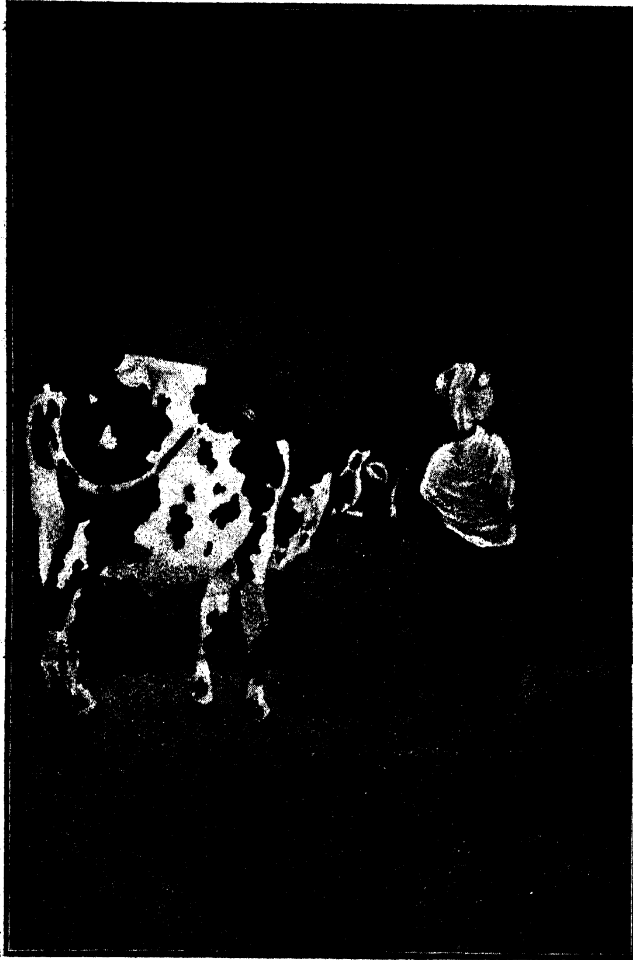
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While studying at the University, Geldner had decided to devote the whole of his life to a task of the first magnitude, that of furthering the cause of interpreting the East, especially India, to the West. He had only this one aim in view of which he never allowed himself to lose sight in his long life of over 75 years. He particularly resolved that he would understand and interpret the Vedic literature and culture and the Avesta and other holy books of the Parsis which also stand in close connection with the sacred heritage of India. Once he set this aim before him, he pursued its realization with extraordinary patience and zeal. He never felt the need of recreation and often told his friends and relatives who advised him to take it, that the completion of his work itself would give him the best rest. Prof. Lanman of the Harvard University has been an intimate friend of Prof. Geldner since Wednesday, August 6, 1873—the day on which they first met in Prof. Roth's work-room at Tuebingen. He wrote to his old and

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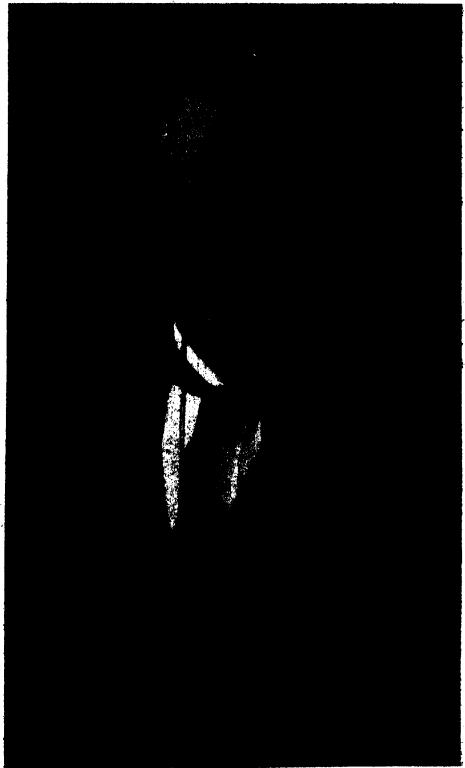
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I

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II

He took his doctorate in 1875 at the Tuebingen University. In the same year was published 70 *Lieder des Rigveda* translated metrically by Geldner and Kaegle and annotated by Prof. Roth. He then "habilitated" as a Docent in his old University and remained there in that capacity till 1885. He was then called to Halle University to take up teaching Sanskrit with Prof. Pischel. This occasion proved to be of supreme importance in Geldner's life, as he found in Pischel the best of friends and a most passionate promoter of his work in the field of Vedic literature. Both of them decided to work together and to establish Vedic studies upon a sound philological basis. It is important to remember here that in those days all Vedic scholars followed the footsteps of Roth in interpreting the Vedic texts. Roth had firmly decided not to pay any regard to the Indian commentators of the Vedas, and had fully carried out his decision in preparing the great Petersburg *Woerterbuch*. He shows his contempt for the Indian commentators particularly in his foreword to the Peters. *Woerterb* (p. 5) : "...dass ein gewissenhafter europaeischer Erklaerer der Veda weit richtiger und besser verstehen koenne als Sayana." This prejudice gained ground and was cherished by almost all the European Vedic scholars of that period. They followed only linguistic methods, that is to say, they believed that through the mere mastery of grammatical forms, through vague concepts resulting from etymological analyses and through the keys of common analogies they could discover the deep sense and meaning of Vedic poetry. In contrast to this one-sided attitude of the prominent Vedic scholars, the first volume of the now famous *Vedische Studien* appeared in 1889 in the form of a series of essays by the two friends, Pischel and Geldner. In these essays, they interpreted the words, phrases, single hymns, and groups of the hymns of the Rigveda. The guiding principle of their programme was, in short, that the Rigveda is an Indian—not merely Indo-Germanic as the predecessors had believed—monumental document, and must be accepted and explained as such : the religion, the thought and the language of the Vedas must be interpreted not only from themselves but also by the use of the later Brahmanic literature, the knowledge of which is indispensable for any student of the Vedas. This doctrine of Geldner and Pischel was at first ridiculed

by the dominant school who took it to be 'a hopeless and senseless heresy.' A great storm of controversy arose, but lasted only a short time. The critical acumen and ingenuity of research of the two friends produced some more essays (*Vedische Studien* II, 1896 ; III, 1905) which clearly showed through the analyses of the Rigveda how many of the Rigvedic ideas subsequently had found expression in the Brahmanas and even in later religious literature, too. This was a positive proof to show that the Rigveda was thoroughly Indian, that it was the earliest literary monument of *Hindu* culture, and that the gulf between the earliest culture of the European Aryans and that of the Vedic age was too big to be bridged through any amount of phonetic equations. At present almost all students of the Vedas follow the fundamental principles of interpretation for which Geldner and Pischel contended.

III

While thus putting the Vedic philology on a sound basis of interpretation, Geldner had, at the same time, paid close attention to the field of Avestic language and literature. He had already published in 1882 *Studien zum Avesta* and in 1884 *Drei Yasht aus dem Zendavesta*, besides many articles regarding interpretation and translation of the Avesta. Then came his monumental edition of the Avesta which he prepared with the help of all attainable MSS. This great edition appeared simultaneously in English (published under the patronage of the Secretary of State for India in Council) and in German (im Auftrage der keiserlichen Akademi der Wissenschaft in Wien) in three parts : I. *Yasna*—1886, II. *Vispered and Khorde Avesta*—1889, and III. *Vendidad and Prolegomena*—1895. It was no doubt a tremendous achievement, a work of stupendous size and inestimable value, and Geldner performed it while he was still a young man. His name would surely be ranked with the foremost scholars, were his fame to rest alone on this edition of the Avesta. In this work one sees him at his best : a painstaking, scientific and accurate scholar with the will to complete what he had taken in hand. Shortly after this he contributed an article on *Zend-Avesta* to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and also another long article "Avestaliteratur" to the *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*. His other articles relating to the Avesta as well as

the Vedas are too many to be enumerated here in this short notice. His book *Zoroastriische Religion* which appeared in Bertholet's 'Religions geschichtliches Lesebuch' was the crown of his Avesta researches. In the same series there appeared also *Vedismus Brahmanismus* (second edition 1928) from his pen. Both these are perfect in their kind.

Again to turn to his researches in the Vedas. Pischel was called from Halle to the University of Berlin as the successor of Weber in about 1900. Geldner was then offered the chair of Sanskrit at Halle, but he refused it in order to work with his friend at Berlin. Both of them now contemplated bringing out the Vedic lexicon. But fate decided otherwise. Pischel's masterwork *Prakrit Grammatic* had appeared by this time which made him renowned as the best scholar of Prakrit languages. The Government of India sent an invitation to Pischel to deliver some lectures on Prakrit at Calcutta before some select batch of pandits. Geldner was called at that time (1907) to Marburg as the professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology to succeed Prof. Justi. The two friends parted but, alas ! never to see each other again. Prof. Pischel fell ill on his way to India and after landing remained so for some time and died at Madras (1908) at the age of 59. This was a terrible shock to Geldner personally and no one lamented more than he over this great loss to learning. He dedicated his two books *Rigveda in Auswahl*—I. Glossar; II. Kommentar (1907-09) to his memory. The dedication verse that he chose from Rigveda runs ; न देवानामति व्रते शतात्मा च न जीवति । तथा युजा विवावृते । (10.33.9) which means : "No one lives down the law of gods, even if he had hundred lives. So am I separated from my friend."

IV

Geldner had now to carry out his work on the Rigveda single-handed. In spite of the untimely death of his best friend and fellow-worker, he did not lose heart but devoted his whole energy to preparing a complete translation of the Rigveda with a running commentary. Only scholars can realize what an extraordinarily hard task he undertook. The difficulties were enormously increased by the outbreak of the War in 1914, but Geldner faced them all without

allowing his work to suffer. He mastered the whole of the later Vedic ritual literature, read the Mahabharat many times over, and was equally at ease with philosophical texts classical Sanskrit and Pali and Prakrit too. At last in 1923 appeared the first part of his complete *Rigveda, uebersetzt und erläutert* as the twelfth volume of the "Quellen der Religionsgeschichte" published by the 'Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft' of Goettingen. The first part contained the translation of 1-4 Mandalas. He planned to publish the complete translation in 3 volumes (I. 1-4, II. 5-8, III. 9-10), and the fourth volume was to contain various indexes. Originally all the volumes were to be published by the above-mentioned 'Gesellschaft', but Prof. Lanman proposed to publish the whole of it in the Harvard Oriental Series in a new form. Geldner and also the Gesellschaft welcomed the proposal and all arrangements were made in accordance with it. Geldner finished the whole work in MSS. and the printing proceeded at once. The second and the third volumes are already printed ; the first is still in the press. It is a great pity that Geldner did not live long enough to see the whole of his 'Lebensarbeit' in a published form. The last proof-sheet that he corrected was Rv. 3, 1-8.

On December 17, 1928 he celebrated his seventy-sixth birthday. His friends and students wanted to present him with a commemorative volume of studies, but he was too humble to allow himself to be so honoured. He was then presented with an address which was signed by more than 150 persons from all the parts of the world. He was also made 'Geheimer Regierungsrat' in 1914.

Geldner's present reputation as a sound scholar in Vedic lore will no doubt increase with the lapse of time (and especially after the publication of his complete Rv. translation). In his personal character, he was a perfect gentleman and was kind beyond words to all who came into contact with him. And above all he was entirely free from even a little tinge of pride, though a recognized great scholar. I may be allowed to relate here a personal experience. I was searching the other day for a motto in German under which I could submit an essay for the prize-competition of the philosophical faculty of the Marburg University,—the motto which would correspond to our Upanishadic words : नाहं मन्ये सुवेदेति

नो न वेदेति वेद च। (Kena. Up. 2,2,a). The same day Prof. Geldner wrote to me that the best motto to describe our insufficient knowledge of the Vedic texts, the Rigveda particularly, is : "Unser WISSEN ist Stueckwerk," "For we know in part" (Korinth. I). And that was the motto that had inspired him to an incessant search for truth throughout his life. He was a man of versatile talents with a prodigious memory and always loved scientific methods.

He loved his students very much and was always loved by them. For me, personally, the loss in his death is too fresh to allow me to put into words the personal affection with which he inspired me through-

out my stay and study here. I came down here from Santiniketan some fifteen months ago to pursue my further studies in Indo-Iranian philology and culture which I had begun under Principal Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya and Prof. M. Collins, at Vishva-bharati, and Prof. Geldner helped me with his keen interest continuously, even without ceasing work in vacations. He was in fact a true *Guru*. But when I am penning these lines, the words of the great Buddha come to my mind : "... not by all this, O Ananda, is the Teacher honoured, but the disciple who shall fulfil all the greater and lesser duties,—by him is the Teacher honoured."

A Marriage

A scene from Danish country life

By HAIMANTI CHAKRAVARTY

A marriage was going to take place. Everywhere around the house as well as inside were preparations going on. Maren-cook had been engaged for the baking and cooking and since three days she had been commanding in the kitchen with her shrill voice. She was a little fat woman, most of the time sitting in front of the stove on a low chair, red in her face from the heat of the fire, drinking coffee and talking ... She was as a living newspaper going from house to house scattering news, as she went about in the district to cook for some festival or ceremony. She was a special friend of the children of the house, because all the bits of broken cakes passed on to them.

The room next to the kitchen slowly was filled with sweetmeats, biscuits and cakes of all sorts, sizes and shapes; and bread and loaves almost reached to the ceiling. Other good things were also to be found there, as ham, smoked meat and sausages, and all that the heart could want of eggs and fruits.

From another room one could hear the splashing of water and washing and scrubbing, from time to time accompanied by snatches of a song. All had to be specially clean.

All colours in the house were bright; the windows and doors had been painted and they were still quite sticky. Only one room was a little less noisy. It was the room where the tailor was working, only the humming of the sewing-machine, furiously running over yards and yards of cloth, could be heard between the commands of Maren-cook and the splashing of water from the other rooms.

Some servants were busily occupied in cleaning and arranging the garden. New gravel was put on the walks; designs were made here and there with shells or white stones, and withered flowers and leaves were carried away. The garden was beautiful; the apple tree covered with pinkish flowers, the white and violet jasmines sent their perfume far about, the lawns were newly cut and a few late crocuses and violets under the green hedge looked with curiosity on all these arrangements. A few bumble-bees buzzed around the flowers. From the pine tree plantation outside the garden one could hear at intervals the calling and answering of a pair of wild pigeons.

Following the old custom the feast was to be in the barn. In the sunbeams falling

through the small windows the dust still danced after the cleansing and sweeping. Big sheets of coloured material were put on the walls decorated with small bunches of evergreen leaves and heather, all the floor was covered with sand, and rows and rows of tables and benches were brought.

When the evening before the marriage-day came, only little was left to be done outside, but in the kitchen and in the "brewery" work was still going on merrily. During the day the neighbours had come with their "sends," i.e. the daughter of each neighbour brought each a basket containing a chicken and some eggs, or sweetmeats or such other things. The girls were served with coffee and cakes, and after a few words with the bride they went away.

Now in the evening when no more people were expected, all began cooking. Together with other meat, chicken after chicken disappeared into a big tub formerly used for brewing beer; in another tub were prepared all sorts of vegetables. This work was all done by the bride's friends and Maren-cook who was commanding at the top of her voice. From time to time the children came "to have a taste." They were scolded a little and sent away with a piece of cake.

The only person unoccupied was the bride herself standing watching in one corner looked upon almost with pity as she was not allowed to do any work.

Little by little all went to sleep, only Maren-cook kept sitting up near the fire with her eternal coffee-pot, sometimes sleeping, sometimes drinking coffee and sometimes looking after the fire, and from time to time she opened the covers of the tubs to see if it was boiling inside, and a promising smell filled for a time the whole room.

It was very early the next morning. The sun had just got up and the dew-drops were still lying laughing on the grass and leaves, but work was already going on in the barn; there were some, yet busy arranging the plates, cutlery, sandwiches and cakes for those who were to follow the bride to the church. The girl's friends who were to dress the bride and serve the guests, came dressed in light white dresses and white aprons, and also soon after, the first carriages came. The visitors, as soon as they arrived, were shown into the sitting-room to greet the parents of the bride, and to see the presents which had been sent to the girl. All the presents were arranged on a table together with

a deep glass vessel, which little after little was getting filled with envelopes containing money-presents. The guests mostly gave cutlery of silver, glass things or money, as presents.

Then they went to the barn where they did full justice to the cooked and baked things. If there was time left, the farmers would go to the cow-shed to inspect all, and afterwards they might go to the fields to see how the harvest was getting on. In the meanwhile the farmers' wives would go to the mother of the bride and learn how many bedsheets, table-cloths, towels, and such things the bride had got from her mother's house; then they might shed a few immediate tears to show their sympathy for the mother who was going to marry off her only daughter so far away in the town.

In the bride's room was merry-making and laughter. Her friends, who were the only persons to see her on her marriage-morning, teased her so much!

Then came the time for going to the church; the bells were chiming, all were waiting in their carriages to let the bride's carriage pass first. All along the road from the farm to the church one could see the flags in the gardens waving in the breeze in honour of the happy young couple.

The bridegroom with his relations and friends had come before, and after the bride's party had been seated there was a moment of complete silence before the bride entered, led by her father. On her first step into the church the organ set in with full force. It was a proud father who led his young, beautiful daughter over the church-floor, but it was a still prouder young man who was standing in front of the altar ready to receive her. The bride was beautiful. She was dressed absolutely in white, from her white shoes to the white veil falling richly folded from her golden hair; a little garland of myrtle was put round her head on the veil, from under which a few stray locks of of hair playfully curled near her temples; in her arms she kept a bunch of deep-red roses. Her face was pale and her eyes down-cast. Only once she raised them towards her future husband, two big brown eyes they were, and a shadow of a smile flew over her face and her pale cheeks for an instant got colour.

The church was decorated with the flowers of the season, and their scent mixed with the smell of naphthaline from clothes long time kept away, made the air very heavy.

When the questions were put: "You must serve, obey, love, and honour your husband," her answer was a clear "yes"; and the bridegroom also answered the question with a firm voice. The priest made a short speech after which some hymns were sung and all slowly left the church.

The couple on their arrival were received by the young friends who did not go to the church but arranged things for the feast. They were led to the sitting-room and after seeing the presents they sat down together on a divan to receive the guests. Aunts and uncles whom they perhaps never had seen came and blessed them, cousins conveyed their congratulations and general talk began until a voice was heard. "Food is ready."

All got up to join the procession to the barn. In the middle of the long rows of tables was made a special arrangement for the bride and the bridegroom with flowers and coloured paper. There was silence when the soup and the meat were eaten, but when the chicken was brought the tongues were a little loosened, and as the meal advanced the true deep humour of the Danish peasant began to play. The doctor, the veterinary surgeon and other swells of the high society of the little town delivered some speeches. A few songs were sung and the tables were left for going into the garden. A town-photographer had come to take some pictures. All were gathered and the photos were taken with the necessary ceremony; the gathering of

about hundred and fifty persons was asked to smile; it was not, however, necessary to say this because the good meal had already made their faces shine with delight, but as a part of the ceremony of the art of photography this remark was not to be left out.

The party scattered itself round about, some in the field, some in the house and the youth and the young girls began to play old games like "the widow", "cat and mouse", or "hide-and-seek" round the whole house. So the time passed on until tea-time, with its delicacy of sweets, and again the great meal in the evening made a break.

After this the priest and his wife started for their home, followed by most of the guests; only the near-neighbours stayed on to see the departure of the bride the next morning. The bride with her husband retired to the bed-room of her parents, where they were to spend their wedding-night.

The next morning arrived and with it the departure of the young couple. The girl with big tears in her eyes said good-bye to her crying parents and everyone else—only her younger brother was nowhere to be found. Then she started with her husband, but when the carriage began to move she began crying like a grieved child.

Suddenly somebody jumped into the carriage and she felt a kiss on her forehead, but when she looked up, nobody was there. Her young brother had taken leave from his departing sister.

The Garden Creeper

By SAMYUKTA DEVI

(21)

AS Shiveswar came out on the balcony, the sun fell full on his face. Mukti ran to him saying, "Why did you come out in this heat father? You might get a headache."

Shiveswar clasped his daughter with one arm and said, "What else, can I do? You are a very cruel little mother. You left your old son alone and came away."

"Very well, let us both go inside", said Mukti and led Shiveswar in.

As soon as he entered, Shiveswar flung himself into an arm-chair saying "Open the windows wide. I want some light and fresh air. I am fed up with this convalescence business. I shall join my work from to-morrow."

Mukti opened the windows saying, "No father, certainly not. I refuse to let you get ill again from overwork. You gave us a pretty bad time, nursing you back to health."

Shiveswar laughed at her words, saying "All right, all right, if you don't give me

leave, I won't go. Why has not Dhiren turned up from yesterday."

"I don't know father," said Mukti with complete lack of interest, "He must be busy elsewhere."

But Mukti was not really so very ignorant of Dhiren's whereabouts. And she knew, partly at least, the reason of his absence. The first day, Shiveswar had a regular meal and walked a few steps on the balcony. Dhiren said, "Thank God, he is well again. I was really getting extremely anxious about him."

"Yes indeed," said Mukti. "You had a very bad time running to and fro between Shyam-bazar and Bhowanipur. You must be heartily sick of it."

Dhiren was about to say something else, but Mukti's words pulled him up short. His face clouded over as he said, "You would not understand how happy that running made me."

Mukti laughed and said, "Then father seems to have deprived you of a great joy by getting well. People would take you for mad if you ran about without any definite object. Otherwise, you could have done so, as long as you wanted."

Poor Dhiren had rehearsed his speech carefully many times, but he had never expected Mukti to take up this attitude. He felt extremely hurt and walked off saying, "That's true enough. It is no good to be taken for a lunatic."

Shiveswar was looking after one of his favourite plants and he had not paid any attention to their conversation. He would not have understood much even if he had. He had grown too old now to remember the language of youth, in which one word means two different things. So he did not scent anything unusual. But Mukti felt keenly that she had hurt Dhiren deeply. She had scarcely thought how much her bantering words would mean before she saw the look on Dhiren's face. She began to feel truly repentant now for hurting one who had done so much for her father. She had not intended to say anything hard, but the words had escaped her somehow.

So when she denied any knowledge of Dhiren's doings, she was feeling a bit uneasy. She was quite certain that she knew the reason, but it was not one which she could tell her father.

"A very fine boy!" muttered Shiveswar

to himself, "I wonder whether he is ill or anything."

Mukti was standing at the other end of the room, gazing down on the street below. Suddenly she ran up to Shiveswar saying, "Father, your friend Abinash Babu and some other gentlemen are coming to see you. Listen now, there's the sound of footsteps on the stairs. Now you will talk on all sorts of incomprehensible subjects and relate tales that I have heard about twenty-five times. So I am off to grandmother's room now."

As she was going out of the room, Abinash Babu came in with two other gentlemen. One of them was a stranger to her. He was a young man and handsome—so much she noted before going down. Needless to say, the young gentleman too had a good look at Mukti.

Mukti did not find her grandmother in her bedroom and so passed on to the store-room looking for her. The old lady was seated there giving instructions to the cook about the preparation of Shiveswar's food. Seeing Mukti she asked "Have you left your father alone?"

"No, grandma", she replied, "There's quite a crowd in his room, so I came away."

Mokshada took up some work and said, "Dhiren did not come to-day? Did he? Such a nice boy, he became quite one of the family within these few days. As long as he was here, we did not lack any kind of assistance. He worked like ten men. He made me forget for the time being that God has not blessed this family with male children."

Mukti made no reply, but went on assisting her grandmother in her work. Suddenly she put everything down and got up. "Grandma", she said, "My head is aching terribly, I am going to lie down for a time." As she climbed the stairs, she heard Mokshada angrily muttering to herself, "There now. As soon as the father finishes, the daughter starts getting sick. I am fed up with the whole lot of them."

Mukti entered her own room, and threw herself down on the bed. Tears had filled her eyes, but she forced them back somehow. Ever since the morning, she was feeling like having a good cry. Her heart was quite heavy. But a grown up girl has many disadvantages, she could not cry without some apparent reason which people will understand. But hearts are often full of a sorrow, which cannot be explained, yet

thoughts out of her mind. She had no time to think of Mukti. At this juncture Dhiren had appeared. He was a tower of strength to the two women, his presence alone gave them courage. Otherwise they too would have fallen ill in sheer dismay and despair. Mokshada became unconsciously very much attached to the boy. From the first, it had been her secret wish to give Mukti to Dhiren. She had invited the boy to the house with that intention. She knew that it would not be possible to arrange a match in this case according to the orthodox fashion, she must be more diplomatic and make them fall in love with each other.

Shiveswar had lost much of his former obstinacy now owing to continued illness and advancing years. Mokshada had noticed that the showing of light in every room in the evening, which Mokshada observed now, would have caused a domestic revolution before. In the old days, Shiveswar had snatched away the lamp, once or twice from his mother's hand and caused her to retire in tears. But now he put up with every idolatrous practice from the blowing of conch-shells to the showing of lamps. He would only smile a little sadly and remark "Mother you would never get rid of your superstitious habits".

In his youth, he would refuse to take food from his mother if she happened to have returned from a bath in the Ganges. "First have a real bath in good clean tap water," he would say, "then I shall take food cooked by you."

To-day he gave in as soon as Mukti objected to his staying in town. Formerly if once he had said "No" to anything, he would keep to his word whatever happened. But now all had changed.

So Mokshada had begun to hope. She had time now to think about Mukti's marriage and she hoped that if she could get up a good match her son would not object too strenuously. But she must prepare him a bit. Otherwise, it would lead to a scandal if in the end Shiveswar refused permission. And she must choose a boy whom Shiveswar would be sure to like. So it was that Mokshada had introduced into her conversation the need for a son-in-law who could act as a son, in times of need.

But Shiveswar laughed it off as usual. "Mother", he said, "since God did not grant me a son or a brother, it is evident that he

meant to make me stand alone. We need not have any regrets about it. My daughter will do everything for me. When we need a man's help we will engage some one on salary. But mother, if God had given me only one son and no daughter, I don't think you would have regretted the want of a daughter. This is not fair."

"But my dear, this is not our fault," said Mokshada. "I know very well that a daughter is no less dear than a son. But a woman is held to be of no account in the world. It's a man's world, my son."

"It's time to change all that", said Shiveswar. "We must value them and love them all the more, because they had been neglected for long ages."

Mokshada saw that the conversation was drifting into another channel. She wanted to bring matters to a head now.

"That's true," she said, "a daughter should be made much of. Still, it would have looked much better, if you had a son as well, a son like Dhiren. Both boy and girl are necessary for a family."

Mukti was highly amused. So they wanted a son to adorn the house with? And he must be exactly like Dhiren, too, not any other kind. The old lady had simply gone crazy over the handsome lad.

"Yes, I would have deemed it a blessing, if God had given me such a son", said Shiveswar.

His mother felt a bit encouraged. "The poor boy is an orphan," she continued, "He has got money enough, but none to call his own. Why don't you make him your son?"

"How is that to be done?" asked Shiveswar in surprise.

Mukti was getting fed up with Dhiren's name, so she left the room. She wanted to forget him, specially because she had hurt him the other day.

Mokshada did not know what exactly to say. After a while, she said, "Now that you are going away for a long rest, won't you have your daughter married before that?"

"Oh, there's no hurry," said Shiveswar, finishing up with the inevitable, "All in good time."

Mokshada lost her temper. "Good time forsooth!" She cried, "When is that time to come? After the millennium? Do you think your daughter is still a baby?"

"But I cannot help it mother," said

Shiveswar. "What can we do unless there is a suitable bride-groom?"

"There are no lack of bride-grooms," said Mokshada. "What kind of a boy do you want?"

"The kind Mukti would like", said her son.

"Oh is that all?" asked Mokshada, very much elated, "That can be easily arranged."

Shiveswar closed his eyes wearily and a sigh escaped him.

"So much the better," he said, "But I am not at all anxious about it."

Mokshada remained silent for a few minutes, then she began again, "Poor

Dhiren," she said, "he did so much for you during your illness. Even a son could not have done more."

Mukti re-entered just at that moment. She found her grandmother looking very cheerful and heard her father saying, "Yes, Dhiren is a very fine chap. There's not many like him."

Poor Mukti! The more she desired to forget Dhiren, the more everybody dinned his name in her ears. He seemed to have become an object of paramount interest in the family.

(To be continued.)

Dr. Radhakrishnan's Vedanta

By MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH

THE VEDANTA ACCORDING TO SANKARA AND RAMANUJA : By S. Radhakrishnan.* Published, Nov. 6, 1928. By Messrs George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. Pp. 287. Price 10s.

Originally this book formed part of the second volume of the author's *Indian Philosophy* and has now been separately reprinted without any change. But strange to say it does not contain the list of abbreviations. It has no index.

The book has been written in a clear and eloquent style.

The subject discussed is difficult, but the author has tried his best to make it intelligible even to students of average intelligence, and has, we think, been successful. But the book can scarcely be used for any philosophical purpose,—it is marred by so many grave defects. We shall point out some of them.

(i)

Our author has drawn materials from books which may be called 'Sankara-Apocrypha,' viz.—*Atmabodha* (pp. 44, 77, 172, 181, etc.), *Hastamalaka* (p. 48), *Hymn to Hari* (p. 48), *Satasloki* (pp. 179, 198), *Haristuti* (p. 219), *Kaupinapancaka* (p. 183), *Anandalahari* (p. 139), *Manishapancaka* (p. 52, 183), *Dakshinamurti Stotra* (p. 117, 124), etc., and even *Aparokshanubhuti* (p. 188), *Viveka-cudamani* (pp. 47, 138, 142, 146, 215) and *Upadesa-Sahasri* (pp. 52, 117, 185, 191).

The authorship of the commentary of Nrisinhatapaniya, Atharvasikha and Atharvasiras is unknown. It is doubtful whether Sankara wrote the commentary on the *Svetasvatara Upanishad*. So all these books should be rejected, wherever possible. For the exposition of Sankara's views we can appeal

*We have received this book from the publishers for review. Editor, M. R.

only to his commentary on the (i) Ten classical Upanishads, (ii) *Brahma Sutras*, and (iii) the *Gita*. Had our author been a careful student of these commentaries, he might have easily omitted the apocryphal literature.

In expounding Sankara the expounder's first business should be to appeal to Sankara himself. But our author has sometimes appealed to other authorities. We may cite an example or two.

(a)

To prove that *Sruti* is not authoritative in scientific subjects, our author has quoted a passage from *Bhamali* (page 84, note 3). He might have quoted Sankara's commentary on *Br. Up. ii. 1.20* (page 295, Anandasrama Text).

(b)

Again to prove that Brahman has no internal difference, like a tree having leaves, flowers, fruits, etc., he has referred to *Pancadasi*, ii. 20 (p. 101). But he might have quoted *Bhashya*, *Brahma Sutra* i. 3.1 and ii. 1.14. There are similar examples also in Sankara *Bhashya*, namely,—ocean with its water, foam, billows, etc., (*Bhashya*, *Br. Sutra*, ii. 1.14, *Bh. Br. Up. V. 1*); the cow with its dew-lap, horns, tail, etc., and so on.

(ii)

Sankara was followed by a host of brilliant writers—Suhas, Suresvara, Padmapada, Vacaspati, Anandagiri, Sriharsa, Prakasatman, Citsukha, Vidyaranya, Prakasananda, Appaya-dikshita and many others. One important feature of the book of our author is that it describes some of the fundamental principles of most of the post-Sankarite philosophers. The credit is due to our author for making the subject accessible to general readers. The credit is no less due to Professor

Mahendra Nath Sarkar, who had published his "Studies in the System of Indian Thought and Culture" in 1925 and "Comparative Studies in Vedantism" in 1927.

Our author's exposition of post-Sankarite philosophy, though brief, is clear. This portion is excellent for popular reading. But the treatment is not scholarly. Instead of going to the philosophers themselves, he depends for their views principally on *Siddhanta-lesha-Samgraha*. Our author's knowledge is secondary and that of his readers will be tertiary.

Here are some of examples of his quotations from the S. L. S.

BORROWED AND ACKNOWLEDGED

(1) Page 118, No. 7 (Vacaspati's views), (2) Page 122, note 2 (The views of Bharatitirtha and the authors of Tattva-Suddhi, Prakartartha and Kamudi), (3) P. 168, note 4 (views of Tattva-pradipika), (4) P. 168, note 5 (views of Kamudi), and so on.

BORROWED BUT NOT ACKNOWLEDGED

(1) Page 118, note 5, (2) P. 162, note 4 (Suresvara's) (3) Page 176, note 1 [S. L. S. p. 80, Benares ed.] (4) Page 203, note 1 [Chitsukha from S. L. S. Benares ed. p. 509] (5) Page 210, note 3 [S. L. S. p. 512.] (6) Page 203, note 1. Here a passage is attributed to *Chitsukha* but it is really the language of Appaya-dikshita, [S. L. S. p. 509]. Vide *infra*. (7) Page 84, note 1. A passage is said to be quoted from *Bhamati*. But it is really the language of S. L. S. giving the views of *Bhamati* [Vide S. L. S. page 280] (8) Page 119, note 2. The author writes "*Vivarana* which takes its stand on S. B. i. 1, 20; i. 2. 1." He seems to make this remark simply because those two references are given in the S. L. S. p. 59, Benares ed. (9) Page 119, note 1. A passage is said to be quoted from S. L. S. i. But it is really quoted from the commentary on that book. vide S. L. S. page 72, lines 22-24, Benares ed.—(10) Page 176, note 4.

In the body of the book, the author writes—"The author of *Pancapadika Vivarana* regards the jiva as a reflection of Isvara". In the foot-note he says that these take their stand on the Antaryami Brahman of Br. Up. and such passages of the Gita as XVIII. 61. As regards the Pan. viv. we can say that in that section, the Upanishad mantra only is quoted (Vide Benares ed. p. 66) and no Gita verse is quoted there. In the S. L. S. also, the Upanishad only is quoted. It is in the commentary of the S. L. S. that both the passages are quoted (Vide S. L. S. page 109). Our author's statement in the note seems to be based on this commentary.

(11) In the two lists of 'References' given in this book (pp. 224 and 287) and in the list given in his *Indian Philosophy* vol. ii, we find the names of magazine articles and books of secondary importance. But he has omitted the names of books from which he has made many quotations. These include translations of the most abstruse books; for example,

(1) Khandana-khand-khadya (Dr. Jha's translation)
(2) Advaita-Siddhi (Dr. Jha's translation)
(3) Translations of Sankara Bhashya on the Chandogya Upanishad and seven smaller classical Upanishads (by Dr. Jha, and Sitaram Sastri). He

has also borrowed (but without acknowledgment from the English translation of *Sambandha-Vartika* (Introductory portion of Suresvara's Vartika on Br. Up.) by S. V. Aiyar (Vide *infra*).

(iii)

One of the authorities of our author is S. S. S. S. (Sarva-Siddhanta-Sara-Samgraha) which has been many times referred to (pp. 46, 72, 147, 148). It is, by some, ascribed to Sankara. But he cannot be its author, as it contains references to the Bhagavata, which, according to our author, was composed about 900 A. D. (Vide p. 233), whereas Sankara flourished a century or two earlier (Vide p. 13). Apart from this, the book is of uncertain date and value; it is uncritical and unreliable.

(iv)

In one place (p. 176) the author writes—"It comes out also in another passage of *Pancadasi* where prakriti with its power of projection in prominence, is called *māyā*; the same with power of concealment dominating, is *avidyā*."

In a foot-note (f. n. 1) he writes—"These views are adopted by *Tattva-viveka* also." The author uses the word "*also*" and definitely gives us to understand that *Pancadasi* and *Tattva-viveka* are two books and one is different from the other. But the fact is that *Tattva-viveka* is the name of the first chapter of *Pancadasi*. Our author found, in *Siddhanta-lesha-Samgraha*, the name *Tattva-viveka* and also found there the exposition of the views of *Tattva-viveka* (p. 80, Benares edition) which seemed to him to be analogous to what he thought to be the views of *Pancadasi*. This is how he was misled.

It may be mentioned here that S. L. S. generally uses not the name *Pancadasi* but the names of the chapters of this book, viz., *Uttaradipika* (p. 83), *Nataladipika* (p. 184), *Kutasthadipika* (pp. 180-212) etc.

(v)

In one place (p. 37) our author says—"In the *Padma Purāṇa* Isvara is said to have declared to Parvati: "The theory of *māyā* is a false doctrine, a disguised form of Buddhism, etc."

In foot-note 1, he quotes the following verse: *māyāvādam asac chāstram*, etc. (i. 14)

In the same page he writes—"The concluding words of Siva in the *Padma Purana* are to the effect that 'the great system, the *māyā* theory, is not supported by the Veda, etc.'"

In a note on this passage he quotes—*'Vedarthavan mahasāstram māyāvādam avidik-am.'*

The sentence quoted last is not the concluding words of Siva in the *Padma Purana*. The sayings of Siva on *Māyāvāda* are found in the *Padma Purana*, Uttara Khanda, chapter 236, VV. 2-27. Dr. Radhakrishnan's first passage is the seventh verse and the last a part of the 11th verse. The 11th verse cannot be the concluding words of Siva whose speech runs up to the 27th verse of that chapter. It may be noted here that there are 255 chapters in the Uttara Khanda of the *Padma Purana*. Chapter 254 also contains the sayings of Siva; so what our author calls 'the concluding words of Siva in the *Padma Purana*', are neither the concluding words in the book nor in chapter 236.

The fact is that Vijnana-Bhikshu has, in the

introduction to his *Samkhya Pravacana-Bhashya* quoted 21 lines from that chapter (ch. 236) of the Padma Purana without specifying the chapter and verse, and the last verse quoted by him contains the line—

Vedarthavin mahisastram, etc. (the great system, the Māyā-Vāda is not supported by the Veda, etc.). But Vijnana-Bhikshu has, in his Bhashya on i. 22, quoted only three lines, which our author has also quoted (vide *Supra*). It seems almost certain that Radhakrishnan has quoted these lines from an edition of the *Samkhya-Pravacana-Bhashya* and it may be from the edition of the Panini Office. If so, he was misled by the translations given in that book. The Bhashya has, in one place, been translated thus—

"The doctrine, however, is not a tenet of the Vedanta system as we learn from the concluding words of Siva :

वेदार्थवन् महाशास्त्रं
मायावादवैदिकम् ।

"The great system, the doctrine of Māyā, containing the truths of the Veda, but not supported by the Veda" (Panini office ed., pp. 46-47). Our author's translation may be compared with the translation quoted here. The text has 'Vakyaseshat', which has been translated here by 'the concluding words of Siva'. Vijnana Bhikshu means by it "the concluding words of Siva in the speech already quoted in the Introduction". But as our author has not seen the original text in the Padma Purana, he thinks that these are 'the concluding words of Siva in the Padma Purana'.

Our author's reference to i. 14 is unintelligible.

(vi)

Dr. Radhakrishnan writes in one place (p. 203)—

"Citsukhācārya says that moksha is the realisation of all bliss".

In foot-note 1, he quotes—

अनवच्छिन्नानन्द-प्राप्तिः *

Readers will necessarily think that the text is quoted from Citsukha's book. No, our author has not gone to the original source : he quotes it from the *Siddhanta-lesa* (p. 509, line 2, Benares Edition). Moreover he has not thoroughly understood why and in what connection Appaya-dikshita (author of S. L. S.) has used that phrase. We shall quote Citsukha's idea of moksha from his own book—

अनवतिशयानन्द स्वभावस्य—

आत्मनोऽविद्यातिरोधानमेव बन्धः,

विद्यानिमित्तस्तदस्त्वमयी मोक्षः ।

(Page 361, lines 7-8 : Nirnayasagar Edition of Tattava-pradipika).

The commentator explains it thus—

अविद्यया तिरोधानं बन्धो

विद्यया चाविद्यानिवृत्ति-मोक्षः ।

The literal translation of the text is—

"The concealment of the self (whose nature is

* All the texts are printed in Roman character in the book.

full bliss) by Avidya is bondage ; the destruction of that Avidya by Vidya is moksha." (The portion within brackets is given in the text.)

This is made clear in the commentary, which may be translated thus—

"The concealment (of the self) by Avidya is bondage (बन्ध) and the disappearance of Avidya by Vidya is moksha."

In the Tattva-pradipika, Citsukha has examined various theories of moksha and discarded them all in favour of his own theory described above.

(vii)

REFERENCES

When our author quotes a passage from the Bhashya on the Brahma Sutras, he gives full reference. The references to the Upanishads and to the Bhashyas on some of them are also full. This shows that our author understands the value of documentary evidence. But even he is not always careful. Some of his references are vague, some wrong and some misleading.

VAGUE REFERENCES

(1)

Page 56, note 1.

The author quotes a passage from the *Vedanta-paribhasha* [1] and gives no reference. Then he writes, "See also *Vivarana-prameya-samgraha*."

The section referred to consists of 108 pages, Royal 8vo. (Benares ed.) !

(2)

Page 113, note 2.

A passage is quoted from the *Bhamati* [on Bhashya, Br. Sutra ii. 1. 33] but the reference is simply *Bhamati*. The *Bhamati* is a big commentary and very few can find out the passage.

(3)

Page 168, note 4.

A passage is quoted from *Siddhanta-lesa*, p. 186, lines 3-6 (Benares Edition) but the author's reference is simply *Siddhanta-lesa* i.

It means 'somewhere in a chapter of 263 pages Royal 8vo.'

(4)

Page 234, note 3.

Some names are given in the *Vedārtha-Samgraha* [page 158 (Benares ed.)]. These names are quoted by our author and his reference is simply 'Vedārtha-Samgraha'. It means rummaging a book of 268 pages, 8vo.

(5)

Page 61, note 2.

The author writes Cp. Plato "God's mind is the rational order of the Universe" : (713, E. Jowett's version.)

In many modern editions of the text and of the version of Plato, passages are indicated by the pagination and division of Stephanus's edition. Two or more books may have the same reference. For example, the passage marked by 40B may belong to the Apology, Timaeus or Philebus. So the reference 713, E. given by our author is meaningless. Very few can find out the passage, if there be such a one. It can mean only "The Laws, 713, E."

But the passage is not there

There are many other vague references.

WRONG REFERENCES

(1)

Page 62, note 5.
The reference is to "S. B. i. 4. 4 ; i. 3. 7."
But the idea is not there.
It may refer to S. B. i. 1.4 (vide Thibaut's trans. Vol. i, page 35).

(2)

Page 64, note 1.
A passage is quoted and the reference is to i. 2. 29. It seems to mean 'S. B. i. 2. 29.' But the passage is not there. It is in S. B. ii. 2. 29.

(3)

Page 151, note 3.
A word is quoted and the reference is to S. B. i. 1. 14. It is not there. It is in S. B. ii. 1. 14.

(4)

Page 175, note 3.
The reference is to S. B. iii. 2.9.
It is wrong. The idea referred to occurs in Sankara Bhashya, Br. S. ii. 3.43.

(5)

Page 175, note 4.
The reference is to S. B. iii. 3.43.
Wrong. It is in S. Bhashya, Br. Sutra, ii. 3. 43.
Etc. etc.

MISLEADING QUOTATIONS

In many places our author explains the views of an author by quoting a passage, not from that author, but from a second-hand source. But at the same time he implicitly gives us to understand that the passage has been quoted from the original source. Here are some examples :

(1)

Page 84, note 1.
He quotes—
तात्पर्यवती श्रुतिः प्रत्यक्षात् बलवती, न श्रुतिमात्रम्

(Bhamati)

He writes 'Bhamati' within brackets after the passage. Thereby he gives us to understand that the language is that of Bhamati. But it is really quoted from Siddhanta-lesa of Appaya-dikshita who gives there a summary of Bhamati in his own language. (Vide S. L. S. p. 280, Benares Edition)

(2)

Page 175, note 6.
In the body of the book our author expounds the views of *Samkshepa-Sariroka* and for confirmation quotes the following passage in foot-note 6—

अविद्यायां चित्तप्रतिबिम्ब ईश्वरः,
अन्तः करणे चित्तप्रतिबिम्बो जीवः ।

As the author does not give further reference, it is understood to be the language of that book. But this is not the fact. The passage is quoted from and is the language of—Siddhanta-lesa. (Vide p. 82 lines 3-4, Benares ed.).

(3)

Page 23, note 5.
In the body of the book the author expounds the view of Gaudapada and in the foot-note quotes the following passage bearing on the subject—

यथा राज्ञो नैवेन तमसाऽविमन्यमानं सर्वं
वनमिव, तदप्रज्ञानमिव यम् ।

The readers will necessarily think that the language is that of Gaudapada. But the fact is that it is a passage of Sankara's commentary on Māndukya Up. 5 (and not even on the Karika of Gaudapada).

CURIOUS REFERENCES

Our author has quoted some passages from Suresvara and his references are—

- (a) Varttika p. 109, pp. 110-13 (Vide page 49, foot-notes 9, 10)
- (b) " pp. 189 and 542, 791—795 (Vide page 42, note 3)
- (c) " p. 258 (Vide page 96, note 4)
- (d) " p. 927 (Vide page 129, note 4)
- (e) " pp. 110-113 (Vide page 167, note 3)

The word *Varttika* is vague. Suresvara has written two *Varttikas*, one on Br. Up. and the other on Tait. Up. So the references are ambiguous.

The abbreviations 'p' and 'pp' necessarily mean 'page' and 'pages'. But in no edition of those *Varttikas* will be found those passages on the pages referred to by the author. The fact is that all those passages are taken *verbatim* from S. V. Aiyar's English translation of the *Sambandha-Varttika*, which is the introductory portion of the *Varttika* on the Br. Upanishad. Before those passages there are figures indicating the numbering of the verses of the original work. These verse-numbers have, in our author's book, appeared as the pagination of the *Sambandha-Varttika*!

We need not explain psychologically how this mistake was committed.

(viii)

DRAMIDA

In one place (p. 234) our author mentions the names of six teachers, one of whom is Dramida. His reference is simply "*Vedārtha Samgraha*." On Dramida he writes—

"Sankara, according to Anandagiri, refers to this writer in his commentary on the Chān. Up. iii. 10.4" (p. 234, foot-note 2).

The reference is wrong. Sankara has written no commentary on iii. 10.4. But in the commentary on the fourth mantra of iii. 8, he has referred to iii. 9.4 and iii. 10.4 and explained all together. Our author seems to have taken it from Thibaut (Vide the Vedānta Sūtras, Vol. 1. p. xxii).

He has committed another mistake. In the *Vedārtha Samgraha* (p. 154, Benares edition), the name of the teacher is Dramida. But according to Anandagiri it is Dravida द्रविडः (vide also his Comm. on Sankara Bhashya Br. Up. ii. 1.20). According to Vacaspati also the name is Dravida (vide Bhamati on Bhashya, Br. Sutra i. 1.4). Dramida and Dravida seem to be the same person. But our author should have discussed the subject before pronouncing that Anandagiri spoke of Dramida.

(ix)

In one place (p. 17) he writes—

"Rāmātirtha criticises *Advaitasiddhi* in his *Tarangini*."

It is not Rāmātirtha but Rāmācārya (or Vyāsa

Rāmācārya) who is the author of *Tarangini*. Rāmātrītha is a distinguished commentator of many philosophical books of the Advaita School.

(x)

In one place (p. 271) we find "Prapatti is complete resignation to God."

In foot-note 7, he writes—"R. B. G. [Ramanuja's Bhashya on the Gita]. Introduction to ch. vii and vii. 14. Six factors are distinguished as prapatti which are: (1) ānukūlyasya sampattiḥ, (2) prātikūlyasya varjanam, (3) rakshishyatiti visvāśh, (4) goptritva-varaham, (5) karpānyam and (6) ātmasamarpanam."

We are implicitly given to understand that these six factors are described in R. B. G., Intro. Ch. vii and vii. 14. But this is not the case. We find there neither these words nor even the idea.

In the Vaishnava literature of Bengal these are known as *Saranāgati* and are embodied in three lines of verse of *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* (vilāsa, xi, section 417, Vaishnava-tantram—quoted in *Caitanya Caritāmṛita*, Madhya-līla, Pariccheda, 22). We have not been able to trace it to an earlier source.

(xi)

AETIOLOGY OF A MISTAKE

In one place (p. 194) he has committed a curious mistake. He translates a passage thus:

"On the removal of *avidyā* of the nature of *Brahman*, one abides in one's own self and attains the supreme end." (*Italics ours*)

The text quoted in a foot-note 2, is—

Avidyā nivṛttau svātmānya vasthanam para-prāptiḥ (S. B. Tait. Up. Introduction). This passage explains what '*paraprāpti*' means. The true translation is—

"Abiding in one's own self after the removal of *avidyā* is the attainment of the supreme end."

The author's translation does not give the true sense and his translation of '*avidyā*' by *avidyā* of the "nature of *Brahman*" is meaningless. One may be curious to know how he has come to translate the passage in that way. To account for it we may quote the translation of the passage by Mahadeva Sastri, which is—

"One is said to attain the supreme end when one abides in one's own self, on the removal of *avidyā* or ignorance of the nature of *Brahman*—p. 3 (Tait. Up. p. 3). (*Italics ours*.) Our author has removed the word 'ignorance' (necessarily with or) and has got the phrase *avidyā* of the nature of *Brahman* and then has slightly changed the construction of the sentence, and the result has become curious.

The word '*avidyā*' may mean "ignorance of the nature of *Brahman*". If the word '*ignorance*' is to be removed, it must be removed along with its adjuncts [=of the nature of *Brahman*], that is, the whole portion—"ignorance of the nature of *Brahman*"—is to be removed. The retention of the adjunct becomes meaningless while the principal word is removed.

(xii)

In foot-note 4, page 162, our author writes—

"Suresvara compares the *jīva* to a prince carried away by a cowherd and brought up in rural associations. When he became acquainted with his royal descent he gave up his other occupations and realized his kingly nature."

राजकुलोः स्मृतिप्राप्तौ

व्याधनात् नितर्कते ।

तथेवमात्मनोऽवश्यं

तत्त्वमस्यैदि वाक्यतः ॥"

Our author has made many mistakes here. It was not Suresvara but Sankara who first recorded the story. Even he wrote that he took it from those who were versed in traditional lore (*sampradaya*) Vide Bhashya, Br. Up. ii. 1. 20 (p. 297, Anandasrama Edition).

In commenting on this passage Anandagiri mentions the name of Dravidacarya.

In the varttika on the above-mentioned passage of the Br. Up. Suresvara describes the story in verse (varttika, Br. Up. ii. 1. 507—516. Anandasrama edition, pp. 970—972). The verse quoted by our author is not Suresvara's. It was composed by Appaya-dikshita embodying in it the sense of Suresvara's verses. (Vide *Siddhanta-lesa-Samgraha*, pp. 122—123, Benares edition). Our author has taken the story and the verse from S. L. S. But had he read the book carefully he would have found that even there mention is made first of the Bhashya of Br. Up. and then of the Varttika.

(xiii)

PLAGIARISM

In one place (p. 173) the Professor writes—

"In the commentary of the *Bṛihadaranyaka Upanishad*, Sankara suggests the theory of reflection. As the appearance of sun and moon in water is a mere reflection and nothing real, or as the appearance of red colour in a white crystal is a mere reflection of the red flower and nothing real, since on removing the water, sun and moon only remain, and on removing the red flower the whiteness of the crystal remains unchanged, even so the elements and the individual souls are reflections of the one reality in *avidyā* and nothing real. On the abolition of the *avidyā*, the reflection ceases to exist and only the real remains" (p. 173 lines 14—23).

In foot-note 2, the reference is to S. B. Br. Up. iii. 4.12.

Dr. Roer translated the *Bṛihadaranyaka Upanishad* in 1856. In 1891 it was republished by Tookaram Tatya in "The Twelve Principal Upanishads" (Eng. trans.). Dr. Roer writes in a foot-note on ii. 4. 12 of the *Bṛihadaranyaka Upanishad* thus :—

"I give here, in a somewhat different language, some of the images which Sankara uses in explanation of this passage [ii. 4. 12]. As the appearance of the sun and moon in water is a mere reflection, and nothing real, or as the appearance of red in a white crystal is a mere reflection from a red substance and nothing real : for on removing the water, the sun and moon only remain, not their reflections, or on removing the red substance, the whiteness of the crystal continues unchanged,—thus the elements and the individual souls are reflections of the one soul upon ignorance and nothing real : for on removing the ignorance by knowledge the soul alone remains while those reflections cease to exist" (p. 258, lines 16—25). *Italics ours*.

The portion italicised is significant. The whole passage is Dr. Roer's summary of Sankara's views. Dr. Radhakrishnan has incorporated into his book the whole passage with but slight verbal alterations.

The reference given by the author (S. B., Br. Up. iii. 4. 12) is wrong; it should be ii. 4. 12. What was this mistake due to? Let psychologists answer.

(xiv)

In one place we find—

"Elsewhere the finite selves are said to be parts (amsa) of Isvara, even as sparks are of fire" (p. 175).

The author's reference is to S. B. iii. 3. 43. It should be Bhashya Br. Sutra ii. 3. 43.

The author has made a serious mistake here. According to Sankara the word 'amsa' अंश does not mean 'part'; it means 'part as it were' अंश इव (amaśa iva). Sankara means to say that the finite selves are not really parts of the Supreme Self, but through a mistake they seem to be parts.

(xv)

QUITE THE REVERSE

In one place (pp. 64—65) he writes—"Strictly speaking, all contents of the universe are spiritual in their character (ātmanā eva dharmāḥ)".

The reference is to S. B. on Tait. Up. ii. 1 from which he has quoted the Sanskrit words.

The author has quite misunderstood the meaning of the passage referred to. Here is the translation of the whole passage:—"The manifestations—in the form of sound, etc.—of the buddhi, which is an upādhi of (the Self), and which, passing through the eye and other sense-organs, puts on the forms of sense objects, are objects of Atman's consciousness; and whenever they arise, they become permeated by Atman's consciousness;

[आत्मविज्ञानं] and it is these manifestations of buddhi—illuminated by the Atman's consciousness and spoken of as consciousness itself [विज्ञानशब्द-वाच्याः] which constitute the meaning of the root 'Jna'—to know and are imagined by the undiscriminating men [अविवेकिभिः] to be the inherent attributes of Atman Himself [आत्मन एव धर्मा] changing every now and then (Mahadeva Sastri's trans. Tait. Up. pp. 256—257). *Italics ours.*

M. Sastri has translated विज्ञान by consciousness; 'knowledge' is more appropriate and less ambiguous.

What Sankara declared to be the views of undiscriminating men is considered by our author to be the views of Sankara!

(xvi)

BRAHMAN AND THE WORLD

He writes—"If Brahman were absolutely different from the world, if the Atman were absolutely different from the states of waking, dreaming and sleeping, then the repudiation of the reality of the world or the three states cannot lead us to the attainment of truth. We shall then have to embrace nihilism and treat all teaching as purposeless" (p. 148).

The reference is to S. B. on *Mandukya Up.* ii. 7 from which he quotes the following passage—

यदि हि द्वयवस्थात्म विलक्षणं
तुरीयम् अन्यत्, तत्प्रतिपत्ति-
द्वाराभावाद् शास्त्रोपदेशानर्थक्यं
शून्यतापत्तिर्वा ।

The true translation is—"If the Fourth, whose characteristics are different from those of the self with three states (i.e., waking, dreaming and deep sleep), were another entity (अन्यत्), all the teachings of scriptures would be useless or the conclusion would then be a theory of negation (शून्यता), as there would be no instrument of knowledge." What Sankara means is that the substratum of the first three states is the same as the Fourth, and he does not mean that the phenomena of the first three states are the same as the Fourth. By using the word विलक्षणं Sankara has shown that the characteristics of the Fourth are different from those of the first three. In the Bhashya of the Brahma Sūtras also Sankara has described the world as नृणां विलक्षणं ('different in character from Brahman') Bhashya B. S. ii. 1. 1 (Vide also ii. 1. 7. विलक्षणत्वात्).

(xvii)

Dr. Radhakrishnan writes in one place—"Sankara declines to characterise it (= Brahman) as one, but calls it non-dual, advaitam" (p. 101).

Scholars will smile at this crude remark. Sankara uses both the words, sometimes synonymously and sometimes with different meanings.

(1)

According to Sankara Brahman is both one (एकम्) and non-dual (अद्वितीयम्). In innumerable places he quotes एकमेवाद्वितीयम् ।

(Br. Sutra Bhashya i. 1. 4, i. 4. 22, ii. 1. 18, iii. 2. 21; Br. Up. Bhashya i. 4. 7, i. 4. 10, iv. 4. 6, etc.)

(2)

In the Bhashya, Ait. Up. i. 1, the word 'ekam' is explained to mean one without any inner differentiation.

(3)

In the Bhashya of Br. Up. iv. 3. 32, the word 'eka' is explained to mean 'absence of a second'

(एको द्वितीयस्य अभावाद्)

(4)

The explanation of the two words in the Bhashya Chān. Up. vi. 2. 1 is very important. The text of the Upanishad is एकम् एव अद्वितीयम्

The word 'ekam' (एकम्) is explained to mean 'one' with reference to the sphere of one's own action (or effects). But it excludes the idea

of a helper or the modification of one's inner nature. The language of Sankara is—

स्वकार्य-पतितम् अन्यद् नास्ति इति एकम् एव—इत्युच्यते ।

Anandagiri explains it to mean—

सजातीय-व्यक्त-मेव-हीनम् ।

That is, when we use एकम् (Ekam), it means that

(i) There is no other entity of the same class.

(ii) There is no inner differentiation in that one.

In explaining the meaning of the word अद्वितीयम् (*advitiyam*) Sankara takes the example of the pot. When a pot is made, there are more than one cause, *viz.*, the clay, potter and so on. But in the case of *advitiyam*, there are no other entities besides itself. Anandagiri explains it to mean—

विजातीय-मेव-शून्यम् ।

That is, it excludes the idea of another entity having a different nature.

So we see that both the words are significant, each having a special meaning of its own.

(xviii)

SUBJECTIVISM

Our author says, "Sankara insists that the two worlds, mental and material, are not of the same kind" (p. 22).

Again—"Sankara repudiates the view that the things of the world are phantoms of our creation" (p. 64).

That is only a half truth. The whole truth is that he was both realist and subjectivist, both naturalist and illusionist. There are innumerable passages establishing each position. We shall not try to-day to harmonize all these passages; but shall quote those passages which will prove him to be a subjectivist and illusionist.

(1)

In the Bhashya, Gaudapada Karika (iv. 28), Sankara identifies himself with Bauddha subjective idealists. He says

घटाया भासता चिन्तस्य

विज्ञानवादिनाऽभ्युपगता

तदनुमोदितमस्माभिरपि ।

It means—"We too approve of the conclusion of the *Vijnana-vadins*—that the mind चित्त assumes the forms of pots and other things."

Here it is definitely stated that Sankara and the *Vijnana-vadins* are subjective idealists. The world is, according to them, a modification of the mind.

(2)

In Bhashya, Mundaka Up. ii. 1.4 Sankara says—सर्वं हि अन्तःकरण विकारमेव

It means 'the whole world is really a modification of the mind' (अन्तःकरणविकारम्)

Here also we arrive at the same conclusion.

(xix)

WAKING EXPERIENCE

In one place our author says—"Sankara rejects all attempts to reduce waking experience to the level of dreams" (p. 148).

In another place we find the following passage—"Nowhere does he say that our life is literally a dream and our knowledge a phantasm" (p. 152).

The Doctor is over-confident. Here we quote some of the remarks of Sankara,

(a)

Sankara accepts the views of Gaudapada Karika, ii. 4 and defends the position in the form of a syllogism.

(i) The proposition (प्रतिज्ञा) is—"what is seen in the waking condition is unreal."

(ii) The reason (हेतु) is—"because it is seen."

(iii) The example (इष्टान्त) is "what is seen in dreams is so."

(iv) The application (उपनय) is "As what is seen in the condition of dream is false, so what is capable of being seen in the waking condition is also false."

(v) The conclusion (निगमन) is—"what is seen in the waking condition is false."

We may or may not accept the reasoning of Sankara but his conclusion is that the waking experience is as unreal as is the dream experience.

(b)

The same conclusion is affirmed in the commentary on the next two verses (ii. 5, 6). In the commentary on ii. 7, he raises the following possible argument against his own view:

"That the objects of waking experience are false like the phenomena of dream, is not correct; for, the former consisting of food, drink, etc., are used as tangible means to tangible ends, whereas the latter are not such. So the futility of the objects of waking experience assumed from their similarity to the phenomena of dream, breaks down" (Dvivedi's tr.)

In reply to the above argument of the opponent, Sankara says: "The argument is not correct." Then he controverts the above argument and re-affirms his own conclusion.

(c)

In the Bhashya, Br. Up. ii. 1.18, we find the following passage—

स्वप्ने यथाऽप्यारोपिता .

एवात्म भूतत्वेन लोका

अविद्यमाना एव सन्तः ;

'तथा जागरितेऽपि इति प्रत्येतव्यम्'

(Anandasrama ed. pp. 279-280) "What is perceived in dream, though certainly non-existent, is falsely attributed to the self. The same should be affirmed of waking experience."

(xx)

MOKSHA AND THE WORLD

(A)

About Sankara's views on moksha our author writes—

"He urges that moksha does not mean the disappearance of the world" (150). "Moksha is--not the dissolution of the world but only disappearance of a false outlook" (p. 203).

Our author argues—"It is not like annihilating the hardness of butter by putting it on fire" (a). Such a huge undertaking as destroying the world is impossible for a mere man (b). If the significance of moksha be the destruction of the plurality of the world, then the whole world would have been destroyed when the first man attained liberation (c)." (p. 203)

The sentence marked (a) is quoted from Br. S. Bhashya iii. 2. 21 (and not from iv. 4. 6, as the author writes in f. n. 2) The sentences (b) and (c) give a summary of Sankara's argument (vide the same section iii. 2. 21).

The author has thoroughly misunderstood the commentary. He quotes what controverts his own position; he is arguing against his own case. Let us analyze the Bhashya.

Sankara asks—

What is the meaning of the sublation of the phenomenal world प्रपञ्चविलयः ?

(1) Is it analogous to the annihilation of the hardness of butter which is effected by subjecting it to the heat of fire? (2) Or is it like the removal of the phenomenon of double moon sometimes seen by men with defective eyesight?

Here we find two analogies. According to Ratna-Prabha, Anandagiri, Bhamati and Kalpataru the first has reference to what is real and the second, to what is fictitious or illusory. Then the question of Sankara means—

(i) Is it the annihilation of what is real, or

(ii) is it the removal of what is illusory?

Sankara then says that the first sort of sublation is impossible. No man can annihilate the whole universe with the earth and its creatures. Again, had it been possible, the first liberated man would have annihilated it once for all, so that the whole universe would now be non-existent. He then concludes that the *Prapanca-pravilaya* does not mean the annihilation of a real world.

He then says that if it means annihilation of an illusory world, proper means should be adopted to accomplish it. Then knowledge (विद्या) will arise and nescience (अविद्या) will be automatically destroyed and the whole world of name and form will dissolve like the imagery of dream (अविद्याभ्यस्तः स्वलोयं नामरूप-प्रपञ्चः स्वप्न-प्रपञ्चवत् प्रविलीयते) Bh. Br. S. ii. 2. 21.

Here it should be noted that (i) the world of name and form does not exist in moksha, (ii) this world vanishes like dream-imagery.

So the Doctor could not understand the meaning of Sankara. Sankara said 'No,' but the Doctor heard 'Yes,' and dealt with him accordingly.

(B)

Our author has tried to modernize Sankara's idea of moksha. He thinks that Sankara's moksha means not the abolition of plurality but only the removal of the sense of plurality (p. 203) 'It is an insight that changes the face of the world and makes all things new' (p. 203). It is super-imposing a modern ideal on the philosophy of Sankara.

But Sankara's views are altogether different. Let us further analyze the nature of moksha.

1

According to him, "moksha is of the nature of Brahman" (ब्रह्मस्वरूपत्वात् मोक्षस्य; also ब्रह्मभावश्च मोक्षः Bhashya, Br. Sūtras i. 1. 4) or the state of mukti (liberation) is Brahman (ब्रह्मेव मुक्त्यवस्था Bhashya, Br. S. iii. 4.52). Moksha and Brahman mean the same thing. To describe moksha is to describe Brahman.

2

The next question is—What is the nature of Brahman? It has been answered in various ways. We shall here consider what Sankara says in his Bhashya on the *Mandukya Up.* The question is—'Which is Brahman?' The answer is the Self (*Atman*) is Brahman. We usually find the self in three states, viz.:—(i) in the state of waking, (ii) in the state of dreaming, and (iii) in the state of deep sleep. The self in the state of waking has

- (1) 5 external senses
- (2) 5 internal senses
- (3) 5 breaths (prana)
- (4) Manas
- (5) Buddhi
- (6) Citta
- (7) Ahankara.

These nineteen are the avenues of experience and knowledge. With these the Self enjoys the world and has objective experience. When this state is merged in the state of dreaming, his experience becomes purely subjective. When this state again is merged in the state of deep sleep the Self has neither objective nor subjective experience.

The self becomes an undifferentiated homogeneous mass. The language of Sankara is "यथा रात्रौ नैशेन तमसा अविभज्यमान सर्वं वनमिव तद्वत्प्रज्ञान-वनम्" Bh. Mān. 5.

As at night all becomes, as it were, one undifferentiated mass under nocturnal darkness, even so is the '*Prajnanaghana*' (The mass of knowledge).

These are the three ordinary states of the self. Neither the first nor the second state of the self is the true nature of Brahman. According to Yajñavalkya the state of deep sleep is the true state of the self. Br. Up. iv. 3.21-32.

But Sankara following the *Mandukya Up.* says, even the state of deep sleep is not the true state of Brahman, because in that state there is the germ of avidya which causes the self to awaken. There is the fourth state which is the real nature of Brahman. This state, generally called *turiya*, i.e. the fourth, is principally described negatively. It is not बहिः प्रज्ञम् (*Bahih-prajnam*), that is, it has no objective experience. Thus the world of waking experience is negated. It is not अन्तः प्रज्ञम्, antah-prajnam, that is, it has no subjective experience. Thus the state of dream experience is negated. It is not प्रज्ञान-वनम्, prajñana-ghanam, that is, it is not a mass of knowledge as in the state of deep sleep.

The Turiya or the fourth state has been called प्रपञ्चोपशमम् (*prapançopasamam*) by which Sankara means "the absence of the states of waking, dreaming and deep sleep" (प्रपञ्चोपशममिति जाग्रदादित्यान-धर्माभाव उच्यते) vide Bhashya, Māndukya, Up. 7 and not what our author makes him to mean (p. 205).

The attainment of this state is *moksha*.

From the above exposition of the true state of the Self, it is evident that our author's view of *moksha* is altogether wrong. It cannot mean 'changing the face of the world and making it anew,' as our author thinks. What he means are higher experiences of our work-a-day world. These experiences, as explained by our author, presuppose the existence

(i) of an objective world which can be seen in a new light and which can be changed and transformed into the kingdom of God; and (ii) of a subject with activities of the mind—(knowing, feeling and willing) for changing, transforming and experiencing anew that objective world.

But even in the third state, the objective world has vanished and the activities of the mind with its nineteen avenues of experience and knowledge have ceased to exist. So in the last two states there is no objective world to be modified and no activities to modify it.

The state of deep sleep approximates to the fourth state. What worldly experience is not possible in deep sleep, cannot be possible in the Fourth state.

As in the third state, so necessarily in the Fourth state, the objective world, objective experience and subjective experience—all vanish like the dream world. What remains is one undifferentiated homogeneous Being, which is the Self in its own truest nature. This is *moksha*.

(xxi)

CREATION

We shall now discuss Sankara's views on Creation, as the subject is allied to what we have already discussed.

In Indian scriptures, *true* creation means *Parināma*, transformation. This world is a modification of God. There is a variety of expressions to express this idea. God becomes many, He transforms himself into this world, this world came out of God, all these expressions, truly interpreted, support the theory of Real Creation. Vedic texts describing this sort of creation are called *Parināma-Sruti* (परिणाम-श्रुति). According to Sankara such *Parināma-srutis* do not express *parināma*.

न चेयं परिणाम-श्रुतिः

परिणाम-प्रतिपादनार्था ।

Bhashya, Br. Sutra, ii. 1.27.

The object of such texts is to impart instruction about the identity of the Self with Brahman who is above this phenomenal world.

According to Sankara there is no creation; so this apparent world is non-existent.

(1)

In another place (Bhashya, Br. S. ii. 1. 33) he says—"These vedic texts on creation (सृष्टि-श्रुतिः)

do not refer to the truest reality (परमार्थ-विषया). We must remember that these refer to this phenomenal world which is imagined by *avidya* (अविद्या कल्पित) and characterized by name and form." Their object is to teach that Brahman is our Self.

(2)

Sankara's Bhashya on Br. S. iv. 3. 14 is to be read in full. We quote below Thibaut's translation with slight modifications.

Sankara says—"Nor will it avail our opponent to say that Brahman possesses manifold powers, because *Sruti* declares it to be the cause of the world's origination, sustentation and final retraction; for those passages which deny difference have no other sense (but just the absolute denial of all difference).

"But in the same way also those passages of *Sruti* which state the origination and so on of the world have no other sense, *i.e.*, cannot be understood to teach anything but just the origination and so on of the world."

To this argument Sankara says—

"This is not so, we reply; for what they aim at teaching is the absolute oneness of Brahman"

(तासां एकत्वं प्रतिपादनं परत्वात्)

Sankara further says :

"Thus the passages of the *Sruti* about the origination and so on of the world, aim at teaching the unity of the Self, and Brahman cannot therefore be viewed as possessing manifold powers." (Bhashya iv 3, 14).

We thus see that according to Sankara (i) Brahman cannot be said to possess power (शक्ति) and (ii) there is no creation, and so there is no world.

(3)

The same idea occurs in the Bhashya of the Br. Upanishad. In one place he says—

"It is thus established that the words about creation, etc., are meant to shew the unity of the self" (सृष्ट्यादि-वाक्यानाम् आत्मैकत्वं दर्शनार्थं परत्वोपपत्तिः)

Br. Up. i. 4.7 (Anandasrama ed., p. 126, lines 14-15).

(4)

The same idea occurs in the following sentence of the same section :

सृष्ट्यादि वाक्यानाम् आत्मैकत्वं-प्रतिपत्त्यर्थं परत्वात् प्रकृतमेव तस्य दर्शनम्

(The same ed. p. 127, lines 25-26).

(5)

In the Bhashya of ii. 1.20 of the same Upanishad, we find the following—

परमात्मैकत्वं-प्रत्यय-प्रतिष्ठेने उत्पत्ति-स्थिति-प्रलय-प्रतिपादकानि वान्यानि

(Anandasrama ed. p. 296, lines 27-28).

It means—"The texts declaring the origination, sustenance and re-absorption are meant for confirming the belief in the unity of the supreme Self."

(6)

Here is another sentence—

तस्मात् उत्पत्त्यादि भुवः

आत्मैकत्व-प्रतिपादनपराः ।

(Bh. Br. Up. ii. 1. 20; p. 297, lines 11-12, the same edition)

It means—"Therefore the *Sruti* texts declaring the origination, etc., are for establishing the unity of the Self."

(7)

The following is another sentence in the same section—

तस्मात् एकत्व-प्रत्यय-दाढ्याय सुवर्ण-मणि-लोहाग्नि-विस्फुल्लिग-
इष्टान्तान् उत्पत्त्यादि-वेद-प्रतिपादनपराः

(Ibid. p. 298, lines 20-21).

It means—"The examples of gold, gem, iron, and sparks of fire, are meant for confirming the belief in the unity (of the Self) and not for establishing the origination and other differentiations."

(8)

Here is another sentence in the same section—

तस्मात् एकत्वे क्व-यत्प्रत्यय-दाढ्याय एव सर्ववेदान्तेषु उत्पत्ति-
स्थिति-प्रत्यय-दि-कल्पना, न तत्प्रत्यय-करणाय ।

(Ibid., p. 299, lines 4-5).

It means—"Therefore the *kalpana* (imagination or fiction) of the origination, sustenance and re-absorption (found) in all the *Vedāntas* are meant for confirming the belief in the unity (of the Self) and not for believing those (stories) to be actual facts."

(9)

The sixth question, in the Prasnopanishad is about the *Purusha* with sixteen *Kālās* (कला) The *Purusha* is the Highest Self and *Kālās* means parts. Sankara explains it by *avayava*, i. e., body. These sixteen *Kālās* are *Prana*, *Sraddha*, *Akasa*, air, fire, water, earth, senses, mind, food, strength, *tapah mantras*, *karma*, worlds and name. In the second mantra it is said that these *Kālās* rise in *Purusha*. In popular language, the rise of *Kālās* means the creation of *Kālās*.

Sankara, in his commentary on this passage, says that the *Purusha* is really without *Kālās*, निष्कल, *nishkalah* ; but through *avidya* he appears

to be with *Kālās*, *sakala iva*. He uses the particle *iva*, which means—"as it were". It shows that *Prana* and other *Kālās* are not really in the *Purusha* ; it is only through *avidya*, that we attribute these things to Him. Sankara then says that the *Purusha* is non-dual and pure entity and therefore cannot be described except by super-imposition *adyaropam antarena*.

It becomes therefore necessary to say that everything arises, exists and disappears in him. This defect is then remedied by the elimination of what was super-imposed (अभ्यासे-अपनयनेन). First it is said that all things arise in him. Then it is said that these things have been falsely attributed to him and that nothing can in truth arise in Him.

This method is always used by monistic philosophers. In his commentary on the *Gita* xiii. 13, he adopts the same method and quotes the following saying in defence—

अभ्यारोपापवादाभ्यां

निष्प्रपञ्चं प्रपञ्चते

(*adhyaropāpavādābhyām nishprapañcam prapañcyate*. That which is without *prapañca* is described by *adhyaropa* and *apavāda*.)

Prapañca means that which appears, i. e., the world ; *adhyaropa* means super-imposition, attribution and *apavāda* means negation, denial.

First we attribute someth to Brahman, then we deny it. The Indescribable is thus described.

In the *Bhashya* of *Prasna Up.* vi. 4, Sankara says that the creation is due to *avidya* and it is like the vision of two moons, gnats, flies, etc., created by defective eye-sight (तैमिरिक-दृष्टि-सृष्टाः)

or like the vision objects created in dreams (स्वप्नदृष्टाः *Svapna-drik-Srishtāh*).

The *Mundakopanishad* ii. 1. 3 says that *prāna*, *manah* and other things are born from God.

Sankara, in commenting on this, says that the creation of all these is due to *avidya* and that these things do not really exist in God. These are falsehoods (अनृत) and are objects of *avidya*.

The Highest cannot be said to have these, as a son-less man cannot be said to have a son when he sees a son in dreams (अपुनस्य स्वप्नदृष्टेनैव पुत्रं सपुनस्य) ।

Here the world is compared to objects seen in dreams.

(12)

At the beginning of the *Bhashya* of *Aitareya Up.* ii. 1, Sankara has discussed the meaning of creation. According to him.

(i) It is *arthavada*, i. e., hyperbole.

(ii) But it is more reasonable (युक्तर) to call it a story as people usually fabricate, (लोकवद इत्यादि-प्रपञ्चः). The creation story is invented to explain and comprehend easily the truth that, like a juggler, the Great Juggler the omniscient and omnipresent God, has created all these things.

(13)

In the concluding section of *Bhashya*, *Br. Up.* iv. 4. 35, Sankara has thoroughly discussed the subject. We give here a summary of the section.

When we teach about numbers, we draw some figures and say 'this figure is one', 'this figure is ten', 'this is hundred' and so on. Here we teach numbers and not those lines.

Again, when boys are taught the alphabet, we use paper and ink and draw certain lines; then we teach them letters. No one says that paper, ink, etc., are letters. Letters *varnas* are taught by what are not letters.

Similarly when we wish to impart instruction about Brahman, we imagine origination, sustenance and re-absorption of the world. But thereby we create heterogeneity in what is homogeneous. Then we remove this defect by such precepts "neti", "neti", "not this", "not this".

As we teach numbers by what is not a number, as we teach *varna*, letter, by what is not *varna*, so we teach truths about Brahman by what do not belong to Brahman.

(14)

Now let us quote some passages from the Bhashya of Sankara on the Mandukya Karika.

"This, *prapanca*, does not exist (न तु स विद्यते) being only imagination (कल्पितत्वात्) like that of the snake for the rope." Bh. i. 17.

The '*prapanca*' means the phenomenal world or the illusory world.

(15)

Commenting on Mānd. ii. 6, Sankara says—what is naught at the beginning and is also naught at the end, is necessarily non-existent in the middle. Hence he concludes that waking experience is false, as mirage, though fools regard it as real.

(16)

In Bhashya, Karika iii. 15 Sankara says that the creation is not real. "Creation illustrated by the examples of earth, iron and sparks of fire, has an entirely different meaning. They are simply helps for realizing the identity of the Jiva and the Supreme Self." Bh. iii. 15.

(17)

In the commentary on Karika iii. 23, Sankara says, "It is true that there are texts of the *Śruti* declaring creation, but they have a different meaning. They are helps for realizing Brahman. The texts on creation declare creation, which is like the creation of an illusionist."

(18)

He says in another place, "The creation which has been imagined for the purpose of establishing the Unity of the Self is really false" Bhashya. Kā. iii. 24.

(19)

In the Comm. Karika, iv. 3 declares the unreality of the waking experience. (अस्तुत्वं जाग्रदस्तुतः)

According to him, "the waking experience is real only to the dreamer and to no one else". 'It is like dream'. (स्वप्नवत्)

(20)

In another place (Bhashya K. iii. 48) Sankara says that the creation as illustrated by the examples of earth, iron, etc., is simply a means for realizing Brahman and is not, in reality, true.

(21)

Comm. K. IV. 36.

The body that is seen to be wandering in dreams is unreal.

As the body seen in dreams is unreal so all things in waking experience are unreal, being creations of the mind.

(22)

Comm. K. iv. 58.

The self and other things that are imagined to be produced...are 'not produced in truth and reality.

They are *Maya*, illusion, and to be considered as *Maya*. This *maya* does not exist; what is non-existent is called *Maya*.

(23)

Comm. K. iv. 59.

In this place Sankara takes the example of jugglers who through illusive power produce mango trees from a seed. Sankara says—

"As from seeds such as of mango tree, all *Māya*, illusory, comes out sprouts which are also *Māya*, so in the case of everything of the Universe..."

(24)

Comm. Karika iv. 68—70.

"As all creatures that are seen in dreams and illusions are born, and die, so all beings—men and others—are non-existent and are but imagination of the mind (अविद्यमाना एव; चित्त-विकल्पना-मात्राः)।

We refrain from quoting other examples.

Thus we see that according to Sankara creation is a fiction. The world is illusory. It may be compared to mirage and a dream world. In moksha, it vanishes like the dream-world. So Dr. Radhakrishnan's interpretation of moksha, the nature of the world and its relation to Brahman is fundamentally wrong.

But there are many other points which have been correctly interpreted. The interpretation of the views of Ramanuja is on the whole correct.

The Miser's Wealth

By SITA DEVI

DINABANDHU Saha had amassed a good deal of money. Nobody knew exactly how much it was, because the old man took no one into his confidence. Some said he had a lac. Others laughed at this guess and said one lac was nothing to the old miser. He could purchase ten villages with what he had in his iron safe.

Everyone was busy conjecturing the fate

of this hidden hoard, everyone with the exception of Dinabandhu himself. Who was going to get it? The old man's sole relatives were his wife and daughter. Dinabandhu spent as little on them as possible. They got a few seers of rice every month, and three annas daily as bazaar money. He himself lived on next to nothing. In the morning, he took fried rice with molasses and washed

it down with water. In the evening, he had *prasad* * from the village temple, which cost him nothing at all. He felt extremely aggrieved, because his wife and daughter did not follow his example.

However, God must have listened to his silent prayers at last. His wife died one day after suffering for months and her relatives came and took away the child. Dinabandhu's heart ached for a few days as he looked at the empty and silent room, but he soon managed to comfort himself. Though he had lost his wife and his daughter too had been taken away from him, yet he had been saved much expense. Three annas daily came up to nearly six rupees a month, and the price of the rice too was not negligible. This thought cheered him up considerably and he began to collect his interest with more zeal. His shop too prospered more and more.

His daughter Satyabati did not come back to him. Years passed on. Every year, at the time of the Durga Puja, he would spend twelve or fourteen annas over a striped or checked sari for his daughter and send it to her. He would select one of his poorer clients and send it by his hand so that it might not cost him anything. Thus once a year, he heard from his daughter. The rest of the time, he forgot that he had a daughter at all. As she was with her mother's relatives, he did not think it necessary to offer them money for her board or lodging. They might be offended if he did so, he told himself. Satyabati's marriage too was celebrated in her maternal uncle's house. Dinabandhu happened to be busy over a law-suit then and he could not manage to be present. He did not send any money or presents either. Years passed on as before and Dinabandhu saved that annual expenditure of twelve annas too. It would hardly do to send only a sari to his son-in-law's house. One should send presents and sweets also. But he had no wife to manage these things for him, so he did not try to do anything.

His homestead presented a sorry spectacle to the sight. The bricks began to fall off now, the plaster had fallen off long ago. The grounds around and the yard became full of grass and undergrowth. After nightfall nobody dared to pass that way for fear of treading on snakes or scorpions. Dinabandhu had no fear in him. He would move about

in the night like a creature of darkness. It cost money to have a lantern burning, so he did without any sort of light at all. Only one small earthen lamp burnt in a corner of the room in which he lived. Its dim light served only to make the surrounding darkness all the more full of terrors. Even thieves were afraid of the place. So Dinabandhu did not find it at all difficult to live within this ruined house with untold wealth in his possession.

But Dame Fortune is proverbial for fickleness. Dinabandhu had bad times in store for him. His daughter Satyabati became a widow and as there was nobody now in her mother's family who could give her shelter, she came back to her father. Both her grand-mother and her uncle were dead. She did not come alone, her son Balai, a boy of seven or eight, came with her.

The first sight of the boy nearly drove Dinabandhu crazy with anger. Whence did this imp of satan arrive to trouble his peace? Satyabati was his daughter after all and he had once been accustomed to spend money for her. So her reappearance did not cause him so much uneasiness. She would cost him even less now than she had done before as she was a widow and would have but one meal and that too without fish or meat. Dinabandhu was getting old and rheumatic, sometimes he would scream with pain the whole night. He could not move hand or foot to get himself a glass of water even if he died of thirst. People advised him to engage a servant as servants were cheap in villages. He would have to give the man his board and a salary of two or three rupees at the most. But Dinabandhu did not dare to keep any one inside his house. He did not know whom to trust. What if the fellow should make off with his life's savings? He preferred any amount of suffering to such a calamity. But he could trust his daughter. She would look after him much better than a paid servant, and she would not take any money for her pains. Besides she would eat much less than a servant. So he was glad on the whole to get his daughter back.

He stepped carefully over the thorns and insects that overran his yard and came out to welcome his daughter.

"Come in, my dear" he said, "to think that I should have lived to see this day. But God knows best."

"I hope you are all right, father," said Satyabati rather drily. "I had to come away

* A portion of the food-offerings made to a god.

in a hurry, so I could not write to you before."

Dinabandhu was expecting a storm of tears and was trying himself to bring a little moisture into his own eyes. He was rather taken aback at his daughter's attitude. But Satyabati could not weep. Even greater than the sorrow of her husband's death, was her shame at having to come back to such a father.

"But don't stand on the road my dear," said Dinabandhu, "come in and pay off that man. I hope you have got the necessary money."

"I have", said his daughter shortly. "Come down Balai. What are you doing inside the cart?"

Balai came down with a bundle in his hand. The rest of the luggage comprising a tin trunk and a bundle of bedding was taken out by the driver.

Dinabandhu was burning with anger at the sight of the boy. A boy, in his growing stage! He would be sure to eat like a gander and he would tear his clothing every day, running and jumping about. He felt sorry now, for the first time, for the untimely death of his son-in-law. If the rascal had lived Dinabandhu would have been spared all these trouble.

The boy was standing as if petrified at the fearful sight of his future home. "Show the man where to put the luggage," Satyabati said to her father, "What's the use of keeping him waiting? I want to pay him off."

Dinabandhu would have liked to pay them all off. But that was not to be. So he swallowed his chagrin as best as he could and said, "Bring it this way. Mind your steps a bit, there are no end of insects here. I am too old now to clear all this jungle. Your boy looks big and strong. Won't he be able to manage this?"

Satyabati's face took on a sterner look. Without giving any reply she passed inside the ruined house with all her luggage and her son.

Most of the roof of the house had come down, leaving only one room fit for human habitation. In this, lived Dinabandhu with his iron safe. Even the kitchen was in ruins, as Dinabandhu had no need to cook. He did not like to let any one inside his room. But he could hardly keep his daughter and grandson standing outside in

the midst of the ruin. So he had to put them up in his room for the time being.

As soon as she had paid off the carter Satyabati turned to her father and said, "The boy did not get anything to eat since the morning. You don't have any food cooked, I suppose? Where is the kitchen? I must prepare something for him."

"There's no arrangement at all for cooking," said Dinabandhu in distress. "The roof of the kitchen has fallen in. How shall you manage?"

Satyabati remained silent for a moment, then said, "I must manage somehow. The child cannot starve."

Dinabandhu sat and stared at his daughter. The girl had grit, anyway. She cleared away the rubbish from one corner of the corridor, then set up a few bricks there to serve as an oven. She had firewood enough all around, so a fire began to crackle merrily very soon. Fortunately she had all her kitchen utensils with her and some uncooked rice and a few vegetables. She had brought these along intending to use them on the road, but somehow had not. So food was ready soon enough. Dinabandhu did not object to share it when his daughter invited him. When no expense had to be incurred he would let himself go. So between his grandson and himself, they soon cleared off the brass cooking pot. Satyabati did not have anything as she had not bathed before cooking. After they had finished, she took all the pots and pans to the village tank to clean them. When she returned after cleaning them and bathing, the sun was about to set. No more cooking was possible so she went without anything and her child had to remain content with a portion of *prasad* from the village temple.

Next morning, Dinabandhu understood fully that ill luck had really befallen him. His head began to swim when he thought of the expense he would have certainly to undergo. He would have to put up a roof, over one of the rooms for his daughter to live in. The kitchen, too, must be repaired. Then he must give them bazaar money and buy them rice, etc. He would scarcely be let off with that much. That wretched boy must have clothes, so must his daughter. When that boy's father died, why did not he take that rascal along with him? The brat must have been born to work Dinabandhu's ruin.

He had to spend the money, however he

might regret it. One of the rooms got a thatched roof and the kitchen too was repaired. Satyabati and her son cleared off the bushes and the undergrowth that had turned the front yard into a jungle, and made walking safe. The darkness, too, was illumined now by two or three lamps. As Satyabati cooked every day, Dinabandhu too began to share their breakfast. Since he was being made to pay through the nose, he did not see why he should suffer unnecessary privations. But he was adamant on one point. He would not allow Satyabati to cook more than once a day. It was asking too much of him. Why should not the boy be satisfied with the *prasad* from the village temple in the evening? Dinabandhu had hitherto lived solely on it. Satyabati was helpless. But she could not allow the boy to go hungry at night. She used to hide some rice and curries for him from the morning's cooking, and with that the boy had to remain content.

Nowadays, the old man was being looked after properly. He was receiving fresh cooked food every day. If he felt thirsty at night he had but to ask for water; if the pain in his legs increased, his daughter would come and rub them with warm oil. During the long Indian winter, he used to suffer very much from cold, as he had no adequate clothing. But now Satyabati had given him one of her quilts, seeing his pitiable condition. Though it was an old one, yet it gave him quite good service. If he had to go out in the evening, he could do so safely now, there being no snakes or scorpions in the front yard. If he felt too bad to go out his grandson Balai would go in his stead and carry out his orders scrupulously.

But he had lost all peace. Even when his wife had been living, he had to spend less. Whenever he was made to part with a pice, it seemed to him, as if he was parting with one of his ribs. These people had come to work his destruction. But his words of protest would die on his lips whenever he looked at the face of his daughter. Ever since she had arrived here, she had ceased to laugh or to cry, she seemed to have turned into stone. She spoke very little. Dinabandhu felt afraid to look at her eyes. The poor old man had no one in whom he could confide. He brooded alone in his misery.

One day Satyabati suddenly said, "The

boy is running wild. Why not put him in the village school?"

Dinabandhu flared up at once. Put him to school indeed! Was not he the son of a Nabab? And who, if you please, was going to pay the fee and buy him books and slates and a hundred other things? Who was going to get him clothes? It was none of his concern.

But as usual he felt afraid of his daughter and could not voice his indignation. "Who will pay the school-fee?" that was all he could utter.

Satyabati remained silent for a while. Then, "Very well," she said, "It's only eight annas a month. I shall pay it."

"And who is going to find the books and stationery?" asked Dinabandhu. But Satyabati walked out of the room without deigning to answer.

Old Nibaran Mukherjee was in sole charge of the village school. He had just returned home after his day's work and was washing his hands and feet in the front yard of his house, when someone bowed down to him.

The evening shadows had deepened still more by the aid of the smoke rising from his kitchen and cattle pen, so the old man could not distinguish who the person was.

"Who is it?" he asked, peering down, "I am afraid, I don't see clearly in the evening."

Satyabati introduced herself. "I have been here, quite a long time," she said, "But could not come before to pay my respects to you. Please be kind enough to take in my son. He is simply running wild."

Old Nibaran had never been celebrated for charity or philanthropy. Still, Satyabati was a daughter of the village; moreover, she was a widow, so she could hardly be dismissed at once. He tried to compromise. "I am helpless, my dear," he said, "the school does not belong to me. I am but a paid teacher. If you can pay the school-fee, I shall have your boy admitted at once. I may procure him old books and slates. That's as much as I can do. You know my financial condition very well, my daughter. Instead of helping others, I need help myself."

"All right, Sir," Satyabati said. "If the school-fee must be paid, I shall pay it. Please remember about the books and things."

Next morning, Balai bathed and dressed in clean things and was taken to the old schoolmaster's house early. Satyabati again

bowed down to him and placed six rupees at his feet. "I give you one year's school fee in advance," she said, "I may not be able afterwards to procure money. You will get the books for him, as you kindly promised."

The old Brahmin was rather taken aback. He had never expected that the miser's daughter would be able to pay the school-fees. Otherwise, he would not have made that promise about the school books. He used to gather old books and slates and sell them second-hand. But he could not go back on his words now. He had to part with a torn book and a broken slate. He forced a smile to his lips and said, "Don't fear. I shall keep my word. But how did you get the money so quickly? Your father is not a person to part with good money readily."

"He did not give me the money," said Satyabati, "I sold my brassplates and tumblers for it."

So Balai went to school and his mother returned home with a heavy heart. The ruined house seemed horrible to her now. As long as the child had been with her, she had hardly realized its horrors.

Next morning, Dinabandhu noticed that his daughter was cooking in an earthenware pot.

"Where are your pots and pans?" he asked his daughter.

"I sold them to pay for Balai's schooling," she replied calmly.

"Sold them?" asked Dinabandhu quite flustered, "To whom? For how much?"

"I sold them to the blacksmith for six rupees."

Dinabandhu struck his forehead with his fist and collapsed on the ground. "I never heard of anything so silly," he moaned. "You deserve all the trouble that has come upon you. The things would have fetched ten to twelve rupees any time. You went and gave them away for six rupees? The school fee is only eight annas per month. What have you done with the rest of the money?"

Satyabati knew quite well that it was not safe to bring the money home. If she had, her father would have secured it by hook or by crook. Therefore she had entrusted it to the schoolmaster.

"I have paid for one year, all at once," she said in reply to her father.

Dinabandhu began to abuse her aloud. So great was his rage that he forgot the

fear which she habitually inspired in him. Who except a woman could act so stupidly? How did she know that the boy will remain in school for one year? What guarantee was there, that he would live one year? He knew old Nibaran. Once the money had got into his clutches, it was useless trying to regain it. You might as well expect to get a child back from a witch's hands. The woman was the personification of ill luck! Since she had entered his house Dinabandhu was undergoing one misfortune after another. A person who did not care for her own money was not likely to do so for her father's money. He was ready to excuse the sale of her pots and pans, but why did she part with the money? If she had entrusted it to him, he would have put it out to good interest. Instead of that the stupid woman went and paid for her son's schooling. The boy was going to be a judge of the High Court, he supposed, from all the fuss about his education!

The old man became very nervous about the fate of his own money. His daughter was his sole heir, but if the money fell into her hands she would squander it in a day. He was getting old and was not likely to last much longer. To whom could he entrust the money which he had amassed starving and denying himself all along to do so? He thought and thought and nearly went crazy. He would shriek out even in the midst of sleep. He dreamt that robbers were taking away his money. Satyabati would come and shake him up.

In the meantime, Balai went on with his education. But Dinabandhu's plight became worse every day. The boy's clothing were getting threadbare. One of these days, his daughter would demand new clothes for the boy. One winter passed off somehow, but next winter he would be forced to provide new things for them. Then the house, too, plagued him no end. Everyday, there was something to repair. This roof came down or that wall fell in. He was living in hell.

The winter passed off. But with the advent of spring all sorts of diseases broke out in the village. The people became careless and put away all warm clothing with the result that nearly all went down with cold and fever. Fever was nothing very unusual in villages, but dreadful names soon began to be whispered. A small-pox epidemic broke out amongst the unfortunate people.

An ominous shadow seemed to hover over the whole countryside.

Dinabandhu used to return home for his breakfast in the afternoon after spending the morning collecting interest. That day he returned as usual and said, "We must all take bitters and be careful not to catch cold. There are many cases of small-pox in the village."

"We ought to have the boy vaccinated," said Satyabati interrupting him.

"Oh, that's all rot", her father said, with supreme disdain, "vaccination never prevented anybody from dying. That's merely a hoax for squeezing money out of the ignorant."

Satyabati had to become silent. But her heart became heavy in anticipation of coming evil.

Some people are marked by Destiny as the perpetual recipients of her favour. Satyabati was one of those. From her childhood upwards, she had been suffering from blows of Fate, and even now she did not escape. A few days later, Balai returned from school with fever. Next day, the dread signs appeared all over his body.

Satyabati felt the cold hand of death, clutching at her heart. She had lost all she loved with the exception of this child. She had showered on him all the pent up love and affection of her heart. But he too perhaps was going to be taken away from him. But she had become accustomed to suffering in silence, and even now she remained unperturbed outwardly. She nursed her child, sitting by his side day and night. From that day she gave up cooking altogether.

Dinabandhu became wild with fear. He feared to lose everything he had. If the dread disease should come upon him, he would be sure to die. And then Satyabati would squander all his money. If he had any place to go to, he would have escaped with his hoard, but he did not possess a single friend in the world. He could hardly go about the streets with so much money. He would be killed and robbed in no time. So he had to sit helpless in his room calling up on God to preserve him. He did not get any breakfast, but that troubled him little. He bought some fried rice and that sufficed for him.

Balai lost all consciousness very soon and moaned and groaned all the time. Satyabati sat by his side fanning him and passing her hand over his burning forehead.

At first she had hoped for his recovery. Small-pox was not uncommon in villages and she had seen people getting well after an attack. But as time passed, she began to realize its seriousness. Her heart seemed about to burst with grief. Alas for helpless mother-love! She could do nothing for her child.

Satyabati would have cut off her own head any day than ask any favour of her miserly father. But now she gave up all self-respect, all sense of grievance. She ran to her father with tears in her eyes. "Please father", she said, "get a doctor for him. Else my child will die."

Dinabandhu was busy adding up the interest due to him. At the sound of his daughter's voice, he lifted up his head. "Doctor?" he almost shouted. "Where am I to get one from? There is none in this village. If you want one, you have to get him from the next village. And it costs, I don't know how much. You have to pay him his fees, besides carriage fare and you have to give him tea and things. It's impossible for me."

Satyabati's brain seemed to be on fire. Was this a man or a demon? "You have piled up money, sky high", she said excitedly, "what are you going to do with it? Will you take it along with you, when you die? My child is dying, cannot you spend a few rupees for him?"

Dinabandhu got up much flustered. "Money? I have no money", he said, "every son and daughter of a beggar thinks I have got much. Don't you see, I eat next to nothing and go about in torn clothes? Is that the sign of wealth?"

"I don't want your lies now", said his daughter. "You have never done the duties of a father, try to do it now. Your money won't go with you to the other world. How will you answer to God? Don't torture your own flesh and blood like this."

"Shut up, you wretch", cried Dinabandhu. "Don't nag. I tell you, I have got no money. It's no concern of yours whether I take my money with me or not. Get out of my way. I have to go to the shop now."

Dinabandhu made his escape. He decided not to come back, so as to escape his daughter's upbraidings. He locked up his room before he left, though Satyabati could hardly have broken open his iron safe. The old miser knew that no one would venture near the house now for fear of infection, so

he was safe from thieves, for the time being. He stayed on at the shop and did not return even at night.

To Satyabati the world grew dark. What could she do alone, in this horrible ruin, over which the shadow of death already hung? She felt sure now that the boy would die. Deceptive hope whispered in her ear that he would get well, but she hardly had the strength to believe it. The boy was sinking fast.

There was not a single person in the house, who could have helped her. She could not leave the unconscious boy to seek help in the village. If the boy should ask for water? There was none to give it to him. If he should roll down from the bed and hurt himself. Merciful God, why do you send such trials to poor human beings? She knew for certain now, that she would lose her son, but the cruellest blow to her heart came from the knowledge that she had not been able to give him a drop of medicine or to do anything to lessen his agony. God showed her a little mercy towards the last. She did not have to witness the death spasms of her only child. In the darkness of night, Balai passed off into the great unknown leaving the worn out woman sleeping. He did not bid her any farewell, perhaps because she had been unable to lessen his suffering.

Next morning villagers found a woman rushing about wildly and calling to people. Her son had died and his body was lying uncremated. Her father had left the house a couple of days ago.

No one went to her help. They belonged to an inferior caste. Moreover, the boy had died of a mighty infectious disease. So every one she approached ran away from her.

"Get away, you wretched woman," they shouted from a distance. "Because your son is dead, you want to destroy the whole village?"

"Send for your old father," another advised, "and tell him to inform the police. They will send the district board sweepers to take away the body. Who do you think is going to carry the body of the old miser? When he dies, nobody would touch the old vulture."

Satyabati returned home. Her darling Balai, the light of her eyes! So nobody would touch him? But the mother was still living, she had not been able to save him, but she could arrange to go with him. She laughed shrilly like a witch, as she made her plans. Even the walls of the ruined building shook at her demoniac laughter.

There was no lack of wood anywhere. She collected a pile, then she dragged down the straw for the thatch, with the help of a bamboo. Everything was ready for the cremation. She took her child in her arms, and came and sat down in the middle.

"Now, there will be no lack of people to watch over your money," she cried and set fire to the straw. "We two, mother and son, shall act as keepers to your wealth."

As the bright flames leapt up to the sky spreading a red glare all around, the villagers became conscious that something unusual was going on. There was a great commotion. Everyone shouted and ran, but nobody knew what to do. They did not dare to approach the terrible fire, they could only stand at a safe distance staring or ran hither and thither aimlessly.

Dinabandhu was about to sit down to his breakfast of fried rice when a lad ran up to him shouting, "Your house is on fire Dinabandhu."

"What? What did you say?" cried the old man springing up. He ran headlong down the street leaving the lad far behind. The fire had by that time spread to the wood and bushes surrounding the ruins. The villagers remained staring aghast at the conflagration.

"Where have you been, you old rascal?" cried a woman from the crowd, "Your daughter has burnt herself to death."

"I am ruined, oh Lord!" screamed Dinabandhu and sprang headlong into that sea of fire.

The villagers deserted that part of the village after this event. Nobody would pass by that way even. Some dare devils tried once or twice. They were found insensible on the road. The old man, his daughter and her son were reported to dwell inside the charred ruins. They kept watch over the buried treasure.



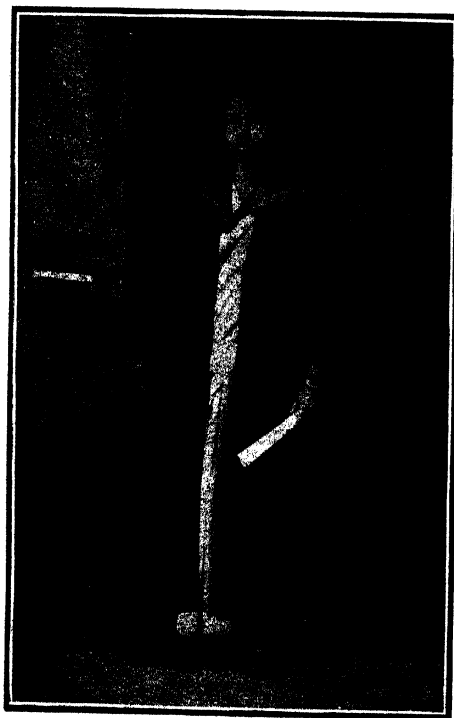
It is a happy sign of the times that more and more of our sisters are engaging in educational and social work.

Examination and the Miss MANKAR Scholarship in the M. A. Examination. She next joined the staff of the Crosthwaite Girls' School at



Srimati Jamuna Hirlekar

SRIMATI JAMUNA HIRLEKAR, M.A. is an ardent social worker of Bombay. She graduated from the St. Xavier's College, Bombay, and obtained a second class degree in M. A. with Mathematics as her optional subject. Mrs. Hirlekar was the recipient of the GANGABAI BHAT Scholarship in the Intermediate



Miss Zainab Rahim

Allahabad and worked there for three years. She travelled for a year and a half in England and Germany, where she studied the Educational and Social problems of the West,

MISS ZAINAB RAHIM is an enlightened Bengali Muhammadan lady. She received her

early education in the Diocesan College, Calcutta, passed the B. A. Examination in 1928. Miss Zainab is now conducting a Girls' High School at Dinajpur as its Head Mistress.

She has been awarded a Post-Graduate scholarship by the Dacca University and will soon proceed there to complete her studies.

In China

Some Chinese Generals Whom I Saw

By RAJA MAHENDRA PRATAP

I

MARSHAL FENG YU HSIANG, THE CHRISTIAN
GENERAL

It was a day in July, 1925. I together with another Indian friend was going to Kalgan to see Marshal Feng. The train was crowded. We were in a second-class carriage, by no means comfortable. To our great astonishment we noticed Mr. Hsu Chien, formerly Minister of Justice, in another carriage. He was also going to Kalgan. We had seen him at several party dinners or meetings of Kuomintang. He knows English. He gave me some names of hotels where we could stop. He, however, added that someone from the Marshal might come to the station to receive us.

Beautiful scenery of the Nankau hills comes and goes. The historical Chinese wall is pierced through and we pass on. Nothing hinders us. We are going to Kalgan to visit for the first time the famous Christian general and we are wrapped up in thoughts of the coming events.

The train pulls up at the Kalgan station. Not knowing the language of the country, and without interpreters, we are naturally a little anxious. The former Minister of Justice (he is now again the Minister of Justice in the Hankow government) comes to us to help us. In the meantime, however, appear three or four men and they enquire about us. The minister tells us that they are from the Marshal and that we should follow them. They take us to a waiting car, outside the station. I and my friend Mr. Charansingh are taken to a Russian hotel. We wash ourselves and take

a light meal. Now arrives a message from the Marshal. We are to see him at once.

In a small little building not far from the hotel is the head-quarter of the ruler of the north-west provinces of China. We enter the main gate, pass a courtyard and we are shown into a small room. A tall, thickly-built man is standing there. I pass him and proceed to shake hands with Mr. Hsu-Chien who also happens to be here. He, however, quickly directs my attention to the stout and tall man plainly attired and mentions softly, "Marshal!" I feel a little upset. I apologize. He smiles and invites us to take seats. Mr. Hsu-Chien acts as interpreter. I present to the Marshal my book, *The Religion of Love*. After the customary exchanges of greetings and mutual compliments, I begin to express my views on society, politics and religion. I further explain the object of my visit. "I want to go to Tibet and Nepal and I want the help of Marshal Feng." He heard everything very attentively and in the end agreed to my request. He also asked me to speak before his officers. I became his guest in his guest-house.

What impressed me most about the Marshal was his simple life and keen desire to learn everything new. He will come to the guest-house now and then. He will sit on a small simple chair in front of the bungalow. His guests will flock to him. There were many Christian priests staying in the house. All spoke freely and expressed their views on the burning questions of the day.

On two days I spoke to the officers of the Marshal in the large meeting hall. He himself came on both the days and sat cross-legged on the floor without cushion or carpet.

I spoke in English and a Christian chaplain from Hunan province translated my speech. And the Marshal was throughout very busy in taking down notes from what I said.

There was yet another great general at Kalgan in no way less interesting. He was only a subordinate of Marshal Feng, but he was also a great personality. I hear that he has since died. Therefore, I must do homage to his memory. He was a pious and orthodox Christian and strictly vegetarian. He did not live in so simple a building as his master, the Marshal. He occupied the government "Yamen" or palace. He was the civil governor of the province. His name was Chang-Chi-Chang. He also invited me to dinner and asked me to speak before his numerous officials and the town nobility.

In 1926, when Marshal Feng proceeded to Russia, this General Chang-Chi-Chang became Marshal and the acting Commander-in-Chief of all the Feng's forces. The latest news is that this illustrious general still lives!

II

SINNING FU : GENERAL MA-CHI

I will not trouble kind readers with the accounts of several fine generals or governors whom I met on my way to Tibet. They were very interesting to me and certainly very helpful in my difficult journey. However, as their account may not be found of general interest, I shall pass over them here and proceed immediately to relate my story of General Ma-Chi.

This man is not even a governor of one province. Legally he is a subordinate of the Governor of Kansu who resides at Lanchan. But this general Ma-Chi has formed his own province. He rules to-day or ruled when I saw him, from outer Mongolia to outer Tibet. All the Mussalman generals in the different parts of Kansu are either his relatives or his subordinates. As a leader of Islam he has a great influence in the land of Tungans—the Chinese Mohamedans. He is the ruler of all he surveys. He has an army of ten thousand warriors. They are all practically Mussalmans. They are not all well armed with modern implements of war but their proverbial courage and lust of war make them dangerous enemies to those who dare to oppose the will of General Ma-Chi.

I together with an Indian friend, Mr. Daswanda Singh, a student of the California University, proceed to take dinner at the palace of the general. For lack of a better interpreter my Chinese servant accompanies us. As we enter the inner gate of an inner courtyard, I am astonished to find two rows of soldiers flanking our passage. As we approach them, up goes the salute from the military band. What is it? We begin to ask each other. A private dinner or an official reception? But we are no officials. We are poor wanderers on the face of the earth. I simply try to serve our common human family. We are going to Tibet and Nepal to see whether we can do any service to India from those countries. Our Indian friends in California collected money for our expenses. We are poor little things! But here, we are suddenly received as the ambassadors of a great power. We are greatly impressed. We walk on. We enter a big hall beautifully furnished with customary Chinese furniture. The long rolls with some beautiful writings adorn the walls. Electric lamps are also hanging but they are not lighted. But we have no time to look round. The general receives us and asks us to sit on silk cushioned Chinese chairs. There are several guests present. A few more arrive. In this surrounding my Chinese servant who was a rickshaw driver a few months before does not fit in. His education is nil. He knows only a few words of English but we have no other interpreter. Our honourable friend, a Kuomintang party man who was to accompany us throughout our trip as interpreter returned from Lanchan. We must as best we can speak through our Chinese servant. He also did his duty well. To our great relief, however, a young student among the guests at the table happened to know better English. He kindly helped us.

We took our seats around a big table. Dish after dish was brought, there was no end of courses. Twenty, thirty, forty different kinds of plates we must have tasted. We forgot to count and it was a pity we had no counting machine at hand.

Later on this general gave me a public address. The Indian, of course national Indian, and the Chinese republican flags flew over our meetings. It was a greatly impressive ceremony.

I must mention that without the aid of General Ma-Chi I could not have been

successful in taking our Indian mission to the "independent" Tibet of the Dalai Lama.

III

SUCHUAN SOME LOCAL GENERALS

The stories of Tibet will be related somewhere else. This article deals with China. Let us, therefore, hurry to the Chinese province of Suchuan in order of my travels. We entered this province when we emerged from Tibet.

I met a local general at Tachin lu, the capital of Chinese Tibet in the south. Formerly the Chinese generals of Tachin lu were as powerful as the general of Sinning Fu, but since some time they are only subordinates of the Yachow general. The present commander may not be very important but the place cannot lose its importance. It is the meeting place of China and Tibet. The general gave us quarters in a private house. The host was a local merchant of some importance. He was half-Chinese and half-Tibetan but looked like an Indian.

The general gave us a dinner and came to see us. I forgot to mention that the Sinning general had also paid us a visit. And before I left Kalgan on my first visit to that town Marshal Feng-yu-Hsiang himself came to my room to say good-bye. The Chinese authorities on the whole are very polite people and they try to express their kindness by dinners and visits if they can find time.

IV

YACHOW

The only unpleasant experience we had was with the general of Yachow. He somehow did not care to see us. The worst of it was that twice he invited us to breakfast or tea, and twice, when we had arrived at his palace, informed us through some of his adjutants and interpreters that he was too ill to receive us. His political secretary came to us at our Chinese inn and brought presents of European brandy and some Chinese biscuits. I did not accept the brandy as I am "dry-in-principle", but thanked him profusely for the presents which were a symbol of his kindness. The secretary told us that the British Consul-General at Chengto, the capital of Suchuan, had demanded our arrest and therefore the Chinese authorities in the province were not in a position to extend to us the welcome which we deserved

I did not hesitate to express my dissatisfaction at the general's attitude in not receiving us, but I added that if this seeming unkindness of the general can help China in any way, we will not be sorry.

The American missionaries of Yachow gave us a much more friendly welcome. We had a fine dinner in their home. That, however, is another story. We are dealing here only with Chinese generals.

V

MARSHAL WU-PEI-FU

"The meeting is arranged. Tomorrow, you will go to see Marshal Wu-Pei-Fu," was the message delivered by my honourable friend Mr. Hu, the Vice-Minister of Education. It was in August, 1926. The news came quite unexpectedly. I was driven out of Japan a few days earlier. Now I had no other wish but to return to Afghanistan and forget the hardships of a long, adventurous journey in the charming gardens of that country. I had no political ambition for the time being. I will be glad, I said, if I can sit an hour before a half-opened flower and hear the guitar of a flowing stream and enjoy the love songs of a mad nightingale. But no, I was not to retire yet to the scenes of one thousand and one nights. Strange to say, when I reached Afghanistan, the curtain of winter fell on my romantic imaginings, and the sense of duty to the cause of humanity drove me back to spin round the world for the fourth time.

My habit of wandering took me away from Peking. I must first describe my meeting with Marshal Wu. Early in the morning, next day, a motor car arrived and brought an assistant of Mr. Hu to my hotel. He took me in his car to the railway station. Here I met Mr. Wang, another of my friends and we all went together to board the special train waiting for us. In half an hour we arrived at the head-quarters of the Marshal, just outside the capital of the celestial republic.

Through the lines of trains we reached the platform where the train *de luxe* of Marshal Wu and his staff was standing. We wait a couple of minutes in front of the office wagon of the Marshal. Through one big plain glass window I get a glimpse of a man talking apparently with someone else whom I do not see. This man has very fair colour and his eyes are also not black. He must be some Englishman who had come to see the Marshal, so I thought.

We are now shown into the wagon. To my great astonishment the fair-coloured man whom I had seen through the window is the Marshal himself. He stands up, comes a step forward, shakes hands and asks me to sit on a chair near to his office table. I present him my book *The Religion of Love* in a Tibetan silver temple. This leads us to a religious and philosophical discussion. Twenty minutes are taken up by the Marshal in propounding the Chinese philosophy. When, however, our topic turns to political problems, the Marshal emphatically asserts that the British have no right to meddle with Tibet. It is a purely Chinese question. He further promises to help me, in case I proceed once again to that country. He told me that he was trying to unite whole China "by force" and when China was a strong, healthy power, she should surely like to see her neighbours in a healthy condition. For the time, however, he had nothing else to think about, save the well-being of China.

He now invited us to take a breakfast with him. We went out of the wagon. The breakfast or rather lunch was served on

the open platform. A passenger train passed the platform where we were taking our meal. It did not disturb the Marshal in his discourse on the social problems of the day. The food was very simple. As soon as we finished, the Marshal received several telegrams. A couple of new visitors came to see him and I and my friends took leave from him.

VI

A LAST WORD

My impression of the Chinese generals, on the whole, is that they are all patriotic in their innermost sentiments, but as some of them of the Marshal Wu-Pei-Fu's type try a good deal more than what an individual can achieve, at least what they can individually accomplish, they look around for help to attain their goal. And since some of them unconsciously accept help from the enemies of China they are encouraged to fight against one another. The lovers of order, peace and happiness throughout the world have surely a duty to do their utmost to help the honest souls of China in re-establishing normal conditions in their beloved country.



"PUJA"—By Krishna Lal Bhat, Kalabhawan, Baroda



[Books in the following languages will be noticed : Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor. M. R.]

ENGLISH

BRITISH EXPANSION IN TIBET: By Taraknath Das, (N. M. Ray Chowdhury & Co., Calcutta), pp. viii + 137 Rs. 1-4as.

A series of articles first published in this Review are collected here. The reprint is consistent in its misprints: Bogle is always *Bogel*, Percival Landon is *Langdon*, Yuan is *Yuan*, etc. The author often relies on American partisan writers like Barkatullah, Carlton Hayes, etc. His concluding dictum is "It will be the duty of India to support China to regain her sovereignty in Tibet" (p. 137) from the British who now exercise control over the last-named State. If any of our readers is so matter-of-fact as to imagine that the expulsion of the British from Tibet is too tall an order on a country like India, we advise him to wait till the dreaded 31st of December of this year, when he will learn the miracle-working power of what Tagore has recently described as "non-violent roaring from a safe distance." Of course, the right of Tibet to self-determination or her repugnance to the overlordship of aliens like the Chinese is no consideration with our author.

J. SARKAR

LIFE IN FREEDOM: By J. Krishnamurti. The Star Publishing Trust, Holland.

The book has been compiled by the author from the camp-fire addresses given in Benares and other places in 1928. In the lecture on 'the search' the author gives certain autobiographical glimpses. "I have entered that sea of liberation and happiness in which there is no limitation on negation because it is the fulfilment of life, after my long journey towards attainment and perfection I have attained that perfection and established it in my heart." He is, however, careful to add: "I never want to be a leader. I never want to have authority, I want you to become your own leaders."

The book is sumptuously printed and got up with a very large margin, and is delightful to handle. The lectures contain some valuable advice which is not in any way above the common, but profound wisdom and depth of spiritual insight and not excellent generalities are what we expected from this much advertised prophet who claims to have attained spiritual perfection.

THE COMING RENAISSANCE: A Study in Socio-Economic, Ethical, and Cultural Problems of the Day. By P. M. L. Varma, M. A., B. Sc., LL. B., Advocate, High Court, Allahabad. The Indian Press, Allahabad. 1928. Price Rs. 3-8-0.

The book is well printed and well-bound, and contains a long and thoughtful introduction by Lala Bhagavan Das. It is divided into the following chapters: 1. The Eastern view of progress and democracy; 2. The need for Socialistic checks; 3. Communalism vs State Socialism; 4. A plea for a just and humane theory of interest; 5. The ideal of the joint family and the place of woman in society; 6. The true labour relations and ethics of distribution; 7. The consummation of the ideal.

As will be seen from the above a variety of topics have been introduced in the book, each one of which deserves an entire volume to itself. The author's general standpoint is a golden mean between Western Socialism and Oriental conservatism, and his ideas are worth being worked out in greater detail.

POLITICUS

THE EDUCATIONAL THEORY OF COMENIUS: By Shamsul Ghani Khan, Head Master, Ajmer Training School, pp. 267.

With a delightful *naivete* rare in these sophisticated days, the author begins the book by tracing his own genealogy, and incidentally gives a fairly full biography of his father and himself (30 pages). Sets of family portraits would perhaps have made the biographies more complete. Incidentally it may be mentioned that just half as much space (15 pp.) has been

given to the life of Comenius, and although the dates of birth of the author and his illustrious father are given, one would look in vain for the year of birth of Comenius. One is irresistibly reminded of the line of Rabindranath, "Kalidasa is only a name but I am alive" (and so more important).

Comenius has a lasting place in the history of education for his book, the *Great Didactic* which in parts was so far ahead of his time as to appear prophetic. According to him, the purpose of education is to foster man's inborn tendencies to social life, to acquire knowledge and to look to God. All human beings are equally entitled to an education without distinction of rank, sex or ability. The duller pupils require more help than the bright. The end of education is that man may acquire a knowledge of the good. The State must undertake to provide schools of different types to afford education up to the age of 24. In the primary stages up to 12, education must be universal and compulsory. Four types of schools are required: the school of infancy for the first six years of childhood. The child should be given opportunities of expressing himself and of learning something about his environment. After this comes the vernacular school for pupils from 6 to 12. Such a school ought to be established in every village. Here opportunity is to be given to all human beings to be instructed in all those things that have to do with human affairs. With the vernacular school closes the education of those who are intended for a practical career. Boys of promise are to be encouraged to proceed to the Latin School or Gymnasium. This is for pupils from 12 to 18 years of age. No intelligent scholar should be refused admission to the Latin School merely on account of poverty. At the end of the six year period spent in the Gymnasium an examination was to be held and only the best students were to be permitted to proceed to the National Academy (university), the institution for the training of professional men and scholars. The University course was to last for another six years. The students were to be inspected by outside commissioners, and degrees awarded. Great importance should be attached to bodily health and recreation. The school day should be of four hours, so that boys may have time for recreation and domestic work. The morning hours of the school programme were to be devoted to those subjects which exercise the memory and understanding and are more fatiguing. The afternoon is to be devoted to those subjects, which employ the voice and the hand. The school and the class-rooms were to be made attractive. The discipline should not be unnecessarily harsh; severe punishment should be inflicted only for moral offences.

It will be seen that some of the ideas found in the *Great Didactic*, written three hundred years ago, have been realized in modern educational practice, but many of them still remain unattained ideals. As early as 1630 Comenius conceived the idea of compulsory education, a recognized curriculum appealing to every aspect of human interest, organized schools and classes, an educational system and an educational ladder, the opening up of opportunities to intellect, milder discipline, physical exercise, healthy recreation, and moral training.

A book on the educational theory of this pioneer of modern educational science is always welcome. But it is not fair to assert that "there was much in the *Great Didactic* which could not be considered as original." Nor can we agree with the conclusion of the author that "the chivalrous championship of the weak which was an outcome of his (Comenius) religious training, reflects the influences which Islam exercised over Europe through the universities of Cordova and Granada." Comenius was trained in Herborn (Nassau), Amsterdam and Heidelberg. It would be just as correct to state that the League of Nations owes its inception to Islamic influence over the thought of Europe. But for this occasional straining of facts to fit into theories, the book is well-written and can be recommended to all who are interested in the history of education.

J. N. G.

WISDOM OF THE PROPHETS : By Khan Sahib Khaja Khan (Author, Royapettah, Madras), pp. 40 + 202 Rs. 2.

This well-written and well-printed book is a first-rate aid to the study of Islamic Sufism with reference to sources. The main portion of the volume is an abridged translation of the Arabic work *Fusus-ul-Hikam* composed by the famous Sufi philosopher Shaikh Muhi-ud-din-ibn-i-Ali-ul-Arabi, at Damascus in 1230 A. D. Very useful and luminous analytical notes and a critical life of the author have been supplied by the translator. Indeed, we are confident that it will join the at present small library of indispensable English books on Sufism, in the company of Clarke's *Diwan-i Hafiz* Vol. III, Lawaihi, Nicholson's recent work, and the famous *Masnawi* of Jalal-ud-din Rumi.

A SHORT HISTORY OF KASHMIR : By Gwasha Lal (Zutshi & Co., Srinagar) 8 annas.

An execrably printed booklet, very short and superficial, of the type of school-boys' aids to memory.

HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN BIHAR UNDER BRITISH RULE : By R. B. Bhagwati Sahay, (Bhagalpur), pp. XX+400, Rs. 4.

This formidable volume of over four hundred closely printed pages rambles at will over an immense variety of topics, often having no relevancy to its title. Seeing that the first English school in Bihar was opened after 1835 and the first degree college in 1863-7 (the latter continuing as the only degree college in the province till 1890), what little history of English education in Bihar is given by the author may have been contained in one-twentieth of its pages. As it is, this information is diffused over many chapters and too mixed up with other things to give a clear and comprehensive view. Much of the work is mere journalism, which does not deserve a permanent form. As the aged Rai Bahadur browses freely over every field under the moon, the reader who has the courage to follow him will now and then come across some pleasant gossip or some shrewd observation. The author is often a sound thinker and his lifelong experience as an educational officer is a valuable asset to him. (see specially his accurate diagnosis of the causes of the deterioration of English among our college

students, pp. 91-110.) Our only regret is that he has effectively hidden his few wheat grains of wisdom in a bushel of chaff.

S.

THE PROBLEM OF RELIGION : By S. Raghavachari with an appreciative foreward by Prof. S. Radhakrishnan. Published by Geoffrey Morgan and Co. Book Department, Post Box 627, Calcutta. Pp. 92.

Contains high thoughts worth-reading.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF JESUS : By the Rev. N. Macnicol, M.A., D. Litt. Published by the Christian Literature Society for India. Pp. 100. Price As. 12 (paper).

It belongs to the series "Things new and old."

"This series of books seeks to explain to Indian readers in simple language the great facts of the Christian religion. These books will introduce afresh the fundamental principles of Christian teaching" (Editorial note).

Written from the standpoint of Orthodox Christianity.

ST. AUGUSTINE : By Eleanor McDougal, M.A., D.Litt. Published by the Christian Society for India. Pp. 114. Price as. 8.

It belongs to the series "The Bhaktas of the World."

A good book, worth-reading.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

THE CONDITION OF CATTLE IN INDIA : By Nilambar Chatterjee, M.A., B.L. Published by the Cow Conference Association. Price Rs. 8. (Illustrated).

The book under review is an illustrated and a laborious collection of the author. It is a right collection in a right direction to enable even the superficial reader to know at a glance the present-day condition of the cattle throughout India and that of some of the foreign countries as well.

The vivid explanations of the causes of gradual deterioration of the cattle in this country as compared with those of the past ages, on the one hand, and the rapid improvement of the species in the same direction in other countries, on the other, cannot but be an impetus to make the reader try to improve his own individual stock of cattle to the same lost level, which in its turn will have the incentive of exemplary instruction to others in adopting the means for improving the cattle kingdom—the main economic resource in this agricultural country. And in the present day of the general cry, even in the remotest corner of a village, of agricultural improvement for which the cattle are the backbone, and of the prolongation of human life, prevention of premature deaths and of the heavy child mortality due mainly to the want of nourishment, which is and used to be had from the cows' milk, such a compilation is undoubtedly an asset to the country's need. The prohibitive price of the work, however, will, I am afraid, stand in the way of its being of direct use to the general public, and to be of general utility it may well be published in a concise form in several vernacular languages of the provinces referred to in the work itself.

The ambition of the writer being to alleviate

the distress and improve the condition of the Indian cattle in general the book is required to be accessible and intelligible to the general public of the various provinces by devising means to that effect.

D.

KHICHING—BHANJA DYNASTY OF MAYURBHANJ AND THEIR ANCIENT CAPITAL : By Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, B. A., Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Indian Museum. S. K. Lahiri, Calcutta. Price Rs. 5.

Published by the Archaeological Department of the Mayurbhanj State, this book tells the interesting story of the Bhanja Dynasty and traces the origin of the same from copper-plate grants relating to the Dynasty. It also attempts to remove a number of erroneous impressions about the family of the present ruler of Mayurbhanj, conclusively proving that they are the direct descendants of the solar race.

The book is well got-up and the large number of plates is a distinct advantage to the reader. The book should be well received by archaeological scholars.

K. N. C.

INDIAN CULTURE THROUGH THE AGES, VOL. I : EDUCATION AND THE PROPAGATION OF CULTURE : By Prof. S. V. Venkateshwara, University Professor of Indian History, Mysore. Longmans, Green & Co. 1928.

The aim of this work, as explained by the author, is to describe and interpret the genius of India and explain her contribution to the world's culture. The first volume deals with Indian educational ideals and institutions and the propagation of Indian culture from the Vedic period to the Middle Ages. Subsequent volumes of this work will be devoted to Art, Philosophy, Religion and Public Life.

In his learned introduction the author, referring to the Harappa and Mahenjo-daro excavations, makes the statement that the romance of Indian cultural history goes back much farther than scholars had dreamt hitherto. He is on more controversial ground when he expresses the opinion that the archaeological finds of these regions show a blend of Aryan and Dravidian culture. Then again he does not believe in the foreign origin of either the Dravidians or the Aryans. He gives his reasons for supposing that there were Aryan migrations westwards from India to Asia Minor and Persia.

The hall-mark of Indian Culture, according to the Professor, is its comprehensiveness and inclusiveness, thus providing not only for the differing needs of various social grades but also developing the various sides of life in every individual. And, whereas in China and Greece the arts and even philosophy were independent of religion—in India all cultural activities led to the one goal of religion.

Next the Vedic foundations of the Indian educational system are discussed. Charanas or schools of Vedic study, each with its own arrangement of texts, gradually replaced the older system under which the traditional learning was preserved.

and propagated by various families in different parts of the country. Among the different classes of teachers of the Vedic age are mentioned the Acharya, Srotriya, Shavira, Sramana, and Charaka.

In the next chapter, we are introduced to a later period. Universities like those of Benares, Ujjain, and Taxila had come into existence. We also find a systematic curricula of studies in the Ramayana, Panini's grammar, and Kautilya's Arthashastra. The importance of Varta (Economics) seems to have been well-appreciated. In the 6th century B. C. ideas of liberty of thought and action came to the forefront. The spirit of rationalism was carried to its logical conclusion in the teachings of the Buddha. Again Buddhism and Jainism both emphasized the teaching of the vernacular.

In the chapter on Buddhist and Hindu educational institutions the writings of the Chinese travellers in India have been well utilized to present us firsthand information on the methods of instruction in that period. The influence of travel to foreign countries is emphasized. It is a pity that the author has not quoted from the literature on Indian culture in Indo-China, Java and Sumatra. Then he could have given interesting instances of the propagation of Indian Culture in those remote regions through educational institutions modelled on the Indian system. The curricula of studies prescribed for princes of those distant realms is also very striking. This chapter is brought to a close with an account of South Indian educational institutions.

In chapter V the account of *mathas* and the *Vidyapithas* (founded by the great Shankara) provide very interesting reading. The importance of the temple, especially in South India as an educative agency, the educative value of pilgrimage, the wandering minstrels—all these are discussed as far as they have a bearing on the subject.

Towards the end the author makes the interesting statement that the studies gradually became of such a nature as to befit only the life of a recluse. The military spirit thus declined especially in the South and the way was thus opened for the foreign invader.

The first volume of Indian Culture through the Ages is thus a brilliant study of Indian educational activities throughout the Hindu period. The academic world would look forward eagerly to the publication of the subsequent volumes promised by Prof. Venkateshwara.

B. R. CHATTERJEE

BENGALI

THIRD CLASS—*Rabindra Nath Maitra, Published by D. M. Library, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.*

Books of short stories are not a success in Bengali. Short stories have a short life in the pages of the magazines, and the reading public which devour them there, do not care to turn to them again when an enterprising publisher puts them in the market collected in one volume. They hardly get the maturer criticism and appreciation of readers, and the reason for it often is that they hardly deserve such attention. People love stories and this not too discriminating love

has been pandered to such an extent by not too scrupulous proprietors of magazines and short story writers that even the best of the stories which deserve different fate from the lot, stand no chance of better reception when put in book form. This story book of Mr. Maitra, a young Bengali writer who has shown very high promise, has a right to the best attention whatever may be its fate as a business proposition.

The book owes its title to the first story "Third Class", an English translation of which was published in this magazine in May, 1928. It is a telling story, and something more than that—a terrible story, pervaded by the stifling atmosphere of a third class railway compartment with sweating, suffering, gasping souls, all huddled together, insulted, kicked, oppressed, sworn at, but still increasing in number as the train stops from station to station,—beyond hope, beyond remedy, beyond redemption. The story in a sense may be said to strike the keynote of the whole book—for, the distressing atmosphere is carried on from page to page, only the story varies, but the atmosphere is the same, the same dark, dreadful, degrading environment in which life stagnates, forces of darkness prevail, and the worst political and social tyrannies have their endless reign. The whole of Bengal travels in third class to-day. And is there any hope for Bengal? If a new sign of life is visible anywhere, authorities are not slow to suppress that possible menace, as Mr. Maitra depicts in *Sankher Karat*—the Scylla and Charybdis. G. H.

TAMIL

AMIRTHAM : *By Panaiyappa Chettiar, Melai Sivapuri Via Manapara, S. I. R. pp. 110. Price As. 8.*

A detective novel. The work abounds in humour and makes pleasant reading. The vagaries of the rich and the blackguardism of their sycophants are beautifully portrayed. The language of the characters sometime indicates merely the attainments of the author rather than their own position and habits of life.

KANTHIMATHI : *By Panaiyappa Chettiar, Melai Sivapuri Via Manapara, S. I. R. pp. 359. Price Rs. 2.*

Another interesting detective novel of the author, worth reading; the plot is very much in advance of the times.

SHUNMUGANATHAN OR DANA VAISYA MINOR : *By Panaiyappa Chettiar, Melai Sivapuri Via Manapara, S. I. R. Pp. 254. Price Rs. 1-4-0.*

Another detective novel breathing noble lessons in every page of it. The splendid character sketches betray that the author has cared more for moral effect than for art, in this work. The characters are all either villains or saints.

R. G. N. Pillai.

MALAYALAM

* **GRANTHA VIHARAM : By Vallathol Narayana Menon.**

Literary criticism is still in its infancy in Malayalam. *Grantha Viharam* is a compilation of occasional reviews written by two poets of Malabar. It consists of thirty-six essays of unequal merit from the point of view of literary criticism. More than half a dozen of these are reviews of translations of cheap English fiction and two are reviews of the translations of two Bengali novels, 'Lake of Palms' and 'Krishna Kanta's Will'. Besides finding fault with the few mistakes in spelling and language, the critics attempt but very little in the shape of constructive criticism. Vallathol's own definition of the work of the critic is that he should say bluntly what he feels plainly; he does not evidently lay much store by scholarship. However, we must point out that criticism should never be a drastic condemnation of the failings of the author, but a sympathetic exposition of the good as well as the bad points of the work.

M. K. KESAVAN NAIR

GUJARATI

SHRI ANAND KAVYA MAHODADHI : Part (Pearl) VIII. Published by *Jivanchand Sakarchand Jhaveri*, printed at the *Gandiva Printing Press, Surat*. Cloth bound, pp. 110 : 210 : 204 : Price Re. 1-8-0 (1927).

Kumarpal's reign in Gujarat was considered the heyday of Jain prosperity. This part of the series contains a long poem called *Kumarpal Ras* by a well-known old Jain poet, Rishabhadas, written in the seventeenth century. The old Gujarati text is preceded by two valuable contributions, one by Prof. B. K. Thakore, B.A., reviewing the subject of Jain Literature and another, a detailed account of the life and works of the Jain poet, by Mr. Mohanlal D. Desai, B.A., LL.B.

(1) **AKBAR BIRBAL NO VINODI VARTA SANGRAHA :**

(2) **RAJYA RATNA BIRBAL NO HASYA BHANDAR :**

By *Pestani Jamshedji Satha*, printed at the *Gujarati "News" Printing Press, Bombay*. Cloth bound, pp. 352 : 315. Price Re. 1-12-0 : Rs. 2-8-0 (1927 : 1928).

Birbal's sallies of wit and tales of humour furnish a literature of their own in Northern India. From there they have travelled down to our province, and this collection of such sallies and humorous stories of that well-known Pandit of

Akbar's Court besides testifying to the immense trouble taken over it by Mr. Satha, furnishes one more illustration of the facile way in which he writes Gujarati, though a Parsi by birth. The prefaces to the two books furnish all available information about Akbar and the Nine Gems of his Court. The second volume is an illustrated one. We congratulate the writer on the good work he has done at this age.

KARLAVAR OR DOWRY GIVEN : By a wise mother to an obedient daughter. (2) **GUJARATI DUHA SANGRAHA**, both published by the *Jain Dharm Prasarak Sabha of Bavenagar*. Price Re. 0-8-0 : 0-4-0 (1927).

The first book contains several pieces of advice given by a mother to her newly-wedded daughter as to how to conduct herself in her new surroundings and the second is a collection of several verses which tersely embody suggestions about rules of conduct to be observed by practical men.

PULAMA AND OTHER POEMS : By Amratlal N. Bhatt, printed at the *Khadayla Printing Press, Ahmedabad*. Paper cover, pp. 166. Price Re. 1-8-0 (1928).

Mr. Bhatt's verses show a good handling of human feelings and emotions, and have a promise of still better work in future.

SURYA NAMASKAR : By Harakechand L. Shah. Price Re. 0-4-0. (1928).

The *Pant Pratinidhi*—Chief of Aundh—has revived an old method of physical culture and called it Obeisance to the Sun. He has written both in Marathi and English on the utility and excellence of the system. Its exercise entails no expense; it is simple and can be performed at home; it takes very little time and has already produced remarkable results and cured many complaints, both amongst men and women. The Chief Sahab has made the *Namaskars* compulsory in his State Schools. This Indian method of physical culture deserves to be widely known and hence this translation should be considered a welcome step in the direction.

CHINGARI : By "Bechewen," printed at the *Muslim Gujarat Press, Surat*. Paper cover, pp. 116. Price Re. 0-8-0 (1928).

The Memon community of this province is backward in many respects. It also suffers from a number of social evils. Some young men of the Community have made up their minds to improve this state of things, and this little tale, simply told, is an attempt in that direction.

K. M. J.

Devi Ahilya Bai Holkar as A Ruler

By SAILENDRA NATH DHAR, M. A.

Professor, Holkar College, Indore (C. I.)

HER saintly purity and her many munificent endowments for religious and humanitarian work have made the name of Devi Ahilya Bai Holkar a household

word in India and given her rank with the far-famed heroines of the great epics and the Puranas. She has even passed into a divinity, and her marble image at the Vishnu

temple at Gaya is worshipped by millions of devout pilgrims who throng to that holy city. This halo of divinity which time has gathered round her noble figure should not however blind us to the full historical character of this great sovereign of Indore. By setting her up on a pedestal and giving her our worship, as we do to millions of our deities, we hardly do justice to a great woman and a great sovereign, who worked and laboured and fought for the welfare of her State, and gave it every ounce of her energy during a long reign of thirty years. Ever since her assumption of sovereign authority and till well-nigh her very end, she held firmly in her hands the reins of administration; she defended it against powerful enemies within and outside the State; she supervised the government and initiated wholesome laws; and she left behind her an administrative tradition which saw the State through in many periods of stress and storm. She is too well known as a holy woman and as a saint; I propose to confine myself to her governmental principles and measures and to seek to find out their bearing on the political problems of the present day.

The sovereign authority of Indore belonged indeed to Ahilya Bai; but it would be improper to label her government as autocracy pure and simple unless we also point out its limitations under such a sovereign as herself. She certainly did not regard the state as a personal, hereditary possession wherewith to further selfish or dynastic ends. She recognized the restraints put upon the sphere of autocracy by the dictates of religion and the demands of customs and conventions. Her complete identification of herself with her people toned down the despotic principle completely and conducted far more to the well-being of the State than it would have been possible in those days from representative government.

Though Indore was for all practical purposes what we call a sovereign State, it formed a part of the Mahratta confederacy and had certain obligations towards that great political system. The battle of Panipat had violently shaken but not in any sense broken the Confederacy and Mahratta leaders were busy retrieving so far as possible that great disaster. Ahilya Bai perceived that as a woman it would not be possible for her to fulfil the responsibilities that devolved on the head of a branch of the Mahratta nation for the common cause and the common

ideal. For this reason she associated with herself as the titled sovereign of the State a worthy scion of the royal family, named Tukoji Rao Holkar. Tukoji was appointed to be the Commander-in-Chief of the State and in this capacity he co-operated with other Mahratta leaders, such as the famous Mahadaji Scindia and others, in distant expeditions, in Northern India and the Deccan. Tukoji used also to collect and receive the revenues of those districts of Indore in the vicinity of which he would stay for business of state. From Ahilya Bai he would get further supplies in the shape of money and men. If any man ever had an opportunity of turning against his master and making himself the sovereign, Tukoji Rao Holkar had that in ample measure. But it would be grossly unjust to that manly soldier even to suggest that such an idea ever flitted across his mind. Ahilya Bai had been asked many times to adopt a son and designate him as her successor. Not even its spiritual significance could induce the statesmanlike queen to adopt such a course. Though Tukoji was older than her in age he used to address her as mother and the most cordial relations existed between the two. The strict subordination of the military to the civil administration, which is a necessary condition of stable and orderly government, was established in the Holkar State by the loyal reverence which Tukoji unquestioningly paid to Ahilya Bai and her deep affection for him and constant solicitude about his welfare. Sir John Malcolm, who made a diligent enquiry about the relations which existed between the two heads of the State, was filled with genuine surprise and admiration at the unanimous reports which reached him about the absolute want of any jealousy between the two personages, and has concluded that there was reverence on one side and maternal care on the other. This does not mean that there was never a hitch between the two and never a conflict of principles. These occurred from time to time, but they passed and never left a scar behind. On one occasion Tukoji had permitted a servant of the Indore government named Shivaji Gopal to accept a job under the Peshwas. He unfortunately did not think it necessary to inform the queen about this incident. When Ahilya Bai heard about this breach of administrative etiquette, she called Tukoji to her presence, and asked him, since he

was inclined to act independently as this incident showed, to take up the reins of government and permit her to retire to monastic life at Maheshwar. This so much grieved Tukoji that he slapped himself on his cheeks and falling down at her feet implored her forgiveness and took a solemn vow never again to deviate from what her least wishes dictated.

Relations similar to these existed between Ahilya Bai and her ministers of State. She possessed the kingly capacity of judging human nature and of appointing right men to right situations. Sir John Malcolm has recorded the surprising fact that except very rarely she never changed a minister or a servant of the State. That she was so well-served by her officers was due not only to her ability of judging character but also to the wholesome moral influence exerted by her own character on the conduct of State servants high and low.

In her administration of the State Ahilya Bai always acted upon the principle that the well-being of the State depended on the prosperity and contentment of the subjects. In her day, Hindusthan was a sort of free hunting ground for free-lances of every nationality and of all sorts of abilities. In the most critical stage of its career the Indore State was saved from the pursuit of a distant and visionary ideal and was turned to the development of its moral and material resources by the providential ordination of having as ruler such a true statesman as Ahilya Bai Holkar. History abounds in instances of states rising to ephemeral greatness and then falling down headlong to abysmal ruination on account of their rulers following a military policy. The classic instances in modern European history are those of Spain and Sweden. A state is an organism which rises and decays by natural causes. If it strains itself too much it breaks itself. Ruskin says that the foundations of a State are alive. He means that the strength of kingdoms does not consist in a well-filled treasury and a huge magazine, but in sturdy men and women of which it is an aggregate. Never therefore did a statesman and ruler give greater evidence of large-minded comprehension of the true lines of administrative policy which behoved her to follow than when Ahilya Bai Holkar bridled the fiery impetuosity of her *saranjams* and sardars and turned to domestic administration. Not that, being a woman, she was afraid of war. She knew how to defend herself against hostile attacks

as the famous Raghova incident showed. She donned armour like a man, and led her army to battle. She is said to have raised some regiments of female sepoys. (Vide the Holkar State Administration Report, 1927). But she decided that her victories must be in peace rather than in war. She put down with a firm hand all revolts and conspiracies against her authority and devoted herself assiduously to the arts of peace.

An essential element of a sound administrative system is a well-ordered revenue policy. The founder of the Holkar State had had little opportunity of devoting himself to internal organization. The relations of the feudatories with the Indore government had never been defined and such tributes only were derived from them as they could not avoid paying and the central authority could muster strength to exact. The reign of Ahilya Bai marks an epoch in the relations between the two parties and the amount of tribute and other dues and obligations were fixed. Throughout her territories Ahilya Bai ordered a measurement of the lands of her subjects and on the results of this very careful survey the government demand was fixed. Sir John Malcolm praises her administration for moderate assessment and for scrupulous respect for the rights of village officers and proprietors of land. In the matter of State dues indeed she was so far on the side of moderation that even when a well-recognized custom was in the favour of the government she rejected it if she regarded it to be unjust. A case that frequently arose was whether government could demand a fee when the widow of a deceased subject wanted to adopt a son. It seems that the custom of the Holkar State was that no adoption was valid without the consent of the government which could be obtained only by the payment of a good amount to the State coffers. Ahilya Bai held that adoption was a religious custom which the State had no right either to permit or forbid, and that there could be thus no question of any payment to the government. It seems that on this subject some high officials of the State, including Tukoji himself, had opinions which ran counter to the personal views of the queen; but on no occasion, not even when the widow herself agreed to make a contribution to the government, did Ahilya Bai permit a pie to be demanded or received from an individual for the performance of a religious ceremony.

Her justice and disinterestedness in the matter of State revenues were so widely known that long after she had passed away, people would readily submit to a government demand as soon as they were told that such was the custom in the time of Ahilya Bai.

In her administration of the criminal law Ahilya Bai showed that she was fully alive to her responsibilities as a ruler. Of a mild and forgiving nature personally she was nevertheless firm in the administration of justice. In many cases, and specially in the matter of capital punishments, she, no doubt, liked that mercy should temper justice, but she never showed any indulgence towards habitual law-breakers and towards those who live upon plunder and spoliation of others. Her treatment of the Bheel marauders is a case in point. Unable to control them by mild measures, she meted out to them stringent punishments. When they at last submitted and implored her forgiveness she charged them with maintaining law and order within their tribe and in lieu of this service granted to them their demand known as the *Bheel kauri*.

The reign of Ahilya Bai is memorable for the excellent arrangements made by her for the administration of justice. This function belonged in Mediæval India to the *Punchayets* and the state cared very little for the sound administration of justice. Even during the days of Mughal rule law-courts were too few in number, and justice, says Mr. Jadunath Sarkar, was a byword for corruption. In the Holkar state the establishment of regular courts of arbitration and equity dates from the days of Ahilya Bai. She also used to give a patient hearing to all appeals which might be brought before her even by her meanest subjects and if she thought that there was a miscarriage of justice she referred the case back to the courts.

The safety valve of an administration which is not carried on through representative institutions and cannot be checked and directed by an enlightened public opinion is the personal supervision of all departmental work by the sovereign. In this Ahilya Bai was patient and constant and unwearied. She discarded the *purdah* entirely, and took her seat in the open Durbar, where she attended to all government business, heard complaints and appeals, and passed her orders which had to be instantly carried out. On this subject as on many others Sir John Malcolm instituted a sifting inquiry among all ranks and classes

and he writes that the more enquiry was pursued the more his admiration was excited.

The public works that were constructed during the reign of Ahilya Bai Holkar are so numerous that it would be impossible to narrate them here. She constructed roads, fortresses, deep wells, rest-houses for travellers, as also numerous temples to which suitable assignments were also sometimes made by her. She spent money on various charities not only in her State but outside it. She used to feed the poor and the infirm every day with her own hand; on special occasions she would feed the *Chandalas* and other so-called untouchables. In winter she used to distribute warm clothes among the old people and in summer she would daily provide for drinking water for peasants and their teams working in the fields. She reserved a field filled with grains of all sorts for birds; and in the waters of the *Narbada* she used gram to be thrown daily for the fish.

It may naturally be enquired wherefrom came the money which the pious queen spent so profusely in charity and whether this might not have been spent more profitably on the army. It has been suggested quite seriously that Ahilya Bai depleted the State treasury so greatly that nothing was left for the defence of the State. The reply to these charges is that her expenditure on charities was no drain at all on the State treasury. The policy which she steadily followed was that of Peace, Retrenchment and Reform. Her personal expenses were almost nil. Her army was efficient and small. Her neighbouring rulers had nothing to fear from her, as her policy was avowedly pacific. She roused no jealousies, no enmities; hence she was universally respected and seldom attacked. The huge savings she made by her wise, peaceful policy and by cutting short her own personal and palace expenses she spent on charity. Her wisdom in reducing armaments will easily appear from a glance at the condition of Europe at the present day. India in the time of Ahilya Bai Holkar bears no small a resemblance to Europe at the present moment. There is the same anxiety, the same unrest, the same jealousies between State and State. Is Europe gaining anything by piling up armaments? If Ahilya Bai had chosen to arm her people to the teeth she could not have defended the State better than she did and there would have been a real burden imposed upon her subjects. For the

later history of the State, her successors were responsible, not she.

I have laid special emphasis on the intellectual and heroic qualities in the character of Devi Ahilya Bai in order to bring out more fully than is usually done the real historical character of this great personality. She was no pale-faced nun, shirking life scrupulously and intent only on existence after death. She did not regard the world even as a necessary evil, as something which is better avoided but being unavoidable has to be tactfully dealt with. She entered on her worldly duties in the same spirit as that with which she carried on the religious observances sanctioned by the Shastras. Life to her was

duty to be fulfilled by sacrifice. The task of government no less than contemplation and meditation of her Creator was with her a spiritual endeavour. Her material and religious undertakings were alike the working of her spirit. Thus, as a great woman, as a great statesman, as a great ruler, as a great saint, she was an example of the Karina Yogin, the ideal which our greatest saints and holiest Shastras have revealed before us to strive to realize. *

* Read at a meeting of the Staff and Students of the Holkar College on Ahilyotsav day, 12th September, 1928.

The Kern Institute of Leyden

By PROF. RAMESH CHANDRA MAJUMDAR, M.A., Ph. D.

THE town of Leyden in Holland is a typical example of the important but unobtrusive part played in the development of European civilization by smaller centres of activity. They do not loom large in the pages of history like London, Paris, Berlin or Vienna and are but little known to the outside world, but their contribution to the progress of Europe, both moral and intellectual, has by no means been inconsiderable. Thus Leyden has played an important role in many ways in the history of Holland. I do not propose to describe the heroic resistance which she made against the ruthless Spanish oppressors of the motherland (1573-4) nor of the foundation of the University in the year following which followed as a grateful recognition, on the part of Prince William I, of the valour and sacrifice of the people of Leyden. The famous scholars produced by this University—including three Nobel-laureates—has raised the name and fame of Leyden, and as Niebuhr rightly remarks: "There is besides Italy and Greece, no more sacred place for the philologist than Leyden University." Two statues of Boerhave and Rembrandt in the streets of Leyden still remind the passer-by of the part played by her in the development of European culture

in two such diverse fields as medical science and the art of painting.

At a short of distance from the University building stands the Church of St. Peter—the Westminster Abbey of Leyden. A bronze slab on the outside of the church with a representation of the Ship 'Mayflower' reminds us of the practical encouragement of freedom of thought which Leyden gave by offering hospitality (1608 A. D.) to John Robinson and his fellow-exiles from England—"the Pilgrim fathers"—who ultimately crossed the Atlantic in 'Mayflower' and founded New England (1620 A. D.). The slab was put in 1891 by the American descendants of the pilgrim fathers.

These and many other things leave a deep impress upon the minds of visitors to Leyden. To an Indian, however, the two chief things of interest are the Museum and the Kern Institute.

The Museum contains, among other things, a small but interesting collection of sculptures from Java. Some of them, such as the statue of Prajnaparamita (प्रज्ञापारमिता) has attained world-wide celebrity on account of its artistic beauty. There are many other images of Buddhist and Brahmanical deities which are

very important from either artistic or iconographic (sometimes both) point of view. The life and manners of the people of Dutch East Indies are profusely illustrated by the product of their arts and crafts, and specimen of their dress, dwellings, weapons etc. Some Indian exhibits are also very interesting notably the clay models of a Bengali household, the temple of Kalighat etc.

But the most notable institution from the point of view of Indian history is the Kern Institute. It is situated in a historical place. Not far from the church mentioned above was built about 1200 A.D. the's (Gravenstein, a court of justice for the counts of Holland. Later, the building became municipal property and about 1400 A. D. was used as a prison. A portion of this building is now occupied by the Kern Institute.

The Institute is named after the famous Dutch scholar H. Kern. It is primarily designed as a centre of study and research in Indian archaeology and history. The term 'India' is, however, used here in a broad sense as it includes not only India proper but also what we call to-day Further India and the Dutch East Indies. In short Burma and the vast territory to the east together with the islands like Sumatra, Java, Bali, Borneo etc where ancient Indian Culture and Civilization was spread in ancient times is included in the subject of study. Thus the Kern Institute is in a way pursuing the same ideals as the Greater India Society of Calcutta.

The Institute is very ably organized. It is extremely fortunate in having as its President Dr. J. Ph. Vogel whose name is too well known in this country to require further introduction. It has got as its secretary an energetic Hungarian scholar Dr. Ch. L. Fabri. Dr. Fabri is studying Sanskrit with Prof. Vogel and takes genuine interest in Indian antiquities. During my stay at Leyden he behaved with me in the most friendly manner and helped me in my studies in all possible ways. Dr. N. J. Krom, the greatest living authority on antiquities of the Dutch East Indies, takes keen interest in the Institute and is almost always available there for help and guidance. The ungrudging labours of these and a few other scholars have raised the Kern Institute to its present status within such a short time.

The reading room of the Institute is neither great in dimensions nor imposing

in its outlook. But it is one of the most suitable retreats for a scholar who wants to do serious study. As the number of readers is necessarily limited the readers can pursue his studies without any distraction. The books are all arranged in open shelves and so are easily available. These are arranged according to the different countries, the main divisions being India proper, Java, Sumatra, and French Indo-China. They include most of the important books dealing with the antiquity of Dutch East Indies, the collections about India and French Indo-China being necessarily limited in character. As regards Journals, the collection is very rich so far as the modern issues are concerned. The back numbers of Dutch antiquarian Journals are also mostly available.

In addition to books the Institute has a carefully asserted collection of articles, bearing upon the antiquities of Greater India, which have been published in various periodicals. These are properly catalogued and indexed and are naturally of very great help to the students.

In addition to all these the Institute has almost a complete collection of the estampages of Inscriptions found in Java and a very large number of photographs of old temples and other antiquarian remains in Java and Sumatra. These are also properly labelled and indexed and bibliographical references have been added in most cases. In short I can say from my personal experience that anyone who wants to study the Dutch sources of the history of Greater India cannot select a better place than the Kern Institute, Leyden. The Indian students may always count upon the help and sympathy of the authorities to a much greater degree than he can possibly expect. I cannot adequately describe how much I owe to Dr. Vogel, Dr. Krom and Dr. Fabri and they are eager to welcome Indian students to their Institute. Arrangements for residence at Leyden can also be made by them if informed in advance.

The Institute has recently undertaken a very important publication 'The Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology.' The first annual number published in 1928 contains the titles, systematically arranged, of all books and articles dealing with Indian archaeology in its widest sense, that is, the investigation of the antiquities not only of India proper, but also of Further India, Indonesia and Ceylon and in fact, of all

territories influenced by Indian civilization, as well as the study of the ancient history of those countries, the history of their art, their epigraphy, iconography and numismatics. To each title is added brief notes regarding the contents and extracts from reviews which will make it possible to form an estimate of the purport and value of each book or article. In an Introductory note the editors have surveyed the literature relating to important discoveries and explorations made in the domain of Indian archaeology and in closely allied fields of antiquarian research.

The importance of this publication cannot be over-estimated. The studies on Indian antiquity have now fortunately assumed such vast proportions that it is difficult to keep abreast with them. For Indian students it is particularly difficult to get timely information of scholarly works done in different parts of Europe and America. The publication of Annual Bibliography is likely to remove these difficulties to a considerable extent. Such a publication is, however, a costly affair and the Kern Institute had certainly a very good claim for some financial help from the Government of India. But while the Government of the Dutch Netherlands India made an annual grant of fl. 1,000 the Government of India refused to pay anything. No Indian can read without a sense of shame and humiliation the following sentence in the Foreword of the Annual Bibliography. "An application for a small subsidiary grant-in-aid addressed to the Government of India has

met with a refusal which was the less expected as the present publication is chiefly calculated to benefit Indian scholars in their antiquarian investigations." Will it be too much to hope that some Indian member of the Assembly will bring pressure upon the Government to make financial assistance to this praiseworthy venture? The authorities of the Institute do not exaggerate in the least when they back up their claim for financial aid by pointing out the utility of the publication to Indian scholars in the following terms: "On the one hand, the Bibliography will undoubtedly serve to make their publications written either in English or in the Vernacular more widely known in Europe and America. On the other hand, it will acquaint them with what is being produced in Dutch, English, French, German and other western tongues on the ancient monuments of those countries which have undergone the influence of Indo-Aryan civilization. This is a subject in which there is a rapidly-growing interest amongst the cultured and learned classes of India."

I conclude this short note by once more repeating my gratitude to the authorities of the Kern Institute for what they have done to advance and facilitate the studies of Greater Indian Culture and antiquities and for their unfailing kindness and courtesy which I have personally enjoyed in full measure and to which every Indian visitor to Leyden can confidently look forward in future.

Love and Unity

By SAROJINI NAIDU

Love, if I knew
How to pluck from the mirrors of the dew
The image of the sunrise, rob the tint
Of living blood
From the wild lily and pomegranate bud,
Defraud the halcyon of its purple glint,
The sea-wind of its wing,
The sea-wave of its silver murmuring.

If I could teach
My meaning to be severed from my speech,
Breath from my being, vision from my eyes,
And deftly part
The tremor of my heart-beat from my heart,

Perchance for one vague hour I might devise
Some secret miracle
To be delivered from your poignant spell.

You permeate
With such profound, supreme and intimate
Knowledge, possession, power, my Life's domain!
O are you not
The very text and title of my thought,
The very pattern of my joy and pain?
Shall even Death set free
My soul from such intricate Unity?

From The Hindustanee Student.



Tree in Tropics Gives Milk Like That of Cow

Sap from a tree that grows in a certain part of Guatemala, looks and tastes like cow's milk. Prof. Samuel J. Record, of Yale University, and a member of a recent expedition from the Field

coal-burning stove has been introduced. It is said to be entirely safe, has an arrangement for regulating the degree of heat desired and can be carried under the hood when it is not needed.

(Popular Mechanics)



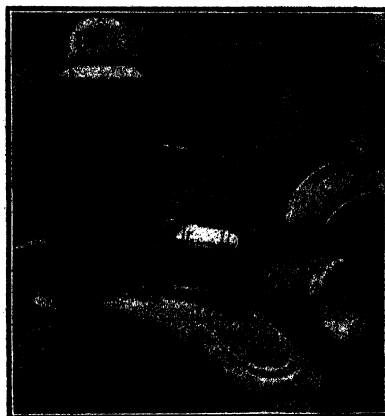
Tree in Tropics Gives Milk Like that of Cow

Museum of Natural History, reports. He says that the natives use it in coffee and for making desserts. It sours easily, like real milk.

(Popular Mechanics)

Coal Stove For Auto Engine Prevents Freezing

To keep the automobile engine and radiator warm while the car is parked in cold weather, a portable

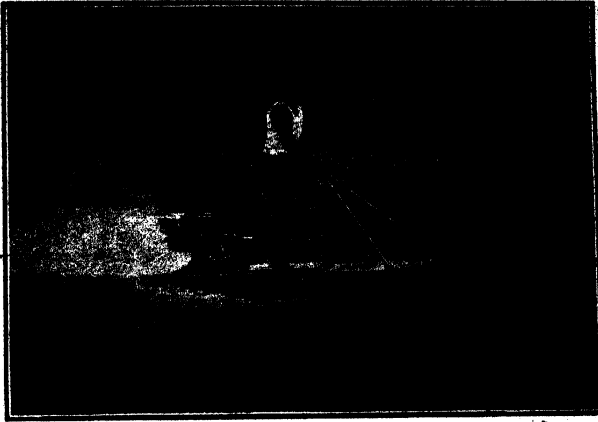


Coal Stove For Auto Engine Prevents Freezing

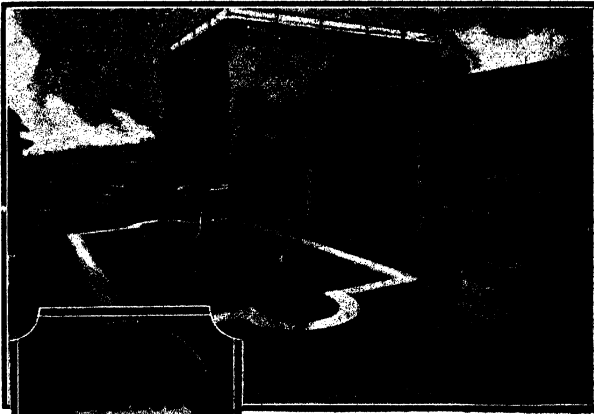
Surf-board Run By Motor Gives Water Thrills

Riding a surf-board is becoming increasingly popular among persons who like water sports, but its possibilities have been somewhat limited as it has been necessary to have some sort of boat to tow the board. This need has been eliminated in a unit that has its own power plant, an outboard motor attached to the end. The board is wide, is fitted with ropes for holding onto and attains a speed of thirty miles an hour. No steering mechanism is needed as the board is guided by the rider simply leaning his body in the direction he wishes to go. If the rider falls off, the board will stop at once.

(Popular Mechanics)



Surf-board Run By Motor Gives Water Thrills



Living in Luxury High Above City Streets

An elaborate Roof-Top Bungalow and Garden in New York, where such Skyscraper Homes may cost anywhere from \$2,500 to \$300,000; at the left is a vista of a charming garden, with rustic paling fence, which might be a suburban home, but actually is high above Manhattan; below is another of the lofty Penthouse Homes, with bushes and flowers lining the Stone Coping; Tile Floors and Gay Awnings make the "Yard" attractive

Iodine Injector For Teeth To Eliminate Pulling

To cure abscesses and so make it unnecessary to pull teeth afflicted with them, a southern engineer has devised an injector which drives iodine far down into the roots of the affected member. It is compactly constructed and has been successfully tested, according to reports.

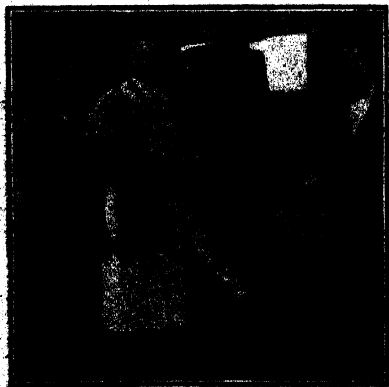
(Popular Mechanics)



Iodine Injector For Teeth To Eliminate Pulling

X-Rays Detect Art Fakes By Revealing Age

Spurious paintings are sometimes detected by X-rays which show a difference in the structure of new and old materials. For instance, an old painting has been retouched by a modern artist to make it resemble the work of a recognized master, or some other method has been followed to disguise a subject. If materials of widely varying age have



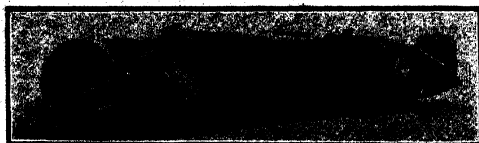
Detecting art fakes with the aid of X-Ray

been employed, the difference is likely to be detected by the penetrating rays and the photograph that is taken with their aid.

(Popular Mechanics)

When Major Segrave Steps on it

The average motorist, who seldom drives faster than sixty miles an hour, will find it difficult to realize what it would feel like to travel at about four times that gait. So far, only one man has driven an automobile at such breath-taking speed



Major Segrave's Racing Car—Golden Arrow

—Major H. O. D. Segrave, of Great Britain; the American driver, who attempted to break the Major's record, established on March 11 at Daytona Beach, was killed, along with a photographer, when his 1,500-horse-power machine got out of control.

The Major's Irving-Napier Special, which established a new world's automobile record of 231.36 miles an hour, is steered partly by an airplane-type rudder, and is held to the ground so that its wheels will maintain traction by tiny planes which, if tilted upward, "undoubtedly would make it soar through the air in giant leaps."



Major Segrave and his Wife

Throngs of breathless spectators packed the grand stand at Daytona Beach on the day of the race against time. Thousands of people stretched along the sand dunes. Obtaining a four-mile start the British Major drove his glistening twelve-cylinder machine at a dazzling pace along the sandy stretch, steering by means of a peep-sight trained

on a target nine miles away. The "Golden Arrow" appeared like a blur before the eyes of the awe-stricken spectators, as it sped down the course and came to a stop four miles off. With a mighty roar, it flashed past the grand-stand on its return journey, fairly skimming the sands. The first mile, said the announcer, was travelled at the rate of 231.51 miles per hour; the second at 231.21 miles. Even this was not fast enough for Major Segrave, who is quoted in dispatches as saying, after the test:

"I have a feeling of disappointment over this job to-day. The car is good for 240 miles an hour, but I could not get that out of it. The beach was not nearly so good as it was two years ago,

when I made 203.79 miles an hour with the "Sunbeam".

"The worst moment was when, during the second run, the offside radiator burst and shot out a great cloud of steam and water. The water hit me in the face, and the steam floated across my field of vision."

Since there is no thought of utilizing such tremendous speed in any form of useful transportation, the question naturally comes up: What is the good of such performances, which are always accompanied with serious risks? The value lies in the practical demonstration of the sturdiness and reliability of engine and motor-car design."

(The Literary Digest)



On the Balcony—By Mr. Sarada Charan Ukil



India Passing into Modern Age

The *Prabuddha Bharata* for April publishes an article from the pen of the late Sister Nivedita under caption "Passing into the Modern Age". It is instinct with the Sister's vigorous thinking and deep concern for India.

The problem which confronts India to-day is that of passing completely into the modern age. The present is an age of world-consciousness. Owing to the discovery of steam and electricity it is now possible for the least adventurous of us to explore the world. Modern trade has already done so, modern science is struggling to follow suit. The very drawing-room contains trophies from every country and every era. In fact, by each individual human mind, as by Humanity as a whole, the earth in its entirety is being visualized, geographically and historically.

According to the Sister the modern age is the age of exploitation, not of creation; the age of the organization enabling us to avail ourselves of vast areas of force, otherwise inaccessible; and the age of the people, exploitation of the people having led to the criticism of the people.

The Middle Ages were ages of *production* rather than *exploitation*. The strenuous dreamers dreamed by the light of more or less childlike beliefs. The masses of the nation were less widely informed than now, and vastly simpler in their aims and habits. Political responsibility was somewhat of a monopoly. Each life, and each group, was more concentrated in its activities than is the case to-day. Science is the characteristic product of the modern world. Art was the characteristic product of the mediæval. Work was performed by hand, not by machinery. Hence it was slow, and products could only be accumulated very gradually. Generation followed generation therefore, in the attempt to furnish, or in the work of using, a single room. And for this reason an old farm-house kitchen, in any part of the world, is universally admitted to be more beautiful than a modern drawing-room.

And mediæval India is under the sentence of death, and the present is the era of Passing into the Modern Age, accompanied by doubt and bewilderment, spiritually, morally, intellectually and socially. Hence the greater need for clearing the confusion

of ideas and ideals as the Sister indicates in the following way.

In order, then, to co-ordinate her efforts, it is clear that she has to face and carry through vast changes, which we may designate conveniently as the assimilation of the modern consciousness. That is to say, accepting the modern method of thought and expression, she has so to increase the content of the existing expression as to prove herself equal, if not superior, to those other nations with whom she will thus be competing on equal terms.

Instead of merely learning modern science, she has to prove herself able to apply the methods of modern science to the solution of some of its unsolved problems. Instead of merely accepting other men's steam-ships and mechanical contrivances she has to produce great inventors who will add to the convenience and potentiality of life. Instead of enjoying a foreign literature, she has to put into that literature masterpieces of a new type.

Perhaps in nothing is it easy to understand this as in the matter of art. The old Indian school of painting produced very beautiful works of art. But the method and its continuity of effort have suffered destruction in the modern catastrophe. Many young art students to-day are simply toiling along, in the struggle to put colour on canvas in the European way, in order to express thoughts and illustrate poems, in a fashion only would-be European and not genuinely anything. It is clear that what we want here is workers who after a training in technique can catch and express a great inspiration of their own, in any manner whatsoever, that they feel to be adequate. It is clear that, in acquiring mastery of materials, what we really want is a great school of artists, a national art movement. And here it must not be *method* of work, but the message which is sought to be conveyed, that constitutes nationality....

There can be no doubt that one of the most important features of such an awakening would lie in a movement towards the study of Indian history. A man's face contains, for the seeing eye, his whole past. A national character is the *resume* of a national history. If we would know what we are, or whither we tend, we must be made aware of our own antecedents...

Nothing, if well understood, can be more beautiful as a historic spectacle than the process of the Indian evolution. The orderly sequence of consolidation and individuation by which new elements are worked into the nationality in each age, is something that could never have been so perfect had the Himalayas and a forbidding coast-line not combined to isolate the experimental field.

Already there have been two Indias,—Hindu India under the Asokan empire, and the Moslem India under the house of Barar, and it remains

for the people themselves to produce a third, the National India. All preceding or intervening periods are to be regarded as preparatory to these as periods merely of the incorporation and elaboration of new elements. We are able to understand and state this, because it is to-day clear that history is dynamic; it never dies. If a nation at any period reach great spiritual or intellectual achievements, these do not exhaust, they conserve and heighten the national vigour....

No. History is the warp upon which is to be woven the woof of Nationality. Only in the mirror of her own past can India see her soul reflected. And only in such visions can she recognize herself.

Principles of Federal Finance

In the instructive paper read before the Indian Economic Conference at Mysore (published in the *Indian Journal of Economics*) Prof. K. T. Shah makes an elaborate study of the financial position in federal constituencies,—U. S. A., Swiss Confederacy, German Republic, Dominions of Canada, Commonwealth of Australia and Union of South in Africa,—and deduces the following guiding principles :

Federations are, in their nature, the creation of an urge to safeguard, among cognate peoples in close neighbourhood of one another, the political and material interests of the nation thus brought into existence. The powers and resources placed at the disposal of this new compound or Federal State, vary with the degree of this urge to unite—according to the nature and extent of the danger against which it is sought to provide by means of the Union. The Federal State is the result of a voluntary compact between the constituent states for the purpose—as is but too often the case—these powers and resources are entrusted to the Union or Federal Government at the expense of its constituents. Almost invariably the Customs revenue has been left in all federations to the Central Federal authority. The motive for this arrangement may have been the dread of the combining states to entrust too great and too direct an authority over their own citizens to the new state.... The Customs revenue was originally entrusted to the Federal authority, in order to enable the latter to have a substantial source of its own income. Since the latter half of the nineteenth century, however, the main purpose of the Customs duties seems not so much to raise an adequate revenue for the Federal Government : but rather by its means to accomplish an intensive industrial development of the country, without which the country would be a helpless prey to its foreign competitors....

Where, however, either Customs or Excise revenue is, for whatever reasons, a decadent source, the problem of federal finance becomes very much complicated.... Hence the incursion into direct taxation of income and property, which seems to be a growing feature of our age.... Two unexpected—and rather intricate—consequences of this devel-

opment may also be noted in this connection. While the Federal powers of levying direct taxation are growing, the states have not yet surrendered all their original rights in this regard....

The State ownership of land is effective in theory, and used only for purposes of levying high Death duties or Land Increment Value taxes. Forest domain, similarly, is, as a rule, within the jurisdiction of the constituent states. Its immense possibilities for productive purposes have yet hardly been realized. On the other hand, coastal and deep sea fisheries are a reserved subject for the Federal Government, though the subject is used rather for taxation than as a kind of public enterprise for earning a profit for the State. Means of transportation and communication—railways and tramways, canals and navigable rivers, posts, telegraphs and telephones—also form largely part of the public enterprise, mostly federal in the larger units which have necessarily an inter-provincial scope.

The incessant and inevitable bickering between State and Federal authorities in regard to problems of double or overlapping taxation, make it imperative that new sources of Federal and State revenue be devised, which, even though not absolutely exclusive, would be sufficiently distinct and productive. Such sources, least burdensome to the citizens at large, are found most effectively in an extension of the Public Domain,—giving to each component part of a federation adequate, independent, equitable and economic sources of revenue. The dividing line between the states and the federal enterprise may be found in the not very difficult test as to whether or not a given enterprise is fixed and local in its character—e. g., agricultural land or forests, or whether it is necessarily inter-provincial or coterminous with the Federation. The former must be assigned to the constituent states, the latter to the Federation. As a further guarantee against needless overlapping, the principle of exempting from taxation any part of the public property or domain of any unit at the hands of another, federal local must be universally adopted. The old function of public defence, entrusted almost universally to the Federal Government, is rapidly falling into the second class, in comparison with the new developmental duties laid down on modern states by themselves. The monies needed for meeting with these obligations are seldom provided entirely by the current revenues. Recourse has, therefore, to be had to borrowing : and the interest payment on these loans, together with provision by way of sinking fund, make no inconsiderable proportion of the expenditure of modern federal states. Not all the monies obtained by modern states from borrowing are spent on productive objects. Social Services on a very considerable scale are generally met from tax-revenues, as the return from these services to the state or the community is in a form impossible to compute in terms of money. Both the Federation and the Combined States have such services assigned to them under the Constitution or by special convention. And, though here, too, there is no exclusive division of functions as between the States and the Federation, the line of division is much clearer and more firmly marked than in the case of the revenues. Education in the earlier stages, local sanitation, public health, relief of destitution are among the most considerable of these purely local functions ; while social and industrial insurance, old age pensions, unemploy-

ment benefit, general maintenance of law and order belong as a rule to the Federal Government.

In all federations, which are the creations of a special pact, the use of the public credit belongs to the constituent states as well as to the Federal Government,—at least in theory. In practice, however, the fact that the states borrow in the same money market as the Federation, and for subjects much less productive than those for which the Federation has to borrow—militates gravely against the constituents of the Federation, and even at times against the Federation itself. While, therefore, the power to borrow and to pledge any specific assets at the disposal of these states is allowed to rest with the states in theory, in practice arrangements have been made in more than one federation for the public debt of the entire federation to be managed by the Central authority. In India, though the provinces are theoretically free to borrow on their own credit, in practice the Central Government borrows for all. This analogy obtains in the British Dominions. The European and American models—United States, Germany, Switzerland—show a continuance in practice of the states' right to borrow for state development purposes.

Connected, by analogy as well as on account of some recent practices, with the foregoing, is the question of the federal currency and of the monetary system. In general Coinage and Currency are,—with the possible exception of Switzerland—a federal subject, including the necessary control over Banking. Cases, however, do occur,—and more can be imagined,—in which the central authority might justly be suspected of inequitable dealings through its control over the currency and the credit system of the community. The remedy lies in such legislation, for the exercise of this power, as would ensure an automatically adequate as well as equitable distribution among the several components of and interests in a federation.

The professor reminds that the guiding principles undoubtedly throw light on the problem of India, but they fail to solve it; for the presence of the Indian States, each almost different from the other in its peculiarity and importance, makes the situation more baffling.

Problems of the Muslims

In a paper entitled "Our Problems" in *The Muslim Hall Magazine* (Dacca) Mr. Naziruddin Ahmed rightly diagnoses the cause of the stagnation of the Muslim community thus:

A glance at the history of the Muslims will clearly demonstrate how our society has from time to time repressed the intellectual awakening of the people. No free-thinker was safe in the hands of the society "The college of jurists placed under the ban of heresy the rationalists and philosophers who made name of Muslims glorious in the annals of the world" (Ameer Ali). Al Farabi, Ibn Sina, Ibn Rushd were declared beyond the

pale of Islam though they themselves claimed to be Moslems. Caliph Al-Mamun, the philosopher Caliph of Islam, was declared the commander of the faithless. Caliph Al-Mustanjid under the influence of theologians publicly burnt at Bagdad the encyclopædia of the the "Pure Brethren." The Mutazilas were obliged under Mutawakkil to subscribe to a written recantation. Those who refused to do so were subjected to most severe physical punishment. Under Caliph Al Qadir every one was declared an infidel who held the view that the Quran was created. Greatest poets of Islam did not escape the death sentence passed by the ulama. It is said that even Sheikh Saadi would have gone to hell had he not penned those famous lines in praise of the Prophet (Balagol ula be kamalihi etc.)...

This position clearly explains our intellectual backwardness. We have no toleration of ideas and freedom of discussion among us. So our community lacks the first principle of intellectual life. We cannot doubt, we cannot question, for the retribution is unfailing and severe. If we differ anywhere from the current conceptions, our parents or some friends, who are very solicitous for our welfare in the next world, would solemnly warn us against the pitfalls of argumentation, and advise us not to have the temerity to interfere with God's mysteries. From our childhood it is drummed into our ears that God is the sole agent of this universe, without whose order even the leaf of a tree does not move. The doctrine of predestination makes us unwilling and passive tools in the hands of an all-pervading destiny. Whatever befalls us we are contented; for 'Alhamdulillah' it is the will of God. We sometimes look with wonder at the rapid strides with which science is advancing among other peoples. But the thought of emulating them does not occur to us: for, everything is as God pleases. This extreme passivity of temperament makes us unworthy rivals by the side of other competitors in the world's race.

He refers to the ills that are eating into the vitals of the Moslem society—injunction regarding lending or investing money on interest, law of inheritance giving rise to litigation and pauperism, illiberal mullah dictated education system, senseless purdah system, child-marriage, divorce and polygamy of a desert community of thirteen thousand years ago. Nor does he find the movement for reformation strong.

No cause, no movement, can rouse us to energy and enthusiasm until it is backed by a decree of the mullah or has obtained the adhesion of a pir. The war cry 'religion in danger' is always to be raised to rouse to activity the dormant energy of the community. If the call is made in the name even of a defunct Khilafat or "music before mosque", at once the soldiers of Islam would show unwonted vitality and rise up in harness to fight the foes of Islam. But for any mundane cause however important, we do not find our spirit to rise to the necessary pitch. We are spending thousands in building mosques, many of which are unnecessary, and scattering money even when we have no sufficient means, on the barren sands of Arabia for the pilgrimage; but in building

schools, colleges, hospitals and other institutions of social welfare we are absolutely backward.

Indian Architecture

Mr. Sirishchandra Chatterjee, who deserves the best thanks of all Indians with patriotic feeling and aesthetic insight for his endeavours to revive Indian architecture, answers some of its critics in the *Civil Engineers' Annual* (B. E. College).

As a counterblast of Sir George Birdwood's outburst at the Royal Society of Arts, deploring high aesthetic and plastic qualities to Indian sculpture, one protest was signed by thirteen aesthetic experts and published in "London Times," which can be summarized as follows:—

"We the undersigned artists, critics and students of art find in the best art of India a lofty and adequate expression of religious emotion of the people and of their deepest thoughts on the subject of the Divine. We recognize in the Buddha type of sacred figure one of the greatest artistic inspirations of the world. We hold that the existence of a distinct, a potent and a living tradition of art is a possession of priceless value to the Indian people and one which they ought to guard with the utmost reverence and love. We trust that while not disdaining to accept whatever can be wholesomely assimilated from foreign sources, it will jealously preserve the individual character which is an outgrowth of the history and physical conditions of the country, as well as of those ancient and profound religious conceptions which are the story of India and all the Eastern World."

The fine arts of India were taken to China, Japan, Siam, Cambodia and Further India, which is appropriately styled "Greater India" earlier than the 1st century B. C. and they impressed on the converts a purely Indian interpretation and symbolism which permanently influenced all Buddhist art. It is quite evident that those countries digested the Indian prototypes and developed them with the character of their own genius. India was the Holy Land in the eyes of those countries and every art taken therein from India would be consecrated as a relic. The early carvings at Bharhut and Sanchi and the later sculptures of Badami and Bhubaneswar—the aerial-like Apsaras with their enchanting grace tempered with their shyness, the faultless grace of stone birds and beasts with their timid aloofness, all seems almost instinct with life and motion alike of which, it is said, is nowhere to be found in any part of the world. It was a symbol of soul striving for union with God. The extremely delicate and sublime carvings of the Dilwara brings the visitor into a vision of dream-land. One may say it was the work of Maya Danava. The celebrated paintings and carvings of Ajanta have lasted over two thousand years and how long will they sing the fervent old song of ancient India's glory with all its deep religious emotion no one can tell—of India's resplendent past when freedom and liberty, equality and unanimity, charity and love were the order of the day and tyranny and autocracy were unknown in the land of the Rishis.

Mr. Chatterjee's own plans and *Plaster of Paris* casts, some of which have been reproduced there, are very much convincing.

Mysticism and Religion

Dr. Saroj K. Das writing on 'Role of Mysticism in Human Experience' in *The New Era* for April endorses the view of Prof. Whitehead—"it is not a creed or a set of creeds or doctrines or dogmas, but is an art—almost the lost art of worship,"—and thus concludes by referring to its practical value.

Mysticism can, and does, as a matter of fact, prove of inestimable service to, and regulative inspirer of, religion. It has been frequently alleged (1) that *Mysticism being the equivalent of 'enjoyment' is characterized by that passivity which is the sworn foe of the religious life.* But it is forgotten that the 'wise passiveness' to which mystics have in all ages testified is no mere passive emotion, but is a state of intense fruition in which they draw, from the fountain-head of their being, that life and light which has always to be commandeered for active service. (2) Secondly, it is supposed that the mystic life being in essence 'the flight of the alone to the Alone', to use the graphic words of Plotinus, is professedly solitary, selfish or ego-centric, and as such, antagonistic to the life of the good neighbour and the honest citizen. Admittedly, there is this danger ahead; but the so-called 'Purgative' stage or the 'moment' of social disconnection symbolized by the 'Everlasting Nay' of Carlyle which has its counterpart in the 'Unitive' state, the 'Everlasting Yea' of the blessed life of the mystic, is not, however, the last word about Mysticism. 'Mysticism in its true character is just the redemption of solitude' says Prof. W. E. Hocking of Yale than whom there is probably no one who could talk on 'the psychology' of Mysticism with greater authority. Here, as elsewhere, the individual only 'dies to live'—breaks through the crust of an insular existence only to find himself in union with all, as he truly is. (3) Lastly, as a result of the mystic solitude, the cause of institutional religion is, it is alleged, jeopardized. While the apprehension is not altogether groundless, it is none the less true, as we have it on the authority of one of the highest dignitaries of the Church, that 'the aberrations or exaggerations of institutionalism have been, and are, more dangerous and further removed from the spirit of Christianity than those of mysticism'. The best service that mysticism can render to religion, and human welfare in general, is to rid us of 'the institutional selfishness', as Principal L. P. Jacks happily phrases it, and thus to help, in deference to 'the mystic unity of what is and what should be', towards making that international mind on which alone depend, be it remembered, 'Peace on earth and goodwill towards men.'

Mass Revolt in India

Accepting the conditions as they are, Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal examines the question

'Dominion Status *vs.* Isolated Independence in *The Hindusthan Review* (Jan.-March 1929) and though one may not agree with him in his conclusions one cannot fail to note his cogency of reasoning on some other questions.

India is really not a country but a continent. We are not, honestly speaking, *one people*, but a conglomeration of many peoples. It is no use denying these obvious actualities. The unity of the new Indian nation evolving before our eyes will never be homogeneous but only a federal unity. The building up of an Indian federation will need both time and laborious preparatory disciplines, intellectual and social.

Centuries of deprivation from responsibilities concerning the fundamental affairs of our own administration has inevitably developed a narrow view of life and intensely self-regarding motive of our activities. Good government is not only no substitute for self-government, but morally it is a fatal evil. The inevitable result of good government is that it creates a universal spirit of confidence in the people governed in their rulers, and thereby make them uncritical and indifferent to the common interests, indirectly leading them to confine their outlook to and concentrate all their efforts upon the pursuit of individual interests to the neglect of the social interests. This fatal moral injury has been inflicted upon the people of India by that very ideal of good government which means efficient administration, which the British have generally tried to realize among us during the last hundred and fifty years. And the very peace of Britain, the security to personal property procured by the British administration, guarantees an unfettered scope of the exercise of personal liberties within the limits of intimate personal or social relations, unaffected by and unaffected political relations, which the people at large have enjoyed for the last two or three generations,—all these have bred a mentality in them which is not at all favourable to any strong and effective organization for risky political work. Unless this mentality is revolutionized, it would be impossible to organize any manner of mass revolt in India upon such a scale as is likely to help to break up the present administration. Therefore, whatever impatient idealists and blind enthusiasts might think or say, there is absolutely no human chance of getting up a continental revolt, much less one that is likely to be justified by success.

Living Light

Prof. Dr. Hans Molisch gives an account of 'Living Light' in *The Scientific India* for March.

The plant can produce several kinds of energies: mechanical, osmotic, warmth, electricity, (as the excellent experiments of Sir J. C. Bose have shown) and Light. I have been interested in the production of light for more than thirty years—first in Java, then in Europe, later on in Japan and now in India. In a lecture, I delivered recently in the Bose Institute, I gave a summary of my experience and experiments concerning the luminosity of plants.

If we exclude light development in the Peridiniae which are sometimes referred to the animal and sometimes to the vegetable kingdom, and which play an important part in the striking spectacle of marine luminescence, all light-producing plants may be said to belong to the fungi; that is to the bacteria and the mycelial fungi. There are in round numbers, 30 different kinds of bacteria and about 20 other fungi, which have the power of luminosity.

Until recently, luminosity in butchers' meat was considered to be a spectacle of rare occurrence—a curiosity, the cause of which was unknown. When I undertook an investigation of the matter I lacked proper material; and although I communicated with various persons and institutions, where luminous meat would most likely be found, not a single sample was supplied to me for fully two years. I was about to abandon the undertaking when the idea occurred to me of examining the meat supplied to me for household use, and to my astonishment it appeared, that such meat, kept for from one to three days in a cool place, began in many instances to produce light spontaneously; especially, if the meat was immersed in a 3 per cent. solution of salt in such a way that about one half of it remained out of the liquid. Experiments with meat carried on for 3 months afforded not less than 87 per cent. of cases of luminosity; thus experiments with beef afforded 89 per cent. and experiments with horse flesh 65 per cent.

By means of culture it was demonstrated that the cause of the luminosity in each case was invariably the same intensely luminous bacterium, namely, "Bacterium phosphoreum". As I have carried on similar researches for a number of years, not only in the city of Prague but in other cities and recently in Japan, with essentially the same results, I can state definitely, that the spontaneous luminosity of meat is in fact a quite common occurrence.

During my stay in Java I came upon another form of light production from decaying leaves. In course of my walks at night in the Tropics, especially in Java, I frequently found the dead leaves of Bambusa, Nephelium, Aglaia and other plants to be luminous in the darkness. On returning to Europe with the experience gathered in Tropics, I looked into the same subject in my native country and found that luminous dead leaves of the oak and beech are quite common in middle Europe. Here also the cause of luminosity is not the leaf-substance, but the living fungus within it.

I can also state that the luminous decaying wood is a common occurrence too and this production of light is caused in Europe generally by mycelium of the common fungus *Agaricus Melleus* and *Mycelium X*.

It has also been known for a long time that dead sea-animals especially fishes, produce light, because luminous bacteria develop on them. We can make pure cultures from these bacteria and with their help can study the natural history of the living beings and the properties of this Living Light. We now know through the researches of Dubois and Harvey that the luminous animals contain two substances, luciferin and luciferase and that their mixture gives light.

For this luminosity oxygen is necessary. I demonstrate the importance of oxygen to luminosity before a large audience in the following manner :—

A glass tube, 1 to 1½ m. long, having a diameter of about 8 mm. and closed at one end is fitted to within ½ cm. of the top with strongly luminous bouillon. Such a tube loses its light as the bacteria gradually exhaust the oxygen, excepting just the upper surface of the liquid in contact with the air. If now the tube is closed with the thumb and inverted, a bubble of air will ascend through the bouillon, making its entire course luminous and appearing in the darkness like a slowly ascending sky rocket. Within quarter of an hour or less the luminosity again disappears and the experiments can be repeated.

I have also constructed a bacterial lamp on the following plan :—

In an Erlenmeyer-flask, having a capacity of from 1 to 2 litres, is put from 200 to 400 cubic centimetres of salt-peptone-gelatin. It is then stoppered with cotton wool and sterilized. When cool, but before the gelatin has quite solidified, it is infected with a fresh and luminous culture of *Bacterium phosphoreum*. The flask is held horizontally and slowly rotated, so that the gelatin forms a coating on the entire inner surface of the flask and then hardens. After being kept for one or two days in a cool room, the entire inner surface of the flask is covered with colonies of bacteria, so that it gleams with an exquisitely beautiful bluish-green light and presents with its soft, steady brilliancy a splendid appearance. Such a lamp will, in a cool room, continue to be luminous for about a fortnight and, when the eye is accustomed to the darkness, will give light enough to see the face of a watch, the scale of a thermometer or to read coarse print. Such a flask is visible on a dark night at a distance of 64 paces and could in an emergency be utilized as a night-lamp. In the light of this living lamp I was able to take photographs, to demonstrate heliotropism, and to study the spectrum of the bacterial light. The description of all these experiments the reader will find in my book : "Leuchtende Pflanzen," Jena 1912, Zweite Auflage ; bei G. Fischer.

The Rights of the Muslims

'An Indian Christian' in reviewing Dr. Shafat Ahmed Khan's book in *The Indian Review* (March) writes :

At the root, minority rights are no more than plain civic ones. There are certain fundamental conditions of political obligation which are universally recognized to-day, the practice of one's religion, education in the mother-tongue, equality before the law and the establishment of voluntary associations as long as they are not prejudicial to the interests of the State. When the Treaty of Versailles created the new States, it had to deal with the rights of minorities, and the whole list of protective measures did not go beyond this category. The earlier instance of the British North America. Act was founded on the same principle.

Muslims will be either a weakness or a strength to the Indian State. Uneducated and clamorous about the disadvantages of ignorance and unadaptability, and on that very ground asking for favours and concessions, they will be a weakness and constant source of anxiety. If, on the other hand, they have strength and self-respect enough to feel sure of their capacity to hold their own with the best that competitors from other communities can put forth, and there is not a single historical reason why they should not, the whole atmosphere of inter-communal relations will change, and for the better.

The Need for an Indian Army

The *Welfare* (April 6) writing editorially is neither alarmist nor unreasonable in pointing to the necessity for a really *Indian Army*.

No one would be so blind to facts as to suggest that Western diplomacy had been lying idle since the Peace treaty. It is just the other way about. Never had diplomacy been so subtle and wide-spread in the history of nations as it has been since the war. Western nations talk loudest on matters that they consider of no importance, keeping perfectly silent over the real and vital issues. The boosting of peace moves of which we hear and read so much can be explained as a symptom of the War fever that is growing slowly in the body of Western polity. With England and America slowly but surely drifting into a race for armament, with Germany completing, with the help of superior science and engineering, her defensive armour, with France and her smaller allies parading daily the most formidable peace army in history and with Italy, Spain, Greece, Turkey, Poland etc. active with a policy of militant nationalism with a dash of imperialism, what hopes can we harbour for peace on Earth ?

Add to this, the problems of Communism *vs.* Capitalism and White Imperialism *vs.* Brown, Yellow and Black Independence and get a picture in which there is no space even for a feather of the wings of Peace. The whole world is probably on the verge of a greater catastrophe than the war of 1914-18. It will be something like the terrible days of the fall of the Roman Empire. The entire structure of civilization will be torn to pieces to be built up anew. In such days woe be to peoples who are unprepared like the Britons of old. They shall be swept hither and thither as the great churn of the armageddon turns. Whole races with their culture and civilization will be wiped off the map without being able to offer the feeblest of resistance to the destructive and slaughtering forces.

If ever a country was defenceless it is India. Our own army marches on one leg being denied artillery, armoured cars, tanks, air forces, in short the major weapons of modern warfare. Left alone it could not stand against the forces of the smallest of South American Republics. Just as the weapons of the Indian army are British so are its fighting brain and sinews of war *i.e.* supply of guns, projectiles, rifles, ammunition etc.

The Indian Army should immediately be re-organized as a self-sufficient fighting force. All arms and munitions should also be manufactured in India. With a little state aid private enterprise can easily tackle this latter problem.

One thing more: recruitment in the Indian army is restricted to certain races and castes. This is dangerous for the races and castes or even provinces which have been unjustifiably declared *non-military* by the British. There are no people on earth who are non-military as a race. With proper training all races can produce good fighters. As to races which have been good fighters only a century ago, but have ceased to be so on paper due to political reasons, they should make very fine soldiers if only they are given a chance to prove their mettle. The Indian army should recruit its personnel proportionally from all provinces. This may perhaps rub up vested interests the wrong way, but that cannot be helped.

The Girl of Today

E. I. Tampoe's advice in the following, reproduced from *The Indian Ladies' Magazine* for March will be endorsed by many who are interested in the emancipation and fullest development of the girls of today:

The girl of to-day is confronted with—

1. The difficulties of modern environments;
2. Anti-war conditions of living;
3. Her absolute emancipation;
4. The growing and varied demands made on her as never before;
5. The ever-increasing struggle for existence;
6. And last but not least, the excess of women over men.

These and similar conditions have led her to shape her life as though she was meant to be, not a complement to man, but his equal, whom she must replace sooner or later.

Such extraordinary performances as swimming the channel, piloting an aeroplane, captaining a ship, motoring round the world, entering Parliament, and filling pulpits, may be admirable and praiseworthy. But, in doing these, a woman misses her highest vocation in life.

In the design of God, and the order of nature is the man or the woman the head in the home and family, in the Church and the State? This is not a question of inferiority or superiority in any respect, but of God's providential and infinitely wise order of nature.

When a woman forsakes her home for the pulpit or Parliament, she is forsaking her supreme opportunity in life. The nations of the world need wives and mothers.

The girl of to-day seems to find her greatest delight in doing what mere man does. That a healthy out-door life with a keenness for all sports, and a liberal and higher education, is essential, not only for her well-being, but also to the world at large, is commonplace. But her freedom to develop soul, mind and body should fit her to be a more ideal wife and mother, than her grandmother was.

Village Water Supply

The following information regarding the Bombay Government Scheme for water supply in villages—a dire necessity in the Bengal villages as well—is gathered from the editorial notes of *The Bombay Co-operative Quarterly* for March.

The Government of Bombay initiated in the year 1925 a very important departure in the administration of the Famine Fund, which, until then, was being utilized for measures of relief or for provision of employment in times of distress. Sir Chunilal Mehta, then Revenue Member, decided with the consent of the Legislative Council to use the Fund for measures of protection and prevention instead of merely for the alleviation of distress after it occurred. One of the directions in which the resources were to be employed was the building up of reserves of Kaddi and of grass in famine areas and the other the investigations of and assistance to schemes for supply of water both for drinking purposes by the construction of Bandharas (bunds across streams) and tanks in suitable localities. Co-operators may well claim some credit for this interesting innovation in Government policy, because in their Provincial Conference of 1924 they adopted a resolution urging Government to undertake a vigorous policy for the construction of protective irrigation works in famine areas and for providing facilities for well-digging, erection of Bandharas, excavation of tanks, installation of pumping plants in the famine tracts of the Presidency. Government appointed in 1925 a Special Engineer in charge of Minor Irrigation Works who has now under him a staff of over forty assistants and surveyors. His activities which were confined at the start to the four famine districts of the Presidency now extend to thirteen districts, including four districts in Gujarat. During the year 1928, 113 additional proposals were received for consideration bringing the total number of proposals received to 1627. Out of 236 schemes under investigation during the year, 117 were rejected as having been found impracticable, and 25 projects were submitted to Government after inquiries were completed and, in the Deccan, particularly the special Engineer states in his report that considerable progress has been made with Bandharas and irrigation tanks, ten schemes having been adopted for the Ahmednagar district alone. 16 schemes were under construction last year, and it is gratifying to find that satisfactory results have been obtained from the few schemes which have been completed and are now being worked successfully. The demand for investigation is as keen as ever, and Special Engineer's office appears to be flooded with proposals for inquiry.

Bengal requires such a scheme urgently.

Kashmere State and the Kashmerese

The following interview of Sir Albion R. Banerjee to a representative of the Associated Press (reproduced in *The Feudatory and Zemindari India* for March) gives a glimpse of the conditions of the Kashmerese.

"Jammu and Kashmir State is labouring under many disadvantages with a very large Mahomedan population absolutely illiterate and labouring under poverty and very low economic conditions living in villages and practically governed like dumb-driven cattle. There is no touch between the Government and the people and they find no suitable opportunity for representing the grievances. The administrative machinery itself requires overhauling from top to bottom to bring it up to modern conditions of efficiency. It has at present little or no sympathy with the peoples' wants and grievances. The intellectual classes represented by the Pandit are also in a senses depressed classes because they get no opportunity for rising either in the Government service or in the field of useful activity such as industry and commerce with the result, that they are also discontented. There are problems which require to be seriously tackled."

"There is hardly any public opinion in the State. As regards the press, it is practically non-existent with the result that the Government is not benefited to the extent that it should be, by the impact of healthy criticisms of its actions and policy. The political status of Kashmir is in many respects, chiefly owing to its geographical position and it is one of great importance to India as a whole because it abuts on three Empires. But the State cannot rise to its full height and realize all the possibilities that nature has endowed it with unless there is greater co-operation between the Government and the people and unless the British Government also sympathetically consider all the legitimate demands of the State for greater autonomy in internal administration, which at present it does not possess to the extent that is enjoyed by many other States of lesser status."

Asked about the normal condition of the people in the State Sir Albion said that the low economic condition of the people is entirely responsible for those evils which exist and to eradicate which Government is taking desperate steps. Though the well-conceived measures in the State in the direction of combatting the evils may have some effect they cannot entirely eradicate the evils until and unless the people are raised to a higher level of economic life in villages where at present it is as low as it possibly can be. In villages there is no continuity of occupation. Even bare subsistence is denied under the existing conditions of rural life which have driven people to seek livelihood elsewhere, specially in the winter. The Kashmir artisan is well known throughout the world for the excellent quality of workmanship but unfortunately in recent years the quality has been steadily deteriorating and something should be done by the State to help them as has been done in Mysore."

In the very issue of the paper we are presented with speech of the Maharaja which in its promises, professions and claims of execution, seems to be too much optimistic in the light of this interview.

Imperial Government's Opium Policy

The *Prohibition* for April observes in course of its criticism of the Imperial Government's Defence of the Opium Policy :

It is always interesting to see what the Government of India has to say to the Parliament of Great Britain on its drink and drug policy. This is done annually in the Statement prepared by the Director of Public Information. Mr. J. Coatman in the volume "India in 1927-28" just published, has devoted seven pages to the defence. The volume is published under the authority and with the general approval of the Secretary of State for India, but neither he nor the Government of India takes responsibility for every particular expression of Mr. Coatman's opinion. Five of the seven pages deal with the present opium policy of the Government of India. A good case is made out for the loyalty of the Government to the findings of the League of Nations in connection with the export of Indian Opium to foreign countries. The extinction of these exports is to be accomplished by December 31st 1935 after which no opium for other than medical or scientific purposes will be sent out of India by the Government of India. In regard to the control of cultivation which is the crux of the opium problem, an equally good case is put up. In 10 years the area of cultivation throughout British India has been reduced from 204,186 acres to 48,083 acres or more than 76 per cent. Further the relations of the Government of India, in the matter of opium, to the Indian States has led to conferences, negotiations, investigations, and recommendations all of which have tended to bring the authorities of Indian States into line with British policy on the effective control of the opium traffic. Then in regard to "black spots" when consumption is far in excess of the standard of the League of Nations for legitimate use—10 lbs. for every 10,000 of the inhabitants, Provincial Governments have at the instigation of the Imperial Government appointed committees of investigation. Bengal, C. P., Bihar and Orissa, Bombay and Madras have appointed committees and the Imperial Government is now considering the desirability of holding a conference to collate and compare the results. Finally figures are given shewing great decline in the consumption of opium throughout British India during the last 16 years, from 72,527 maunds to 7,021 maunds.

After that most favourable review, we are informed, that owing to the enhanced price at which opium has been sold in India's various provinces the revenue which in 1910-11 was Rs. 1.63 crores rose to Rs. 3.36 crores in 1926-27. So Mr. Coatman brings home to us that the method of Governments in dealing with the drug evil, as he calls it, is financially most satisfactory. As with drink so with drugs it is this financial aspect of the policy of control that makes men doubt the sincerity and the right moral attitude of the authorities towards a traffic that is a curse in the homes of the people. An article that is a poison and a social curse should be suppressed and prohibited, not controlled.



The Problem of University Education

Is university education meant for everybody who has the leisure and the means to afford four or five years of refined idleness and more or less easy schooling? Or does it require special kind of aptitudes, and aims at a very specialized kind of finished product? It does, says Dean McConn of the Lehigh University (U. S. A.), writing in *The New Republic*. He attributes the decline in the quality of University education to the admission, in increasing numbers, of pupils who are plainly unfit for the course of study which they expected to profit by:

The swollen enrollments of the present day include a substantial majority of young people who by all accounts, including their own, have not come primarily for studies but for other activities connected with fraternities, athletics, and the like. I try to do full justice to the striking educational values which these other activities afford. But, after all, those values, though highly "practical" for wordly success, are not the same values which we seek through letters and science. The two sets of values are indeed not only disparate, but in part discordant. And consequently, the gross predominance on our campuses, both in numbers and in social prestige, of those devoted to the other activities has, in the common phrase, "dragged down the standards," involved the faculties in innumerable concessions and compromises, and very nearly banished any true spirit of learning and understanding. (There is none so native as to suppose that "college spirit," of which we hear so much, has any reference to such matters.) Learning and understanding present themselves in our colleges nowadays as things which are pale and ineffectual and second-rate as compared with social leadership or athletic prowess. And I do not see how this situation can change so long as we continue to receive large numbers who, in Professor Veblen's phrase, "have no designs on the higher learning." So, in picturing an ideal college, I begin by excluding this group.

But the question still remains: whom to exclude. Can we say of a given number candidates for University education that they are inherently unsuited for it? Dean McConn faces this issue squarely and has no hesitation in saying that:

There is a large number of young persons of college age with respect to whom I would agree

to all that. Young men and women whose characteristics and qualities are already set and determined one way or the other—some few whose quest of beauty and truth cannot be wholly thwarted by the most unfavorable environment or the most inept teaching; and a somewhat larger number in whom no conceivable presentation of liberal values can be expected to awaken any real response.

How they have come to be that way is another question—whether by biological inheritance, or through the effects of social heredity in those early years which nearly all psychologists agree in considering decisive. But for the college officer as such this question is irrelevant. The point for him is that very many of our young people are already, before they come to him, predetermined, some to enlightenment, and some to an agreeable, energetic and by the no means unserviceable barbarism.

There is a general background to this dark picture. It is the decline of idealism in modern society. Dean McConn sums up his case in a finely written, though melancholy, conclusion:

This brings us to a great and sad truth, which is the root of the matter (as I see it), namely, that in our present world, and for long years to come, the adherents of any great and fine faith, whether of Christian unworldliness or of humanistic unworldliness or any other must, if they would keep the virtue of their faith, be content to remain a saving remnant—a comparatively small group increasing only by slow degrees.

Of course, they will be missionaries; no one can hold fervently to any faith without burning to proselyte, or without believing that in the end the truth and beauty which he perceives with such delight must become apparent to all and gladden the whole world. And, being but men, with so short a span, we desire that they should prevail in our day, or at the least make measureable strides. Hence springs a noble but disastrous haste, which cannot be satisfied to build slowly, adding only true converts, but must have also half-converts and merely nominal converts in large number,—who quite innocently misunderstand and deface the whole creed. This tragic zeal has wrought the degradation of nearly every great cause. When Christianity took over the Empire and began to baptize by nations it practically ceased to be Christian; to most of the new hordes Christ could be only another war-cry and a new kind of magic. And when humanism seeks to enroll all the children of the bourgeoisie it finds itself turned into—fraternities and football.

This is why it seems to me that instead of continuing in all our colleges to "have a try at

every one of them" we should establish *some colleges* which will receive only those who are pretty clearly "called," (this would include a fair number of the more promising border-line cases), and will make their calling and election sure, and send them out year by year to leaven the whole democratic lump and to make each a few more true converts. To us who live now this must be a somewhat depressing programme, for it concedes that we shall never see even the dawn of the great day of which we dream. It calls for protracted patience, a long long view. But there is no other way.

Vauvenargues

The same sad, unsatisfactory diagnosis of the present age is given us in a leading article in the *Times Literary Supplement* on Vauvenargues. Vauvenargues was a French writer of the 18th century who died at the early age of thirty-two. His life was a total failure in every circumstance of outward success. But he lived to give to the world a book of maxims which for its strength, charity and breadth of moral outlook has its place among a dozen great books which have sustained, consoled, and chastened mankind:

"Revenons avec Vauvenargues à la pureté de la langue, à la sérénité des pensées et à l'intégrité morale"—these words, with which Sainte-Beuve opened his essay on Vauvenargues, announce the three essential aspects of one of the most interesting figures in the history of French literature. Sainte-Beuve saw in Vauvenargues a return, after a period of frivolity and insincerity, to the seriousness of the seventeenth century; he found in his work a presentiment of the new seriousness that was to distinguish the remainder of the eighteenth century. Vauvenargues was born in 1715 and died in 1747; in 1715 Fénelon had died; Bayle had died nine years earlier; Bossuet died in 1704, and Pascal, who was of the same generation, preceded Bossuet by more than forty years. The world in 1715 seemed as empty as it did in 1915, and continued to be empty during Vauvenargues's life as it continues in ours—empty of grace, of faith, of fervour and magnanimity. It is because Vauvenargues revolted against the shallowness of his age that he has a peculiar value for ours, not only because that shallowness has something in common with ours, but more particularly because the experiences of Vauvenargues, and the events which brought about his disillusion and caused his fervour, were very similar to the common experiences and universal events of our own time. His actuality arises from the fact that on the basis of his experiences and out of the depth of his disillusionment he built up a possible philosophy of life.

There is a certain obvious parallelism between the historical situation as it existed at the end of the seventeenth century and beginning of the eighteenth century and the situation that faces us now at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth. A century of genius

is behind us as it was behind the contemporaries of Vauvenargues. Genius cannot be manufactured at will, but its works may be made the basis of a tradition. Instead of a tradition, however, the reaction to a period of self-confidence usually takes the shape of a resignation to despair; and just as Vauvenargues's contemporaries turned for their mortification to a typical prophet of despair like La Rochefoucauld, so nowadays, lacking a La Rochefoucauld, we exalt a company of minor prophets. The "Maximes" had the inestimable advantage of precision; to-day our introspective energies must be expended on drearier wastes of self-analysis.

Sir Aurel Stein

The Living Age for April contains a very interesting biographical notice of Sir Mark Aurel Stein whose archaeological achievements have made him famous throughout the world:

Sir Aurel's chief claim to glory lies in the fact that he has opened up a wholly new field of research. Prior to the present century, archaeology confined itself almost entirely to those Mediterranean lands in which may be traced the roots of our Western civilization. But, from his earliest days, young Aurel Stein's eyes were drawn to a far different land—Central Asia. Exploration in this remote and almost unknown territory became his chief object in life; toward this goal, from student days on, he shaped his destiny. So that the success that he finally won in this field may be counted, not as chance good fortune, but as the reward of a lifetime of persistent and well-planned endeavour.

While attending universities in Austria, Germany, and England, he prepared himself for what he hoped would be his life work by the study of Oriental languages and antiquities. Then he went to India to engage in educational work, rising to be Principal of the Oriental College, Lahore, then Registrar of the Punjab University. His summer vacations he spent in archaeological research in Kashmir, the northernmost province of India, where he could gaze long at the white-capped mountains across which lay the land of his heart's desire. Unswerving in his ambition, he yet saw no means of fulfilling it, for he was without those private resources necessary for protracted exploration. He thought with envy of Dr. Schliemann, who had had ample time and money for the researches which had resulted in the discovery of Troy.

In 1897 an event occurred which gave his hopes more definite direction. Fragments of birch bark were found near Khotan, in Eastern Turkestan, which were covered with Kharosthi writing and proved to be the earliest Indian document extant. The Indian Government became interested and started a collection of Central-Asian antiquities. These were bought from native treasure-seekers, who would naturally destroy much valuable and irreplaceable evidence in the course of their unskilled excavations. Dr. Stein saw his chance. He applied to the Government to be placed on special duty for purposes of archaeological exploration in the vicinity of Khotan. Lord Curzon was at that time Viceroy of India and it was

largely due to his interest in antiquities that the request was granted. Various delays ensued, but finally, in the spring of 1900, preparations were completed and Chinese passports secured. One fine May morning Dr. Stein at last set forth, with a caravan of sixteen camels and ponies, for a year's work in the land of which he had long dreamed.

Since then his life has consisted of prolonged periods of exploration, and even longer periods devoted to the task of writing up the results of his researches. This steady desk labour is disagreeable to him but he has never shirked it. By preference he accomplishes the task in his Kashmir camp, living in a tent, which is where he feels most at home, working from morning to dusk, and spending his evenings in long walks at the foot of the great mountains.

Exploration in the desert is possible only in the winter, due to the heat and wind storms at other times, so the summers of his periods of research were devoted to geographical work in the mountains. This entailed as difficult mountain climbing as is to be found anywhere. Stein would often ascend until his men were overcome by mountain sickness, and could go no farther. On one occasion he lost the toes of his right foot through frostbite. But it was the work in the desert which was the most trying. The exacting and often delicate process of excavation had to be carried on in a temperature which varied from freezing point in the day to ten below zero at night. Several days' march into the desert was usually necessary, and this meant limited rations, as all their food and water—the latter in the form of blocks of ice—had to be carried with them. Often they could not find enough wood for a fire at night, and Stein, with fingers too numb to write or to read the little volume of Horace he always carried with him, would have to go to bed as soon as the day's work was done, in order to keep warm. For such earthly ills as toothache there was no help to be found, save that provided by a medicine kit.

Many thrilling moments came to him in the course of his discoveries. One was the finding of an ancient frontier wall of China, built in the second century B. C. and long since forgotten, and of fragments of letters written by the soldiers impressed for service on this desolate and dangerous outpost. Another was the finding, in the 'Caves of the Thousand Buddhas,' of a chapel which had been crammed full of manuscripts and paintings and then walled up many centuries ago, probably on the threat of a barbarian raid. Of these he managed to send back thirty cases full to the British Museum. Another tense occasion, of a disagreeable nature, was when he and his men crossed the desert at its widest, and failed to find the river they were counting on. Just as Columbus' men once rebelled for lack of land, so Stein's men threatened mutiny for lack of water; and it was only when their supplies were gone and hope was nearly abandoned that the life-giving stream was found.

The Youth of France

M. George Duhamel, the distinguished French writer contributes a very penetrating

analysis of the psychology of the youth of France to the *Deutsch-Französische Rundschau* translated in the *Living Age*.

In my opinion, the primary characteristic of this generation is its suffering. It is not a question of a suffering which equals that of the War; it is not a question of physical hurt nor of bodily wounds nor of fear of death. None of the young people of whom I speak have known that fearful spiritual and bodily degradation which characterized the War and from which the people of that time could free themselves only by taking refuge in either death or a despairingly heroic attitude. No, I believe that the young people have suffered as carelessly planted trees suffer, trees which are badly cared for, which grow miserably in unprotected places, in barren soil, and which develop crookedly because they lack elements that favour their growth. This suffering remains unconscious and for this reason it is, perhaps, the more to be dreaded. It restrains the joy of living of children who have not, like us who are slightly older, the memory of an existence which, if it was not more beautiful, was at least easier, more pleasant, and more harmonious.

But the modern discontent is primarily due to spiritual causes. The younger generation of France has lost its best leaders, its most highly qualified guides, it has grown up in the midst of family anxiety and tears. It has lost fathers, older brothers and teachers. For many years it has attended schools that have become inferior. In spite of the earnest efforts of old men and devoted women it has not had the instruction that it would have received from the young teachers who were sacrificed on the battlefield. Bad as all this has been, the younger generation has been harmed even more by a curious opposition which becomes more noticeable from day to day. I mean the opposition that they feel between the moral values which have been taught them and the realities of the convulsively distorted world in which they have had to live. Because it is not possible for them, as it was for our generation, to console themselves with the almost idyllic memories of a time gone by, they are not quite conscious of the foundation of their maladjustment. But I do not doubt that they are full of indignation and that they have a vague contempt for the generations which preceded them.

Such contempt easily masters young men as long as they have not yet experienced the first surprises that real life has in store for them and have not yet faced their first personal failures; but in normal times they find compensation for all that in such qualities as enthusiasm, gratitude, or admiration, with all of which modern youth seems unacquainted. I do not think I am mistaken in asserting that young people to-day are possessed by inarticulate resentment and a peevish impatience with everything. For example, there has never been such indifference or disdain for the virtues required either by war or peace, as there is to-day.

This profound *malaise* has had different effects according to the temperament of the persons affected. To-day the youth of France may clearly be classified in four or five different groups:

The younger generation of France has, generally speaking, quickly passed beyond this phase of bitterness and in doing so has become divided within itself. Some believe that they can free themselves from their unrest by flinging themselves into that whirl of pleasure which has been set in motion in all the lands of the earth by a social order seeking means to forget its errors and the dangers which lie in wait for it. Fortunately, these represent a very small fraction of society, a fraction whose loss we doubtless should not regret.

Others, and they form the majority, who are not temperamentally inclined to reflection or to the endurance of suffering for long periods, have wisely sought wholesome diversion and forgetfulness in athletic sports. I do not attribute all virtues to this intoxication with sport and I approve it only with reservations; but for a large group of the younger generation for whose energies our prejudiced age allows no outlet, sport, it must be admitted, is a good school of endurance.

Many brilliant and highly gifted young people have also sought their salvation in restless work. They are waiting, they are preparing themselves. Their enthusiasm for study gives them hope and solace.

I must say a few words about another group who have not succeeded in disentangling themselves from the problems of the age. In the minds of most of these young people, moral and social concerns seem more important than metaphysics. They are the restless ones, the impassioned ones, the sentimentalists, the pseudo-sceptics, the ideologists. A greater number than one would believe react strongly to the appeal of the political parties. They do not want to stand idly awaiting the decadence of the order generation whom they hold responsible for their misfortune; and, because their youth makes them incapable of moderation, they join, at the first opportunity, the most extreme party factions, which recklessly exploit their youthful zeal, their fresh and eager spirit without giving any very careful consideration to the ultimate goals to be sought.

Though this group of young people is divided within itself, it cannot on the whole be regarded as weak or insignificant. Before very long it will certainly be making itself felt. It does not feel the weariness of the older generation—indeed it scarcely understands that weariness. It is alert. It wishes to be busy. It wishes to find, as quickly as possible, a place for itself and a sphere of activity suited to it. Without quite understanding what it is doing, it hopes to find success where so many other generations have shattered themselves and bruised their spirits. We must give ear to its whisperings, which often have a tone of ill-will about them. We must take the younger generation seriously when it cries out, in a voice that is as yet scarcely mature: 'Open the door at once, you older people, or we shall beat it down.'

Knut Hamsun's Outburst

Scholars, particularly such of them as are also college dons have a remarkable flair for hunting out influences. One German

Professor attempted this more or less incoherent exercise on Knut Hamsun, with a result that ought to make imprudent investigators wary. The account is published in the *Living Age*:

A certain German Professor, Herr Walter Berendsohn, recently published an article about the Norwegian novelist, Knut Hamsun, which aroused a sputtering protest from Hamsun that must have been, to say the least, quite unexpected to the learned German. It would appear that Professor Berendsohn has gone a little beyond the facts in his description of Hamsun, ascribing to him ideas that he does not have and 'discovering' in his work the influence of authors whom he has never read.

Mr. Hamsun, in an article recently published in Norway, protests vigorously.

Berendsohn says that I became acquainted with Thomas Mann in Munich," writes the indignant novelist. "To the best of my knowledge I never in my life met Thomas Mann. If by any chance I did at one time see him in Munich we certainly did not converse, because I did not at that time know any German and have not since learned it. I know no foreign languages. That later I was unable to forget Thomas Mann" and that he helped me in matters of style are also wild inventions of this professor. I have read, in translation, one book by Thomas Mann, namely *Buddenbrooks*, which I consider a significant imaginative work. It was sent to me several years ago but it lay around uncut until a little less than a year ago before I read it. It is certainly to my disadvantage, but this one book by Thomas Mann, which I read scarcely a year ago, is the only work of his which I know, Professor Berendsohn knew this perfectly well, because to a series of increasingly importunate questions from him I replied in no uncertain terms, writing both to him and to his publisher, who is also mine, in Germany. But this scribbling "literary scholar," as he calls himself, goes right ahead to state the opposite of what I told him.

Furthermore, in an interview, he spreads the news that I have been influenced greatly by Wedekind—of whom I have never read a syllable.

Is my work, then, entirely unaffected by other writers? Of whom is such a thing true? There is perhaps no one who has been more influenced than I. I am not made of stone; I am suggestible, impressionable, even hysterical; more than other people, it seems to me, I have probably learned something from all the authors I have read. But the greatest impression was made, in my younger days, by Dostoevski, Nietzsche, and Strindberg. The first two and part of the third I had to read in translation. I repeat, I can't say how much I have learned from other writers but no scribbler can say that I have been "influenced" by authors whom I have never read.

The learned German's reply to this outburst has not yet appeared.

The Chinese Renaissance

In the *China Journal* for March 1929, Mr. Arthur de C. Sowerby analyses the

tendencies of the so-called Chinese renaissance. There is a general idea current, says Mr. Sowerby, that something is happening in China akin to what took place in Europe when the peoples of that continent emerged from the superstition and ignorance of what are known as the dark ages. But the true significance of what is happening, says Mr. Sowerby, is quite different :

During the latter half of the Manchu Dynasty China seems to have been losing ground, chiefly as the result of corruption in high places and a general forsaking of the ideals of their predecessors on the part of the people. Undoubtedly contact with the West has had something to do with this. Everywhere the people seem to have fallen under the spell and glamour of Western products, in many cases to their own immeasurable benefit, as for instance, in the use of Western machinery and appliances, in others to their irreparable loss, as in the adoption of the cheap and ugly crockery, household furniture and pictures they purchase in such quantities from the West in place of the beautiful and invariably artistic products of their own country.

The Chinese people have fallen into the error of assuming that because the superiority of certain things belonging to the Western culture and civilization, such as, say, the engines of war, over those of the Orient has been proved, all the products of the West are superior to those of the former. We are referring, of course, to the Chinese of the large cities and treaty ports who have come into contact with foreigners, and not to the inhabitants of rural districts and the far interior who scarce know what a foreigner looks like.

Apparently it is this awakening of the Chinese mind to the supposed superiority of everything Western and the widespread desire to exchange the utensils, appliances, clothing, art and architectural forms and even customs of old China for those of the West that constitutes what is called the renaissance of China.

With regard to the higher amenities of life—art, literature, music—very much the same thing is happening. The old standards are going, going fast; but what is taking their place? There is unquestionably a forward movement in literature and a tremendous activity in the Chinese journalistic world, mainly brought about by an easier system of using the character than was in vogue in the old days, but we do not know if this is resulting in the production of any really great literature. There are a few Chinese scholars who have taken up the intensive study of their own classics, applying the methods of higher criticism, and they are accomplishing great things. In this direction there is undoubtedly a minor renaissance going on in China to-day.

A similar attempt has been made in regard to the art of China, but with what success it is hard to say. It is, perhaps, in her art that China shows the greatest decadence, and certainly what is taking its place to-day cannot possibly be considered as belonging to a renaissance. There are still many artists of the old school, and it is maintained that many of them are extremely good, but the whole

trend of art work to-day in China is away from the standards of the past and in the direction of the appalling stuff that is produced in Europe by people who have no right to the name of artist. The young Chinese self-styled artist of to-day dabbles in oils, using the most glaring and in-harmonious colours, and delights in grotesque representations of the female nude—all under the impression that he is following in the footsteps of the great European masters. He has forsaken the style and technique of his ancestors and despises that marvellous touch and delicacy combined with strength and sureness that are such marked features of the great masterpieces of Chinese painting. Some are actually trying a combination of the styles and techniques of the East and the West, mostly with disastrous results.

But the worst decadence is to be found in the homes of the people, where that refinement and supreme good taste that was once so characteristic has given place to the vulgarity of the hoipoloi, of the West.

The new spirit that has got China in its clutches is in no sense a renaissance, a re-birth or revival of what was best in China's culture after a period of stagnation or decadence: it is an indiscriminate adoption of the worst phases of an alien civilization aesthetically speaking, that is to say, a ruthless mixing of the latter with what is left of the old. We see this on every hand, in the buildings erected by the Chinese to-day, in the work of the young actors on the Chinese stage, in the decorations and furnishings of the homes, in the dress of the people and in the production of the artisans, silver smiths, brass workers, furniture manufacturers and the like. The great mass of the Chinese seem to have lost all appreciation of their great and wonderful heritage in the arts, and yet have no real idea of what is good in the art of Western countries, and the result is deplorable.

Ten Commandments of Social Justice

The *Literary Digest* publishes the following ten commandments of social justice, which, it adds, the minister of to-morrow must add to the familiar ten commandments of personal righteousness :

I

"I am the Lord thy God, but thou shalt remember that I am also the God of all the earth. I have no favourite children. The Negro and the Hindu, Chinese, Japanese, Russian and Mexican are all my beloved children.

II

"Thou shalt not measure a city's greatness by its population or its bank clearings alone, but also by its low infant mortality, its homes, playgrounds, libraries, schools and hospitals, and its low record for bootlegging, prostitution, robbery, and murder.

III

"Thou shalt remember that no civilization can rise above the level of its respect for and ideals of womanhood.

IV

"Thou shalt remember thine own sins and built no prisons for revenge and punishment, but make thy courts clinics for the soul and thy jails hospitals for moral diseases.

V

"Thou shalt remember that the end-product of industry is not goods or dividends, but the kind of men and women whose lives are moulded by that industry.

VI

"Thou shalt press on from political democracy toward industrial democracy, remembering that no man is good enough or wise enough to govern another man without his consent, and that, in addition to a living wage, every man craves a reasonable share in determining the conditions under which he labours.

VII

"Thou shalt outlaw war and make no threatening gestures either with great navies or vast military preparations against thy neighbour.

VIII

"Thou shalt honour men for character and service alone, and dishonour none because of race, colour or previous condition of servitude.

IX

"Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour by malicious propaganda or coloured news or by calling him contemptuous names such as Dago, Chink, Jap, Wop, Nigger or Sheeny.

X

"Thou shalt remember that when thine own ancestors were savages and barbarians other men brought to them the saving and civilizing Christian Gospel. Now that thou art rich and prosperous beware lest thou export to Asia and Africa only thy science and efficiency, thy war-ships, goods and moving-picture films, and forget to export the Christian message and the Christlike spirit also."

Lord Haldane's Autobiography

Lord Haldane's recently published autobiography has had a deserved success among the books published in the spring season. Lord Haldane, says the *Times Literary Supplement*, was a unique figure in English politics. None of his contemporaries, perhaps have of his predecessors, was a man of quite the same type. It was not that he was an intellectual—of them England has always had a good many in politics; it was the kind of intellectual that he was. Scholars and men of literary taste and capacity abound in the political annals of England. There is a long line of them from Somers and Montague to Lord Rosebery and Lord Morley. But Lord Haldane did not exactly belong to this group. His interests were never in literature;

they were in philosophy and to some extent in science.

This book is an account of his life as he saw it when he looked back upon it as he drew near the end. He would not, he tells us, have lived it over again if the chance had been given him. And yet most readers will see in it a career of continuously increasing success, fame, and even happiness; for he says he found old age the happiest time of life. Two very serious interruptions to the happiness, it is true, there were. He was once engaged to be married and had before him, as he thought, a prospect, not for himself alone, of a very happy married life; but the engagement lasted only a few weeks, and though he came in the end to bless those weeks as having done for him what nothing else could do, he suffered the blackest misery at the time. The other sorrow was the injustice with which he was treated by a large part of the Press and public on the outbreak of the War. He could not but be conscious that, as Asquith said to him in its first days, "If the country is prepared for this War, it is to you more than to any other person that it owes it"; and yet fools and panic-mongers were alleging that he was a traitor, more or less in league with the Germans, and were believed. He relates here that on one day, after a particularly disgraceful newspaper attack, no fewer than 2,600 letters of protest against his "disloyalty" reached him. He consigned them to his kitchen-maid to open and dispose of the contents. He could show philosophy in that way. One may hope that before the end he had come to feel that the consciousness of the service he had rendered was enough and that, with history and posterity, the judgment of half-a-dozen men who new would outweigh the imputations of a million ignorant scribblers and clubmen. That he had that judgment on his side he had many proofs. The most striking was provided by a visit he received on the evening of the day on which Haig rode with the King through London at the head of his victorious Army. Haldane had no part in these public rejoicings. He was alone in his house when his servant, whom experience and police warnings had made suspicious, told him that an officer who refused to give his name wished to see him. The officer was shown up. It was Haig. He refused to stay, but left a book for Haldane. The book was a volume of his dispatches. In it he had written: "To Viscount Haldane of Cloan—the greatest Secretary of State for War England has ever had."

But Haldane's war work, though on doubt his greatest in result, was not the work which was nearest his heart. That was certainly education, as to which all his life he played an active, enthusiastic and independent part. He almost alone in his party, insisted on voting for the Balfour Education Bill of 1902. With Lord Balfour's consent, in 1898, he carried through negotiations in Ireland—including a Lenten luncheon of champagne and oysters with Cardinal Logue—for a reform of the Irish University system, which failed at the time through the cowardice of Lord Balfour's Cabinet colleagues, but was ultimately put into force during the Chief Secretaryship of Mr. Birrell. He, perhaps more than anybody else, was the originator of the existing University of London as constituted by the Act of 1898. It was on this

subject that he enjoyed, his greatest Parliamentary success, converting by his single speech, as Asquith wrote to him, a whole hostile or indifferent House. Again, he was for some years at the end of his life the very active President of the Institute for Adult Education, addressing over fifty meetings on its behalf in a single year in all parts of the country. He only gave this up in 1926, when his health had already begun to fail.

Many readers of this book will wonder that it did not fail earlier. The amount of work recorded is enormous, from his early days at the Bar, when he had his career to make and lived in perpetual and solitary industry, to the later years of wealth and fame when his life was crowded with political, judicial and social engagements and yet was always forced to make room for his own philosophic studies as well as for educational efforts on behalf of others. He once told a friend that when he got home, however late, from the House of Commons he always had an hour's philosophy before going to bed; adding that he never went to bed before one or got up later than six. No well of human energy however deep, can long hold out against so many buckets being sunk into it during so many hours of every day. Haldane was not old, as age goes to-day, when he died; and he had been visibly failing for several years. No doubt he would have made the same choice if he had to live his life again. He had used every atom of his powers and had lived many lives in his seventy years.

Men and Machines

Mr. Stuart Chase is contributing to *The New Republic* a series of thoughtful articles on men and machines in which he is pointing out the possible dangers that the employment of machinery may have in store for humanity. Having dealt with the dangers from mechanization, the loss of handicraft skill, social standardization, degeneration in the quality of goods, recreation at second-hand rather than direct participation increasing unemployment, he goes on to deal with the three great potential dangers of the machine. These, according to Mr. Chase, are: (1) mechanized warfare; (2) complexity of mechanical specialization; (3) and the drain on natural resources.

On the whole, these three dangers are becoming steadily worse; the more serious because all are long-term bills, and the full value of the instrument has not been assessed. Men have always been loth to bother about bills for vague sums, collectible in the vague future. That is posterity's job; and what, after all, has posterity done for us?

It is true that there are a few peace advocates who are worrying about the next great war—sometimes with a fair amount of publicity. It is true that there is a still smaller and less active group of conservationists who are worrying about oil, lumber, minerals, and coal—with very little publicity since Theodore Roosevelt dropped the subject. Neither of these problems has really been driven

into the public consciousness: people think of them as worthy causes that deserve an occasional contribution, like homes for poor widows. For every article in the newspapers picturing the impending smash of the next war, I find a dozen jauntily featuring the latest super-dreadnought and anti-aircraft guns—and the ratio shows where the public interest really lies.

The threat of over-specialization, in the sense that we are increasingly dependent for our food, water, and other necessities on a mechanical process, which only a few technicians understand in detail and no one understands entirely, has rarely been touched upon—let alone realized in the public consciousness. We turn a faucet, and water gushes out. If it doesn't we telephone indignantly to the plumber, who fiddles with a wrench and makes it gush. Where it comes from, and how, we neither know nor care. We would as readily think of the sun standing still—more readily, in fact, for the city people seldom see the face of the sun—as of water not flowing from faucets after the proper telephoning and tinkering. Yet a handful of technicians could bring just such a miracle to pass in a few hours, and before connections could be reestablished by amateur engineering—if, indeed, they could be reestablished—we should run to the scum of the salt water tides, mumbling with thirst.

An engineer once explained to me how a hundred key men, operating its veins of water, power, gas, sewage disposal, milk supply, and communications, could snuff out the life of a great city, almost as neatly as though every crevice had been filled with poison gas. The machine has presented us with a central nervous system, protected with no spinal vertebrae, lying almost naked for the cutting. If for one reason or another it is cut, we face a terrifying, perhaps a mortal, crisis. All previous cultures have thrived with hardly any central nervous system at all; they could be destroyed only village by village, for each was largely self-sustaining.

The machine is swallowing natural resources at a fantastic, an inconceivable rate. It has used up more oil in the past ten years than had been consumed before that since the beds were laid down, some millions of years ago. It has used up more minerals since 1900 than in all previous history.

To the time of Watt, men lived chiefly on the interest from their store of natural resources. Increasingly since 1800, and for the past generation with blind fury, it has been tearing into its capital on a scale that precludes replacement. All the western nations have proved their fitness to be called prodigal sons; but the gayest, most light-hearted, most charmingly rattle-brained of the whole family is certainly the United States of America. This striping lights his cigarette with a million dollars' worth of coal, and throws the match to kindle a million-dollar forest fire. "Our habit of stepping on the gas," says George Otis Smith, "has brought the mineral industry close to the danger line." And he adds that a nation's wealth may also be measured by its power to last. The rate at which a spendthrift divorces himself of his capital has ever been a poor measure for the value of an estate. We are already beginning to import raw materials in increasing amounts, and before we know it, our sometime economic independence will have run its course, we shall be

drawn willy-nilly into world economy, and the delightful pastime of bullying our neighbours because of the iron, coal, and oil under our feet will come to an end.

Is America Decadent

This is the sensational heading under which a writer in *The New Republic* discusses some of the demoralizing tendencies of contemporary American civilization. The writer says :

There is a time in the history of every new nation when the stern pioneer habits and qualities give way to those of a softer sort. The history of the decline and fall of almost all the ancient civilization may be written from this formula, though the limitations of space prevent us from doing so at the moment. In any case, our own national annals furnish plenty of material with which to drive home the morbidly gloomy point we feel ourselves compelled to make. Let us consider the decline in the art of expectation. There was a time when every he-American chewed tobacco and woe betide the fly which lit within ten feet of his wandering gaze. Of course, an American of the golden age saw nothing strange in this. For him the spittoon was a symbol of manliness and independence. If any modernist doubts the soundness of the sentiment, let him reflect that it was not until the spittoon had been banished from the American parlour that America began to slip away from the doctrines of the Farewell Address and we began to hear of proposals to embroil ourselves in the affairs of Europe. There is more than a casual connection, we venture to say, between the attempt to drag the United States into the World Court and the fact that the chewing-tobacco industry has practically stood still since 1913. The spectacular growth of the chewing-gum industry only makes the comparison the more heart-rending.

The prospect in dress is not less gloomy.

We may trace the decadence of American customs in the matter of dress. Red flannels may not have disappeared but, as every reader of our would-be comic publications knows, they have become an object of derision. In their place the past few years have seen the advent, first of the B. V. D., then of undergarments in colours and textures which carry us back to the final days of Rome or the shocking luxury of the Eastern Empire. The pajama has ousted the nightshirt which was good enough for George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. When hotels and apartment houses catch fire fat gentlemen rush into the streets in night attire that would seemingly keep even a chameleon awake.

On the golf course it is no longer the feminine player who brightens things up, but rather her father, brother, husband or sweetheart strutting like a peacock in bright plaid sweater and gloriously baggy plus-fours. Nor is this some mere idler, whiling away an empty hour. It is a hard-headed business man who puts over some of his cleverest deals between strokes.

If dress means anything, the traditional role of the sexes has been reversed so far as golf is

concerned—and perhaps we should include the winter sports as well. Dress is the lure by which the weaker sex invites the attention of the stronger. It might be better to say that it is the added inducement which the sex whose bargaining power would otherwise be weak throws into the scales. Princes and warriors have been notably fine dressers, but we may be sure that it was because they were such poor things without fine feathers that no sensible woman would look at them. Whenever an aristocracy has learned to dress too well, it has fallen. So we may reason without much fear of successful contradiction that the dress of our golf-course aristocracy is an ominous symptom.

Over all this has come aestheticism, the surest forerunner of the decay of nations :

But dress, though an excellent illustration, is not the whole story. Let us turn to the field of aesthetics. If the American business man of a generation or two ago had any one outstanding quality it was a fine contempt for art. The fact that a few eminently successful business men actually bought pictures in Europe and stored them away in their houses in America meant nothing, for they were not so much buying art as spending money. The artistic blindness of our business men, and of the farming and artisan classes from which most of them sprang, revealed itself in a civilization of surprising material ugliness. What our industrialists touched, artistically speaking, they blighted. But they blighted like the splendid barbarians they were, wholeheartedly, unconsciously, joyously. They produced and sold enormous quantities of goods. They were vigorous and two-fisted. They ate heartily, talked in loud voices, thumped the tables, and, in short, were admirably virile and manly—so much so that few thought to ask what good it did.

Here and there business men are taking up art in a serious way. They are beginning to make pictures themselves. We hear from scattered sources—the Chicago Art Institute, the Cleveland, Toledo and Detroit Museums—that otherwise reputable men of affairs are smearing canvas and getting crayon dust all over their smocks. The number is, of course, not great, but it is the principle of the thing that counts. If one group of business men goes in for the Finer Things of life, there is no guarantee that others will not follow. And if this is not decadence what is?

It may be, of course, that decadence is a good thing, and that it is worth while to destroy venerable traditions in order to achieve this one fine flower. But we believe that if the American business man of the old tough-minded school is to give way to one of more ethereal flavour he ought to be aware of the full consequences of what he is doing. And the fact is that he is following the path which led Rome to its Decline and Fall. One pair of pink panties, one water-colour hastily achieved when he is supposed to be in conference, may not seem much, but in the end they may be his ruin. He may become so intent upon a decorative life that he will forget the good old doctrine that we are placed upon this planet for the prime purpose of making money. America may still survive. But it will not be the America that produced Benjamin Franklin, Anthony Comstock, Calvin Coolidge and Secretary Mellon.

Giuseppe Mazzarella, an Italian Exponent of Juridical Ethnology

By BENOYKUMAR SARKAR, M.A.

THE most essential part of Mazzarella's scientific work is consecrated to the study of ancient Hindu law. He considers Hindu law to be one of the most important juridical systems of mankind on account of the great wealth of its materials and the multiplicity of the phases of evolution which it has passed through. In his judgment the importance of Hindu law consists, further, in the vast extent of its area of formation as well as of its directions, and in the continuity of its development which has also involved scientific reconstruction in affinity with the more antique periods of pre-history. He believes, moreover, that Hindu law is immense in its proportions and that it is possible to ascertain the links which connect it with all the other manifestations of Indian civilization. Indeed, the ancient law of India possesses for legal ethnology the same importance as Sanskrit in the science of language.

Mazzarella (born 1868 in Calabria, Southern Italy) got his doctorate in jurisprudence at the University of Naples (1890). He was for some time an advocate in his younger years but he gave up the profession and took to the study of juridical ethnology. In 1909 the title of "free docent" in this science was conferred upon him by the University of Catalonia. This is the only docentship in ethnological jurisprudence conferred in Italian Universities. The same year his book entitled *Le antiche Istituzioni processuali dell' India* (The ancient Lawsuit Institutions of India) and three memoirs on *Prestito nell' antico diritto indiano* (Debt in ancient Indian Law) were awarded the "royal" prize as the result of a competition arranged by the *Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, the greatest scientific institution of Italy. In 1923-25 he was entrusted with regular lectures on Roman law and Institutions of Roman law at the University of Camerino. Since 1926 as the result of a competition he has been occupying, as

professor, the chair of juridical ethnology at the University of Catalonia, the only chair of its kind in Italy.

In 1899 was published his first book *La Condizione giuridica del marito nella famiglia matriarcale* (The legal position of the husband in the matriarchal family). It concerns itself with the most archaic types of matrimonial union. Since then without interruption for nearly three decades he has been devoting himself exclusively to juridical ethnology. This science in the first phase of its development which may be considered on the whole as circumscribed between *Mutterrecht* (Matriarchy) of Bachofen and *Ancient Law* of Sumner Maine as well as *Grundriss der ethnologischen Jurisprudenz* (Groundwork of Ethnological Jurisprudence) by Post, had a character almost entirely descriptive and historical. The scope of this aspect of the science lay essentially in the collection of a really immense factual material reflecting the juridical life of all peoples, extinct and living, accessible to scientific investigators, and the determination of the origins of all social institutions.

Since the beginning of his career. Professor Mazzarella has before himself had the objective of transforming juridical ethnology from a purely descriptive-genetical into an interpretative discipline such as is capable of determining the causes and the general laws of the legal phenomena. In order to effect this transformation he had to start with the consideration of a *typical system of reference* corresponding to given conditions, a system such as might be reconstructed accurately and minutely on the basis of an examination of historical sources and analysed under five different aspects: (1) morphological (reconstruction of the component juridical norms, and of the institutions in which they are embodied, determination of the links which connect the norms with their respective surroundings), (2) stratigraphical (determination of the fundamental types

of juridical organization to which the individual norms may be referred, and ascertainment of the intensity of such types in single institutions and in the entire system), (3) genealogical (determination of the phases of development of institutions and of entire systems, complementary reconstruction of institutions such as can be studied only incompletely on the data of the sources, integral reconstructions of pre-historic phases of institutions and systems delineation of the morphological and stratigraphical valuations of the institutions), (4) psychological (determination of collective ideas and sentiments such as are reflected in individual norms, determination of the extension and area of diffusion of similar presupposed psychology, determination of the laws of variation of the presuppositions themselves), (5) philosophical (determination of the cause and the law of formation and development of institutions).

Starting with the consideration of the results following relatively from the causes and laws of the institutions included in the "typical system of reference" Mazzarella with the help of proper methods of comparison has succeeded in discovering the causes and general laws of the formation and development of institutions.

The extension of the series of these causes and general laws depends evidently on the structural complexity of the "typical system", on the manifoldness of the phases of its development, on the wealth of documentary materials on the strength of which it is to be studied, on the knowledge of the psychology of the people that has elaborated it etc. Mazzarella believes that all these conditions are most exhaustively satisfied by ancient Indian law and has accordingly selected it for his *sistema tipico di riferimento*.

The most important of his publications are to be found in (1) the eight volumes of his *Studi di Etnologia Giuridica* (Study of Juridical Ethnology) the first volume of his *Studi* is really a complement to the already cited *La Condizione Giuridica* etc. (1899) and deals descriptively with the materials relating to Indonesia. The eighth volume has appeared in 1928. (2) The first section (c. 300 pages) of the book *Gli Elementi irriducibili dei sistemi giuridici*: (Irreducible Elements of Juridical Systems), and (3-5) the three memoirs on *Prestito nell'antica India* (Debt in Ancient India). The methods invented

and applied by him in order to work out the transformation of juridical ethnology constitute an organic system which he calls "stratigraphical analysis." The fundamental canons of this are delineated in the three memoirs on *Prestito*.

The historical sources of a juridical system are to be distinguished, according to Mazzarella, as (1) principal (2) auxiliary and (3) indirect. To the first belong all juridical and religio-legal documents (religious-juridical codes, collections of laws and customs, isolated customary law, doctrinal and jurisprudential works etc.) coming from the people whose juridical system is under consideration. The second category consists of all those documents, which although non-juridical, contain elements useful in the reconstruction of social institutions (literary and epigraphic texts, numismatic and archaeological materials etc.). The third source comprises the reports of foreign observers, such as contain data that may be utilized for the reconstruction of institutions.

In regard to India Mazzarella has treated the *Dharmasutras* and the *Dharmasutras* (of Apastamba, Gautama, Vasistha, Baudhayana, Manu, Vishnu, Yajnavalkya, Harita, Narada, and the commentaries of Brihaspati and Pitamahā) as principal sources. As auxiliary sources he has taken the Vedas, the inscriptions of Asoka, the works on politics, the rich series of proverbs compiled in the *Indische Sprueche* of Boettlingk etc. These sources have been utilized by him through the classical versions of Buehler, Jolly, Stenzler, Senart. But for vol. VI of *Studi* he has made direct use of original Sanskrit. As indirect sources of India's juridical systems he has laid under contribution the accounts of Megasthenes, Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, Fa Hien and Hiouen Tshang, and Alberuni's *India*. The course of prehistoric and historical development of ancient Indian law has been divided by him into six epochs on the strength of criteria that may be indicated; and he has named them according to the most important sources of information as follows:—(1) *naradiana* (6th cent.-9th cent. A. C.), (2) *yajnavalkyana* (2nd-5th cent. A. C.), (3) *manavica* 2nd cent. B. C.-2nd cent. A. C.), (4) *dharmasutrica* (6th-2nd cent. B. C.), (5) *pre-dharmasutrica* and (6) *original*. These two last epochs constitute the prehistoric phases of Indian juridical development. Naturally the limits of time for the different historical epochs are purely approximative.

Of the two works bearing chiefly on the law of ancient India the first *Le antiche Istituzioni Processuali dell' India* (The Ancient Lawsuit Institutions of India), published in 1900 is complete. It comprises the study of the Hindu law relating to law-suits during all the six epochs, and under all the five aspects mentioned above. It was on account of this treatise that the "royal" prize of the *Accademia dei Lincei* was conferred on him.

The second book dealing as it does with the ethnological study of all the juridical systems of India excluding the law-suits discussed in the previous work is naturally larger and is not yet complete although it has already reached the sixth volume (which forms volume eight of his *Studi di Etnologia Giuridica*). These six volumes are given over to the study of the juridical institutions of the epoch "naradiana" from the exclusively morphological aspect. The seventh volume which is going to be published in 1929 will deal with the penal institutions of the same epoch and will complete the first part of the morphological section of the work.

The four successive parts of the same section are to deal with the structure and the connecting links of the juridical institutions,

as well as with the integration of the institutions themselves during the other three historical epochs, on the basis of data furnished by auxiliary and indirect sources. Next will follow the stratigraphical, genealogical, psychological and philosophical sections of the work which will naturally be much briefer than the morphological section which constitutes its foundation.

This treatise on India when completed is to be known as *Etnologia Analytica dell' Antico Diritto Indiana* (Analytical Ethnology of Ancient Indian Law). The remaining portions of this vast work are expected to appear at the rate of one volume a year.

Those who would like to acquaint themselves with Mazzarella's methodology as well as standpoints in regard to Hindu law in the perspective of comparative jurisprudence and ethnology are advised to begin with his book *Le Antiche Istituzioni Processuali dell' India* (The Ancient Lawsuit Institutions of India), published in 1909, which may be regarded as an introduction to his entire work. The volume is, further, important as the study of one of the most essential branches of the Hindu legal system. It covers seven hundred pages in original Italian.

The Memory Of The Sea

By MARCIA JANE BABBITT

When in the desert land of hot-baked sands
The sun sinks low,
I close my eyes and dream of other lands
That I was wont to know.
Forgetting heat and wind and sand I drift—
Dreams come to me,
And once again I wander there alone,
Beside the sea.

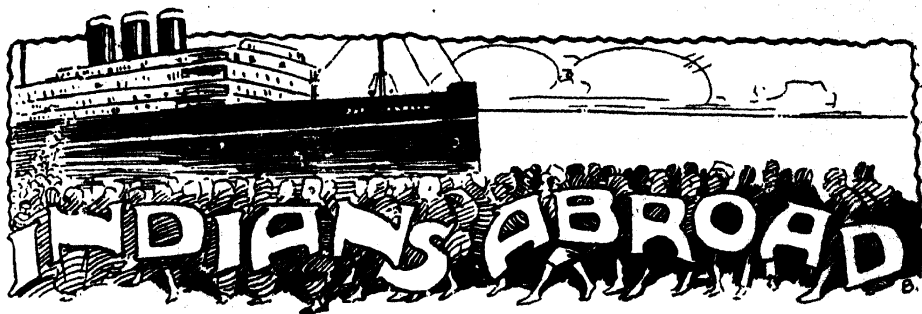
Upon the blue horizon far away
The white sails gleam;
I see the shadow cast by circling gulls
Pale sunbeams stream

Through fleecy clouds that fleck the heaven's
blue—

Peace comes to me,
Wafted through roaring of the waves,
Up from the sea.

Though in some inward place I must abide,
This will I always know;
Ever the sun-kissed waters move and move
Restlessly to and fro;
And ever shall a lasting peace hold sway
Deep in the soul of me,
Never can winds, nor sands, nor suns erase
From memory, the sea.

(Literary Digest)



By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

Some Resolutions of the Indian people in Nairobi, Kenya

Here are some of the resolutions passed at a meeting of Indians held at Nairobi :

Resolved that the Government of India be requested to establish a Bureau of Publicity and Trade Information for East Africa in Bombay with branches in suitable centres.

Resolved that the commercial community in India be requested to take greater interest in the fostering of trade between India and East Africa and with this view to establish agencies and depute agents to these parts for collection of information and for investigation of possibilities.

Resolved that the Government of India, Indian States and the Indian National Congress be asked to formulate schemes of assisted immigration into East Africa of Indian farmers and that these bodies should take steps to educate intending immigrants in the requirements of colonial life.

Resolved that the Scindia Steam Navigation Company be requested to depute Mr. S. N. Haji to investigate the possibilities of opening an Indian steamship service between India and East Africa.

Resolved that the Indian Merchants Chamber, Bombay, be requested to send out a commission to examine the possibilities of establishing an Indian Bank, an Indian Confirming House and an Indian commercial museum in East Africa.

Resolved that the Government of India be requested to appoint forthwith a Trade Commissioner in Mombasa with the express condition that the gentleman appointed to the post should be Indian and that he co-operates with the Indian Community in all matters of trade.

Resolved that while this Congress is opposed to the appointment of an Indian Civil Servant on the Executive Council of Kenya, it expresses regret at the indifference exhibited by the Government of India at their repeated requests for sending out suitable advisers in regard to land and education of Indians in Kenya.

Resolved that such official advisers sent out to the Indian Community independently and without any idea of absorption in the Government of Kenya will be always welcome.

These resolutions are undoubtedly of a constructive nature and deserve serious con-

sideration at the hands of the people and the Government of India. Unfortunately, we have not devoted any time to think out constructive schemes for the improvement of the condition of our people abroad. We have merely put their grievances before the Indian public and have agitated through the press and platform for the removal of those grievances. Now the time has come when we should evolve some scheme of work for them. Mr. U. K. Oza, who has returned from East Africa recently suggests in one of his letters that a conference of those who are interested in the problems of Indians abroad may be convened at some place, preferably Sabarmati, and a scheme of work be drawn up there. It is a timely suggestion but I am afraid it will not work out. There are not many people interested in our problems, and those who are, may not find it convenient to travel to Sabarmati. Under these circumstances the best thing would be to do what we can through correspondence.

Attacks on Mr. Sastri

Mr. Sastri has been violently criticized by the *Democrat* of Nairobi for some of his utterances on South and East Africa as reported by the *East African Standard*. A correspondent of mine writes :—"I am sorry to inform you that Mr. Sastri's speeches have been exploited by the white people of East Africa and they are using his name to coerce us into an acceptance of Western standards of life without the common roll." Mr. Sastri is no irresponsible man and before attacking him it was the duty of the *Democrat* to ascertain exactly what Mr. Sastri had said.

His work for our people overseas entitles him to get at least this courtesy at their

hands. We are not in favour of sparing anybody who gives the wrong lead, however highly placed he may be. If it is found out that Mr. Sastri has given utterance to the ideas as reported by the *East African Standard* he ought to be mercilessly criticized. Even if Mahatma Gandhi were to advise our people in East Africa to yield on the question of common roll his advice should be rejected. But we ought to see that we do not do any injustice to these helpers of ours by condemning them before hearing their point of view in full. Mr. Sastri is departing for East Africa very soon and we hope he will give an early opportunity to remove the misunderstanding that might have been created.

A request to Maulana Mohammed Ali

Maulana Mohammed Ali has announced his intention to visit South Africa in the near future. A country where Gandhiji lived and toiled for twenty-one years should be considered a place of pilgrimage by every Indian and if Maulana Mohammed Ali were to go there in that spirit we should heartily congratulate him on his decision. But unfortunately he is at present in a reactionary mood and is behaving like the worst of communalists. We are afraid he may not spread communalism by his speeches in South Africa. If Gandhiji could succeed in his Satyagrah struggle against the powerful Union Government it was chiefly on account of his intense faith in Hindu-Muslim Unity which he could achieve there through his suffering and self-sacrifice. There were in South Africa Mohammedans of the type of Mr. Kachalia who sacrificed their all for the cause and if Maulana Mohammed Ali can draw some inspiration from their lives he will return to India a saner and wiser man. Maulana Mohammed Ali has been President of the Congress and the least that can be expected from him is that he will not allude to the Hindu-Muslim problems of India in his speeches on South Africa.

Our people abroad have their own problems to solve and they do not want to be burdened with troublesome controversies from home.

"Conditions In Aden"

A correspondent writes:—

Aden is a Military Settlement, which came into existence as such about the year 1839. Before a batch of Bombay soldiers took it,

it was in existence, not as a Military Settlement but as a peaceful little place with old historic and Mythical Associations. The people had known traders from Kathiawad, for many years, before the British conquest. There are spots pointed out where, formerly, the houses of some rich "Bunias" stood. There are three temples—one of them is in a corner of a hill and believed to be very ancient; it is dedicated to the Goddess "Mata". Hindus believe that this was the place where King Jarasandha had lived: a hole in the rocks through which a man can enter is identified as the place where Bhima had struck with his "Gada" or club.

India used to send her cotton goods to Arabia; but now, the merchants hailing from Kathiawad are only petty subordinate middlemen of British manufacturers. Parsee merchants seem to have thrived on military contracts, the sale of liquor and provisions. It cannot be said that any Indians here are following occupations that are free from evil. All including the actual soldiers are interested in earning their livelihood by supporting the scheme of this Military Settlement to bring Arabia and the adjoining territory under commercial exploitation by Great Britain and her friends for the time being at least.

India has been bled as usual for creating this Settlement, as other places outside India, e. g., Burma and Afghanistan. The lion's share of the profits of exploitation has always gone to the British Capitalists. India and other Asiatic, African or coloured people have to take the crumbs falling or graciously thrown from the white man's table. If any of them dares to complain, the Big Stick is sure to be pointed at. The coloured people individually find it more comfortable to live under the British Flag than under their own rulers (as we Indians do in India) because there is more of safety of person and property. In the interior of Arabia the people seem to be under such depressing old-time conditions amounting to feudalism and slavery that they enjoy being able to avoid them by coming to places under British control. Even the Somalies are so happy here that they dread being deported back to Somaliland.

Aden, thus, is a place where there are and can be no politics so far as the people are concerned. Of course, the Resident is nothing but political—he is even called

"Political" Resident and he has several assistants who also are described as "Political" though they may be doing judicial work simply. The only politics therefore, are Government Politics so far they used to be guided by the Governor of Bombay or the Viceroy of India. Lately the Colonial Office has taken over charge of the Settlement of Aden. The Resident did not care, as people think, for anything but the political influence of Great Britain over Arabia.

The Indian Government is allowed to do the civil administration, in the name of the Resident. But no one really cares what happens so far as the people are kept quiet. Military Officers have been kindergartening in legal work—later some persons with civilian qualifications were introduced. And yet people do not think they have succeeded in obtaining real justice. In a place like Aden people are apt to become arbitrary without checks from superior officers, such as District Judges and High Courts.

But the people really have no choice. They must take what justice the Courts are pledged to render, without a murmur.

In this country, the position of Indians is very peculiar. All have to remain in an humble position. They have no rights, except what the Government suffers them to enjoy.

Stories are current that on one occasion the "Bunia" shopkeepers were severely dealt with and humiliated because on one of their holidays (Amawasya) they did not greet and salute some European would-be customers. A similar incident happened in the case of Mahomadan shopkeepers. But the story goes that they did not remain quiet under the Resident's threats of deportation etc., they cabled to the Viceroy, as people say. A few years ago some people went to a place called Sheik Othman and burnt their caps as in those days many people had done in India. It is said that a Parsee Police

Officer knowing of this, brought the matter to the knowledge of the Resident. The Resident ordered the prominent "Bunia" traders to wait upon him and they were "Samjhaved". It can thus be seen why a European solicitor exclaimed to his assistant "No one's liberty was safe in Aden" and he left this place, before the actual storm, after having seen a cloud.

The Parsees indeed are more prominent than other Indians; but even they, big and small, have personal experience of having to submit to unequal treatment, compared with Europeans.

The present Resident has been here, for a few months; he has made a good beginning, by telling the Arabs that the country being theirs, they will receive great consideration: he told the Indians that Aden was really developed by their trade, that is why they would be considered of importance: we may assume that he must have told Europeans, something equally if not more, pleasing. Whether the Resident actually succeeds in making every community happy remains to be seen. He is not master of himself, no matter howsoever well-meaning he may be. He has to obey orders given from Downing Street and even the Parsees find it hard to do business when the Indian and European troops are no longer in Aden, because the Royal Airforce people have supplanted them, these people are catered for by the Home and Colonial Stores. There has been no trade for many months now and the prospects do not yet seem hopeful.

Some people are afraid of a repetition of the colour bar practices of colonial Governments. A well-informed Indian Officer told me that we Indians might one day be told to clear out of Steamer Point which might be reserved for the white people and Indians might be asked to reside in places such as the Crater and Sheikh Othman.



NOTES

Meerut Conspiracy Case

Along with the organs of Indian public opinion, the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress has strongly disapproved of the wholesale arrests of labour leaders and workers, including several members of the All India Congress Committee, and the large number of house searches all over the country. The Committee has also strongly condemned the method adopted by the authorities of bringing the accused from all parts of the country to one place, and that too an out-of-the-way place like Meerut, where they will be deprived of facilities and privileges which are open to such accused in presidency towns, to which the great majority of the accused belong. Of the thirty-one persons arrested ten belong to Bengal, thirteen to Bombay, five to the United Provinces and three to the Punjab. Only two persons belong to Meerut. Common sense and fairness would dictate that the place of trial should be such as would suit the convenience of the largest number of the accused. That would be either Calcutta or Bombay. A jury trial can be demanded in these cities and there are many other facilities easily obtainable there. In Meerut trial by jury cannot be demanded except by the two European accused, nor can a sufficient number of lawyers of eminence be engaged there by the accused for their defence without incurring excessive expenditure.

Punishment of Under-trial Accused

The punishment of men before they have been proved guilty after lawful trial is repugnant to all ideas of justice. Assuming either that all the accused are guilty or that some are guilty and some are innocent, the punishment of the guilty before they have

been convicted is unjust, as they are thereby practically given a heavier sentence than they deserve; and the punishment of the innocent is absolutely unjustifiable. But under existing conditions of trial of some accused, as particularly exemplified in the case of the accused in the Meerut conspiracy case, they are sure to have been practically punished, whether at the conclusion of the trial they be proved guilty or innocent. For, not to lay stress on the fact that many of those arrested were taken for long railway journeys *hand-cuffed*, many have been kept in solitary cells in the Meerut jail. Confinement in solitary cells is ordinarily meant for hardened and turbulent criminals adjudged guilty after trial. There is not the least justification for the confinement of any of the accused in this case in solitary cells. It may lead to mental derangement and other evil results. The food given to the accused is insufficient, unsuitable, badly cooked and served in iron vessels which discolours them and makes them distasteful. In consequence some of the accused have already fallen ill. Even if the friends and relatives of the accused were allowed to supplement their diet, it would be very difficult for them to do so, living as they do at a distance of hundreds of miles from Meerut. The heat of Meerut in summer is such that to most of the accused it must be intolerable. The inhabitants of U. P. towns like Meerut who are free (we mean those who are not in jail, for no Indian is really free) generally sleep at night in the open in summer. The accused are not only not allowed to do so, but they are plagued by mosquitoes against which they cannot protect themselves by using mosquito-nets, as these, we understand, are neither supplied nor allowed to be supplied.

The trial will probably last a year or so. To live in jail for such a long period under the conditions described above is a real punishment. But confinement under such

conditions is not the only punishment which the accused are to undergo. They are to spend large sums of money on lawyer's fees, etc., for purposes of defence, which would be heavier in Meerut for Calcutta, Bombay or Allahabad practitioners than in the latter places. Their relatives and friends would have to reside at Meerut for a year or so, and that would mean much expense. The accused would be precluded from earning anything during the period of their trial, and afterwards, too, so long as their health remains weak or so long as they are not able to secure new jobs. The health of some may be ruined permanently.

So this trial, under all the circumstances described above, means additional heavy punishment for those who may be adjudged guilty, and very unjustifiable punishment for those who may be declared innocent by the Court.

If such unjust treatment of under-trial prisoners, as they are called, be inevitable under the law and the jail rules as they stand, these should be amended without any avoidable delay and juster and more humane ones substituted for them. But if there be any remedy under present conditions, the authorities concerned should take the remedial steps at once. They should not, in their own interest, allow the suspicion or charge of vindictiveness to remain unchallenged. Those who have undertaken the humane and patriotic task of arranging for the comfort and defence of the accused should also seek such remedies as are available.

Defence of the Meerut Accused

Some of the difficulties of the accused in the Meerut case in properly defending themselves have been already incidentally referred to above. There are other difficulties. The magistrate in charge of the case has been remanding them into custody repeatedly without hearing what they or their counsel have got to say. He does not give notice of the time and place of the hearing of the applications for remand. This may justly rouse suspicion of ignorance or defiance of the law or of bias on his part, which ought to result in the case being taken away from his hands. Cannot the High Court be moved for the proper remedy?

Another difficulty of the accused is that

even from the city of Meerut the jail is a few miles distant, which makes consultation with or giving instructions to lawyers, etc., a rather hard job. Nor can the accused do this safely by letter, as all their correspondence is opened and read by C. I. D. people and other officials.

It has been already observed that lawyers would charge heavier fees in Meerut than in their usual places of practice. We do not know at what figure the defence fund now stands. Usually, for years past, Bengal has not given much to any fund not started by the Swarajya party or not connected with the name of some prominent leader of that party. At present, there is before the Bengal public a Swarajya party appeal for two lakhs of rupees. Before that has been appreciably responded to, the Bengal Government has asked the people to face the expenses and turmoil of a general election. Therefore, so far as Bengal is concerned, the prospects of the defence fund do not appear bright, whatever they may be elsewhere. But nowhere must the friends of the accused despond. Persistent endeavour wins even under very unfavourable circumstances.

Appeal to Non-co-operating Lawyers

A hope has been expressed that as many, if not all, of the accused are public workers, some out of numerous patriotic lawyers may proceed to Meerut for defending them, accepting merely their expenses. It may not be hoping against hope. All over India, many lawyers non-co-operated with the courts and gave up their practice. There were many distinguished men among them. Many have resumed practice, some have not. Would it be too much to hope that some able men among both classes would agree to defend the accused on nominal fees, if they cannot do so absolutely gratis? Names need not be mentioned, but it is well known that, in the case of a few prominent lawyer-leaders, the fees which they lost in their days of Non-co-operation have proved, unintentionally of course, a very good investment; for now they charge and get fees many times heavier than they ever dared ask for before Non-co-operation. They are particularly favourably situated for making some further sacrifice, reckoning the year 1929-30 an additional year of lawyers' Non-co-operation.

Meerut Trial and Public Safety Ordinance

When thirty-one persons were arrested on a charge of conspiring to deprive the King of England of his empire in India, permission was asked for in the Legislative Assembly to move for an adjournment of the House to discuss the *policy* of the arrests and subsequent trial. President Patel granted the permission sought, but the Governor-General stood in the way, on the ground that such a debate would involve the discussion of certain matters which were *sub judice*. His Excellency's decision is final; otherwise it could be pointed out that it was the *policy* of the arrests and trial which were proposed to be discussed, not the guilt or innocence of the accused or anything connected therewith.

However, when the same kind of argument was repeated by President Patel, Lord Irwin's government did not in practice accept it as valid and in accordance with the intention of the rules governing the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly. Partly in the words of Lord Irwin, it came about thus.

After the Public Safety Bill had been referred to a Select Committee this year, that Committee presented a unanimous report which Government were prepared to accept. Before further proceedings were taken in the Assembly Government took action against thirty-one alleged Communists on a charge of conspiring to deprive the King of England of the sovereignty of British India. When the Bill, as reported by the Select Committee, was again before the Assembly for consideration, the President of the Assembly suggested that the fundamental basis for the Bill was virtually identical with that of the conspiracy case, and consequently that it would not be possible to argue the case for the Bill without arguing the case for the prosecution and making statements which were likely to prejudice the trial. Moreover, in order that there might be a full and reasonable debate, in meeting the arguments of the supporters of the Bill, the opposition would have to discuss or refer to matters *sub judice*. The President accordingly advised Government either to postpone the Bill till the conclusion of the conspiracy trial or to withdraw the conspiracy case and then proceed with the Bill. The Home Member in his reply tried to controvert the President's views. He questioned the power of the chair to refuse to allow the Government to

proceed further with the Bill at that stage and made it plain that they could accept neither of the alternative suggestions put before them by Mr. Patel, as in their opinion the passing of the Bill was a matter of urgent importance.

After duly considering the reply of the Government given through the Home Member, the President affirmed his views on the 11th April 1929 and ruled that the further consideration of the Bill in the present circumstances was out of order.

In consequence the Governor-General addressed both houses of the Central Legislature, trying to explain why it was necessary for him to obtain by ordinance the powers for the Executive Government which could not now be obtained through legislative enactment. He did not in his speech call in question the correctness of President Patel's interpretation of the rules. But he observed that the latter's view was against the intention of the rules. So they would be changed in order that similar dead-locks might be averted in the future.

If a similar situation had arisen in a really free country having popular representative government, the Executive would have submitted to the Speaker's ruling. But in India, which has a sham parliament, as soon as the foreign bureaucracy find that they have unwittingly given the Speaker powers which can be used to baffle them, at least temporarily, they at once decide to curtail those powers.

Public Safety Ordinance

The Public Safety Ordinance applies to any person (not being an excepted person) who—

(a) directly or indirectly advocates the overthrow by force or violence of the government established by law in British India, or the unlawful destruction of property, or unlawful interference with the ownership of property; or

(b) seeks to foment or utilize industrial or agrarian disputes or other disputes of a like nature with the object, directly or indirectly, of subverting by force or violence organized government in British India; or

(c) is a member of, or is acting in association with, any society or organization, whether in British India or elsewhere, which advocates or encourages any such doctrine or activity as is described in sub-clause (a) or sub-clause (b) of this clause, or which is affiliated to, or acts in connection with, any such society or organization;...

This shows how wide the net has been cast.

The definition of "excepted person," quoted below, shows that Indian British subjects and Indian States subjects need not fear *this* law, the existing laws being considered sufficient for them:—

(1) "excepted person" means any person who is—

- (a) an Indian British subject, or
- (b) a British subject ordinarily resident in India, or
- (c) the subject of a State in India; and a person shall be deemed to be "ordinarily resident" in India who, for a period of not less than five years immediately preceding the date on which the question of the application to him of this Ordinance arises,—

(i) has regularly resided or maintained a residence in India, or

(ii) has carried on any trade, business or profession, or held any office or employment, in India and for the purposes thereof has resided in India at regular intervals during that period.

But Indians love liberty for others as well as for themselves. So, they cannot be indifferent to the fate of those who may be unjustly victimized by the Ordinance. Persons are to be directed by the Governor General in Council without any trial to remove themselves from British India when he is satisfied that they are fit for such punishment.

The "applications and appeals" provided for in it are not much of a safeguard. For, in the case of applications, it is laid down:—

The High Court may, on application made by or on behalf of any person in respect of whom a removal order has been made, set aside the order on the ground that such person is an excepted person, but on no other ground.

As regards appeals, it is stated—

The person appealing against the removal order shall be given an opportunity to attend before the Bench in person or by pleader and show cause against the making of the order, and for this purpose the Bench shall, if he so attends, furnish him with a general statement of the grounds on which the removal order was based, together with such details or particulars, if any, as the Bench, with the consent of the Governor General in Council may include therein, but neither he nor any pleader appearing on his behalf shall be entitled to be made acquainted with any details or particulars of the facts or circumstances laid before the Bench by the Governor General in Council, and the Bench shall, save as herein otherwise provided, treat all such facts and circumstances as confidential.

Meerut Trial Dilemma

Should at least one European and one Indian out of the alleged 31 conspirators be

convicted at Meerut, that would show that the existing laws were quite sufficient to bring to book both Indians and foreigners of that description and that therefore the Ordinance was unnecessary. But should all the accused be found innocent and be acquitted in consequence, that would show that "the fundamental basis for the [Public Safety] Bill" and therefore for the Ordinance was no basis at all.

Super-Crackers in Legislative Assembly

Even after reading the very alarmistic descriptions of the second bomb thrown in the Legislative Assembly, which was stated to have been more powerful than the first, one cannot help thinking that the bombs were super-crackers and that the miscreants who were responsible for the injury to persons and property and the sensation were luckily not explosive experts. They were fools also. For acts like theirs cannot do real good to anybody.

"The Modern Review and Professor Radhakrishnan"

A letter has appeared in the *Calcutta Review* under the above heading with the following prefatory words:—

"The following letter was sent to the Editor, *Modern Review*, on the 20th of January for publication. He, however, declined to publish it on the ground that it was not desirable for them (*sic*) to interfere in the controversy between Professor Radhakrishnan and Mr. Sinha."

It is a fact that we did not publish the letter in question, written by Dr. N. C. Ganguly. We communicated to him the reason in a private letter, authorizing him to publish the reason, if necessary. To the best of our recollection the reason we assigned was to the effect that, as the parties to the controversy were themselves carrying it on, it was not necessary to publish any letter of any friend of any party.

The reason for this decision of ours is that for practical considerations there ought to be a time limit and a space limit in controversies—particularly in those carried on in a monthly journal. Such limits it would have been difficult to set, if the Sinha-Radhakrishnan controversy, instead of being like a single combat between the two persons concerned

were allowed to degenerate into a melee, with only one combatant on one side and several on the other. We refrain from commenting on Dr. Ganguly's letter.

"India in Bondage : Her Right to Freedom"

"India in Bondage : Her Right to Freedom" by the Rev. J. T. Sunderland was published on December 21, last year. The first edition having been exhausted, a second is in course of preparation. It will contain some additional matter.

Government and "The Free Press of India"

According to a note on the relations between the Government of India and news agencies, prepared by Mr. S. Sadanand, managing editor of the agency known as the Free Press of India, Government discriminates in favour of the Associated Press of India and the Indian News Agency, owned by Reuter's Agency and the Eastern News Agency Ltd., and against the Free Press of India. What is done in favour of the Associated Press of India consists in payments from the Government of India and the Provincial Governments, amounting to about rupees one lakh and a quarter as subscription to news agency telegrams, free first class travel on the Indian railway system, free use of trunk telephones, reduced telegraph charges and discriminatory treatment in regard to Government news. It is also stated that "ordinary" press telegrams of Reuters, the A. P. I. and the I. N. A. are transmitted as "express," while the telegrams of the Free Press are subjected to serious delays, and complaints elicit no relief. Under the circumstances Mr. Sadanand is justified in saying that the effect of this favoritism shown to the former and injustice done to the latter is "to convey the impression to the newspapers that, to the extent that it lies in the hands of the Government of India, either acting as a body or acting through its individual officers, it is intended to place at a distinct disadvantage the papers subscribing to the Free Press of India with a view to compel them either to give up the 'Free Press of India' services or to subscribe to the other services also."

The same impression may be created by the fact that among the hundreds of house

searches recently carried out by the police were the offices of the Free Press of India.

The usefulness of the press in any country depends greatly on the publication of unbiassed news and unbiassed comments thereupon. If news agencies are subsidized by the Government of the country, particularly when that government is a foreign bureaucracy in a dependent country interested in the preservation of its monopoly of power, the news supplied by them must necessarily be largely such as would not go against the interests of the powers that be or offend them in any way. The press cannot do its duties properly when the supply of news is thus vitiated at its source. A corrective may be applied if an independent unsubsidized news agency exists. But if such an agency be sought to be killed by unfair means and if that attempt succeeds, a most undesirable state of things must ensue.

Hence an earnest attempt should be made by the members of the central and provincial legislatures to prevent the direct and indirect subsidization of any news agency and to place the telegraphic messages of all agencies on the same footing as regards quickness of transmission, rates of payment, etc. It is a matter which does not concern the news agencies and the daily newspapers alone, but also the public of India at large.

Accidental Coincidence ?

Not often has it been noticed that, whenever Government want to add to their armoury some new weapon of repression, in the shape of a new law or a new ordinance, or whenever they arrest a good many persons on charges savouring of anarchistic or revolutionary activities, bombs are thrown, revolvers or pistols are fired, house searches by the police are rewarded with finds of bombs, pistols, explosive substances, &c., "red" pamphlets and leaflets are broadcasted by 'unknown' parties, and threatening letters are received by officials and non-officials. These strengthen or are used as evidence to strengthen Government's case for "resolute government."

The question is, is it due merely to accidental coincidence that such things happen repeatedly ?

In days of yore, when progress in science and mechanics had not led intelligent and thinking men to lose faith in many gods

and goddesses, such coincidences would perhaps have resulted in the creation of a new god or a new guardian angel who had the bureaucracy under his special protection and who, therefore, caused such things to happen as would serve their purpose exactly. But at present faith in numerous deities is a vanishing quantity. And, as for the power to create new deities, it has been entirely lost—in civilized countries in any case. How are we then to explain the aforesaid coincidences?

There are two alternative ways. One is to put them down to mere accident or chance. But what is chance or accident? Perhaps, if scientifically investigated, accidents would reveal some law governing their occurrence. But we are not at present prepared for such investigation. Let us, therefore, mention the other alternative.

It is that these things are brought about by agents provocateur. The belief in the existence of such agents has long prevailed among our countrymen. It has received confirmation from the revelations made by *The Tribune* in connection with the doings of an U. P. agent provocateur in the Punjab. Of course, high Government officials have all along denied the employment of such persons. Such denials show either that they indulge in diplomatic lying, or that the agents are employed without the knowledge and consent of these officials.

Who, then, employs them and pays them? The public belief is that they are employed by the C. I. D. or secret police and paid from what is known as secret service money. As the setting apart of such money from the public revenues requires the sanction of the Government, the highest functionaries cannot disclaim all responsibility for the use made of such funds.

Of course, the C. I. D. or secret police would deny the existence of a single agent provocateur. But, then they must explain the aforesaid coincidences. To call them accidental does not convince anybody. Let us have from them a real explanation in all seriousness. A political sermon from Lord Irwin would be a bad substitute.

The employment of spies and informers may be a necessity under present conditions for the best of governments, but the employment and connivance at the doings of agents provocateur cannot be a necessity for any enlightened government which has a reputation to lose.

"The Hindu" on a Hindu Mahasabha Resolution

The Hindu illustrated weekly writes :—

The Mahasabha, the prime object of which, a resolution claims, is, "to exorcise communalism as rapidly as possible from the public administration of the country," passed a resolution which, to proceed from a body bent upon exorcising communalism, seems rather curious. It asked for increased representation of the Hindus on the Punjab police service. The terms of this resolution throw light on the psychology underlying the Sabha's altered attitude towards the Nehru Report and the communal problem in the country. "In view of the fact that Moslems have been persistently agitating for larger and larger employment of Moslems in the public services of the country," the resolution runs, "the Hindu Mahasabha draws the attention of the Government to the fact that in the policy services, particularly in many provinces even where they are in a minority, and also in the military forces, Moslems have been recruited in large numbers quite out of proportion to their numerical strength or educational efficiency, and therefore requests the Government to take immediate steps to increase the recruitment of Hindus to such services."

It may be pointed out here that the resolution nowhere mentions "the Punjab police force" in particular, or demands increased representation of the Hindus on it.

The resolution wants increased employment of the Hindus in the police and military services, because in many provinces they are practically discriminated against in those departments. It particularly mentions provinces where Moslems are in a minority but have nevertheless been recruited in numbers "quite out of proportion to their numerical strength or educational efficiency." It should, of course, be clear to the meanest understanding even of Hindus that, if in any province a minority community be vastly superior in educational qualifications and general efficiency and the majority be deplorably inferior in those respects, recruitment to the services from the minority community must necessarily be disproportionately large. But such is not the case with some of the provinces in India in which the Moslems are in a minority and which the Hindu Mahasabha had in view.

Take the police services in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, for example.

In the U. P. 84.48 per cent. of the population are Hindus and 14.46 per cent. are Muhammadans. According to the census of 1921, the proportion of literates among Hindu males was 67 per thousand and that among Muhammadan males 65 per thousand. Referring to the latter, Mr. E. H. H. Edye, I. C. S., census superintendent, 1921, wrote in his Report that "it seems that they

[the Musalmans] will in the next decade fall even further behind."

Let us now see what proportion of the posts in the U. P. higher police services is held by the Muhammadans, who form 14.46 per cent. of the population and who are not, to put it mildly, vastly superior to the Hindus in education. Our authority is the U. P. Civil List corrected to October 1, 1928, any later issue not yet being to hand.

There are 58 posts of Superintendents, of which two are vacant. Nine of the remaining 56 posts are held by Indians, five of them being Hindu and four Muhammadan.

There are fifty-one posts of Assistant Superintendents, of which nine are vacant. Of the remaining 42, ten are held by Indians. Of these six are Hindus and four are Muhammadans.

Omitting vacancies, there are forty-seven Deputy Superintendentships. Of these forty are held by Indians, of whom sixteen are Hindus and twenty-four are Muhammadans.

There are twenty-five temporary and officiating Deputy Superintendents. Twenty of them are Indians, eight being Hindus and twelve Muhammadans.

In the lower police services also similar favouritism is conspicuous.

It is not in the police services alone that in the U. P. the Hindus are discriminated against. That is the case in the Executive Services also. Let us take a few figures.

Of the seven Listed Superior Executive posts, one is held by a person bearing a European name, and three each are held by Hindu and Muhammadans.

Of the Deputy Collectors two hundred and twenty are Hindus and one hundred and fifty-eight are Muhammadans.

In the U. P. members of the Subordinate Executive Service are called Tahsildars. There are 203 of them. The number of Muhammadans in this service also, as well as among the 45 officiating Tahsildars, is disproportionately large. We have no time now to count and give the exact figures, but will do so if our statement be challenged.

There are other services which, if examined, will reveal a similar state of things.

In executive work, physical fitness is or ought to be a *sine qua non*. There is no readily available means of judging the comparative physical fitness of Hindus and Muhammadans in Agra and Oudh. But perhaps the following remarks relating to the vitality of Muhammadans and Hindus would

show that the former are not *appreciably* superior to the latter in this respect, if they are at all superior :

"These are all admirable reasons why the Muhammadans should be more vital than the Hindus ; but I do not propose to discuss them, because *I can find no evidence of the greater vitality than they are supposed to cause.*" (Italics ours)—Mr. E. H. H. Edye, I. C. S., Superintendent, Census Operations, in the U. P. Census Report for 1921, page 58.

There is no easily available test by means of which the moral character of different communities can be ascertained. Some years ago, we used to examine the annual jail reports of Bengal, Bihar and U. P. to find out which community supplied what proportion of the convict population of prisons. For several years, we found that the Moslem community furnished more than its proportionate quota. This would perhaps go to show that the Muhammadans as *Muhammadans* were not morally superior to the other religious communities, though undoubtedly some Musalmans must be superior to some Hindus and *vice versa*.

Taking all grades of all services into consideration, U. P. Moslems would be entitled to one-sixth as many posts as U. P. Hindus, in proportion to the respective numerical strength of the two communities. What we suggest, however, is not any fixed proportion. Appointments should be made by open competitive tests, including physical tests. We are sure the Hindu Mahasabha would agree to this. It has suggested increased Hindu recruitment, and open competition is sure to result in such increase. But even if open competition did not result in increased recruitment of Hindus, but, on the contrary, resulted in their decreased recruitment, there would then be no just cause of complaint against the Government. For, what is wanted is an open door for talent, not favouritism towards any community at the expense of others.

The Hindu discovers the taint of *obnoxious communalism* in the Hindu Mahasabha's resolution. Is it then a characteristic of *angelic nationalism* to be indifferent to the unjust treatment of one's own community ? Does favouritism shown to any community at the expense of others promote even the cause of nationalism or of efficient and honest administration either ? We venture to think the Mahasabha has rendered some service to nationalism

by its resolution. For, injustice to any community and favouritism to some other affects national solidarity and weakens the nation. We remember to have read in *The Leader* condemnation of the excessive employment of Muslims in the U.P. police services. That journal cannot be accused of communalism.

Riding Self-determination to Death

With reference to an amendment moved by Mr. Das Ram Bagai at the Surat session of the Hindu Mahasabha, which was passed and which ran as follows :

"That the Reforms Scheme, in its entirety or otherwise, will neither be workable, nor beneficial in the North-West Frontier Province, owing to the peculiar conditions, geographical, financial and political, obtaining in this province, and that it is sure to be detrimental to good government and highly prejudicial to all-India interests."

The Leader of Allahabad asks whether the people of that province are not to have the right of self-determination.

In the abstract any area, with however small a population, may be entitled to the right of self-determination. But statesmen agree that circumstances must modify abstract rights.

The North-West Frontier Province was formed by Lord Curzon in 1901 for imperialistic and strategic reasons. It was never intended by that or any succeeding Governor-General that it was to be administered like the older and bigger provinces of India. Supposing some future Viceroy were to form a separate province in the north-eastern part of India, consisting mostly of hilly tracts inhabited by hill tribes, would our politicians fight for the granting of the right of self-determination to such a province also? Perhaps not. For these north-eastern tracts are not inhabited mostly by Muhammadans, and so the Muhammadans inhabiting the other parts of India need not be placated by the promise of the introduction of the Reforms in that province.

It is assumed that all or most or a large proportion of the inhabitants of the N.-W. F. Province have asked for the Reforms. But that is not a fact. Leaving aside the objection of the Hindus in that region to the introduction of the Reforms there, it is not true that there has been any unanimous or majority or general demand of the Moslems there for the Reforms.

"The premier nobleman of the province, who admittedly holds the highest place among its gentry, is Nawab Major Ahmed Nawaz Khan Saddozai, belonging to the family which ruled in Dera Ismail Khan in the pre-annexation days". He is well-educated and has been to England. He has, in a pamphlet compiled in 1927, given twelve cogent reasons for opposing the transfer of "the administrative, legislative, political and military power and control" from the present hands to a machinery yet untried in the Province, which, in his opinion, would be inefficient.

Nawab Habibulla Khan Alizai, another well-educated gentleman, who was for 17 years in the provincial civil service, both in the judicial and political lines, says in a Memorandum :

"Full-fledged or partial Reforms that are being asked in this Province are the demand of a few interested persons...these are the persons who are exciting and inciting the people; otherwise the people on the Frontier do not worry themselves with these vaporings of politics...The relations of the Agencies can in no case be separated from the adjoining districts. This province should, therefore, continue under a separate Administration."

Elsewhere he says of the people "residing in the mofussil" that they "are blissfully ignorant of even the name of Reforms."

Khan Bahadur Maulvi Saduddin Khan, B. A., LL. B., at present Additional Judicial Commissioner, who is believed to be the prime mover and controller of the agitation for the Reforms, was in 1921 the leader of the Peshawar bar. Giving evidence as such before the Frontier Enquiry Committee, he said :

"We considered the question and arrived at the deliberate conclusion that a small province like this, if carried on as a separate entity, would never succeed. The reforms administration is a very complex machinery. You want perfectly free scope for its free working. Here you have five districts. Dera Ismail Khan has been reduced to one half, and Bannu to less than a half--and in a small province like this the paraphernalia of a reformed council and the other concomitants cannot be accommodated."

Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer is a level-headed and very well-informed statesman. He has summed up his conclusions on the subject as follows :—

"Apart from all the numerous objections in principle, which I have referred to above, it is necessary to point out that owing to (1) its peculiar situation, (2) the relations and affinities between the Pathans on both sides of the border, (3) the excitability of the people and their liability to sudden commotion and up-

heavals at the bidding of the fanatical Mullahs, as illustrated by the Hijrat and the insurrection in the Mansehra Tahsil, (4) the sway of pan-Islamic ideas and sentiments and (5) the menace of Bolshevism, the political dangers of an extension of popular government to the province cannot be ignored. The gift of prophecy is denied to me, I can only form my judgment upon the evidence, and my task is only to warn the Government of India against the perils of the adventure, upon which they are urged to embark in the pursuit of a policy which, I am afraid, will prove a monument of political unwisdom."

With reference to all that has gone before, it may be airily said: "These are mere opinions, and opinions will differ." So let us come down to the bed-rock of facts.

To run a full-fledged province enough men and money are required.

The Frontier Province has a population of only 22,51,340 persons, which is quite inadequate for running a separate "Governor's province." Many districts in other provinces have each a larger population. The smallest "Governor's province," Assam, has a population of 76,06,230—three and a half times that of the Frontier Province. Perhaps if the Frontier population were immensely rich, and universally literate like the Japanese or most of the peoples of European countries, a sufficient number of men required for doing all kinds of public work and sufficient revenue could perhaps have been forthcoming. But what are the facts? We will take into consideration literate males of the age of twenty and over, as younger people do not generally engage in public work.

In Assam the number of such literate males is 3,31,189, and those of that age literate in English number 46,996. In the N.-W. F. Province the number of literate males of that age is 58,447 and that of such literates in English only 12,213. These figures show the paucity of men in that province able to do all kinds of administrative work. Even some Moslem majority districts in Bengal possess a larger number of literate males of the age of 20 and over, as the following table shows:

Males aged 20 and over

	Literate	Literate in Eng.
N.-W. F. Pr.	58,447	12,213
Dacca	152,955	30,336
Mymensingh	159,643	26,986
Bakarganj	200,113	17,082

So these *districts* in Bengal have in one respect a better claim to self-determination than the Frontier *Province*.

Another fact regarding that province should be considered. There the Moslems form 93 per cent. and the Hindus and Sikhs 7 per cent. of the population. As there is no necessary literacy qualification for the franchise and as the British Government even lowers the standard for the convenience of the "favourite wife," it is certain that, if the Frontier province got the Reforms, popular control there would mean Moslem control—no matter whether there be joint or separate electorates. Practically that would result in control by the Muslim literate males aged 20 and over. But their number is less than that of the Hindu and Sikh literates of that age:

	Literates	Literates in English
Moslem.	20,641	2,266
Hindu.	24,094	3,481
Sikh.	7,722	733

Thus the small minority of 7 per cent. of the population furnishes a majority of adult literates. But the government would be a government under the control of a majority the bulk of whom are illiterate and ignorant.

We now come to the financial resources of the Frontier province.

When in 1901 Lord Curzon constituted the province, he said the extra annual cost would be Rs. 3,58,506. But the very next year there was a deficit of 38 lakhs. And the deficits have gone on increasing ever since, as the following figures in lakhs of rupees show:

Year	Expenditure	Revenue	Deficit
1902—3	74	36	38
1918—19	138	57	61
1919—20	168	61	107
1920—21	182	56	126
1921—22	195	55	140
1924—25	270.8	77.2	193.6
1926—27	285.3	86.2	199.1
1928—29 (Estimate)	327.48	89.32	238.16

It is plain common sense that those who want self-rule must pay its expenses. It may be fun for the Muslim majority of a bankrupt province to enjoy self-government and fat salaries and allowances at the expense of the other provinces; but these other provinces cannot be expected to appreciate the fun. Least of all can Bengal appreciate it. For, though the Central Government makes up the deficits, it does so from the revenues collected in the provinces, and, as His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, speaking at the dinner of the Mining and Geological Institute on January 18 last, said: "Something like 45 per cent. of the

total revenue of the Central Government comes through Bengal."

We have repeatedly drawn attention to the glaring and deliberate financial injustice done to Bengal all along. We do so again in this connection. If the public men of other provinces wish to be generous to the Frontier Pathans, let them not think of doing so at the expense of Bengal: let them subscribe to vast endowment funds for the N.-W. Fr. Province of which the interest may suffice to meet crores of deficit year after year.

Even Bengali Musalmans should understand that they have less and worse sanitation, education, etc., than they are entitled to, because Bengal's revenues are in part wasted on the Frontier, which has never done and will never do anything particularly for them, and that if that region be made a Governor's province, still more money from Bengal would be squandered there and the chances of financial justice to Bengal would be remoter still than now. But bankrupt provinces have not meant and would not mean financial injustice to only one province—all provinces have suffered and would continue to suffer more or less.

Hindu Mahasabha's Alleged Change of Front

It has been alleged in some Anglo-Indian and Indian papers that there has been a change of front on the part of the Hindu Mahasabha with regard to the Nehru Committee's Report. The truth of this allegation cannot be accepted without scrutiny.

At the last session of the Hindu Mahasabha, held at Surat on March 30 & 31 and April 1 last, the Nehru Committee's Report as a whole was not taken into consideration; only a resolution was passed with regard to the recommendations of that report in respect of the Moslem demands as amended and adopted by the All Parties Convention. So, even if that resolution were a reversal of some previous resolution of the Mahasabha, it could not be called a change of front in respect of the Nehru Report as a whole.

Our next point is that, even before the Surat session, the Mahasabha had never considered and either supported or rejected that Report. It was signed by its Chairman on August 10, 1928. Therefore, when the Jubbulpore session, preceding the Surat session, met on April 7,

8, 9, 1928, it neither had nor could have the Nehru Report before it for consideration. Thus, as that report was never considered as a whole or in part by the Hindu Mahasabha before the Surat session, the allegation of a change of front or *volte-face* is baseless. And as at the Surat session only a resolution regarding the recommendations relating to the Moslem demand was passed, any statement to the effect that the Nehru Report was rejected there is also incorrect.

It may be alleged that, though the Hindu Mahasabha did not accept or reject the Nehru Report, its authorized representatives had accepted it. The present writer asked the responsible office-bearers of the Mahasabha present at Surat whether any authorized person or body had appointed any such representatives, but he could get no definite or satisfactory answer.

The All Parties Conference appointed the the Nehru Committee on May 19th, 1928; but the Jubbulpore session of the Mahasabha had already met during the previous month. So the Mahasabha could not possibly have appointed its representatives, in anticipation, for a then non-existent committee. A Committee was appointed no doubt at the Jubbulpore session "to confer with any committees appointed by other public bodies for the purpose of drafting a *Swaraj constitution for India*". Whether here "appointed" signifies "to be appointed in future" also is more than we can say. Moreover, the Nehru Committee was appointed, not for drafting a *Swaraj constitution* but "to determine the principles of the constitution for India." This may seem a mere hair-splitting distinction. So let us pass on to the next point.

The resolution by which the Mahasabha appointed the above committee at Jubbulpore states:

The committee is directed to adhere strictly to the fundamental propositions laid down in the above resolution."

One of these fundamental propositions is "Sind should not be separated from the Bombay Presidency". This and some other "fundamental propositions laid down in the resolution" have not been strictly or even loosely adhered to in the Nehru Report recommendations. So, if any real or so-called Hindu Mahasabha representative on that Committee accepted these recommendations, he acted *ultra vires*.

Among the gentlemen forming the Jubbulpore Committee mentioned above, the

only one who appears to have taken part in the deliberations of the Nehru Committee and signed its Report is Mr. M. S. Aney ; and of him it is said in chapter II, "On the communal aspect": "We would note here that our colleague Mr. Aney does not agree with all the above views but agrees with our conclusion." That conclusion is that "even communal grounds justify the separation of Sind"—a conclusion which, being directly opposed to one of "the fundamental propositions laid down" at the Jubbulpore session of the Mahasabha, Mr. Aney had no authority to agree with. Similarly, if any alleged representatives of the Hindu Mahasabha signed the supplementary report of the Nehru Committee, including recommendations contrary to the aforesaid "fundamental propositions", their action was unauthorized. The same remark holds good of similar action on the part of alleged Hindu Mahasabha representatives at the Calcutta All Parties Convention.

To what we have already said we have to add in conclusion that, even if any association or institution gives any kind of authority to its representatives, that does not make it unnecessary to obtain in due course the sanction of that association or institution to the action of its representatives. This is admitted in the supplementary report of the Nehru Committee when they say (page 18): "We were of opinion that any authority given to representatives could not obviate the necessity of formal ratification by the parent institutions..." Assuming that the alleged Hindu Mahasabha representatives were authorized to act as they did, their action was never ratified by the Mahasabha and could not, therefore, bind that body.

All these considerations lead us to conclude that the charge of *volte-face* is entirely baseless, and the alleged acceptance of the Nehru Committee's Report by the Hindu Mahasabha at any time is a myth.

Calcutta Post-graduate Teaching Reorganization

A few years ago a committee sat to reorganize the teaching and other arrangements of the post-graduate departments of the Calcutta University. The majority of the members of that committee came to certain conclusions, and the minority to different conclusions on some matters. The views of

the minority were more acceptable to the bureaucracy (and to certain Christian missionaries) than the opinions of the majority.

For some time past a new reorganization committee has been busy hatching its plans. An impression prevails that the object of this new committee is to bring post-graduate teaching as nearly as at present practicable to the condition in which it was before Sir Asutosh Mookerjee brought the post-graduate departments into existence to make the University a teaching one.

It has been our thankless task to criticize the University off and on. But we have all along stated that the post-graduate departments have proved three things, *viz.*, that Indian teachers can teach up to the highest standards as well as and often better than the generality of European professors in India, that they have done more and higher research work than those European professors, and that advanced Indian students have been trained by their Indian teachers to do research work and have done such work, which was not the case when their higher teachers in India were mostly Europeans. Such proof of the capacity of Indian teachers cannot be welcome to European officials, European professors (including missionary professors) in India. So, the general impression prevails, the bureaucracy, the European official educationalists and the missionary professors have combined to regain their control over post-graduate teaching. The plan, it is suspected, is to reduce the number of post-graduate teachers, to entrust much of the teaching again to college professors (mainly of the Presidency College and the Scottish Churches College), and thus to nullify to some extent the great work of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. All this would be done in the name of retrenchment, perhaps in the professed interests of primary education. But some three lakhs a year is not an over-generous subsidy to a big university like Calcutta, and there is an official plan to tax Bengal for primary education. It is a very nice plan—to rob Bengal of the greater part of her revenues, to starve her higher education, and to tax the people again for primary education! Injustice to Bengal has not yet, evidently, reached its climax.

But what we must condemn in the most unequivocal language is any direct or indirect attempt to stunt the intellect of Bengal by narrowing and lowering its sphere of activity.

Plagiarism and the Calcutta University

Several weeks ago an eminent scholar told us incidentally in the course of conversation that one result of the exposure in this journal of the plagiarism of a few professors of the Calcutta University has been to produce an impression outside Bengal that the research work done by Calcutta professors generally was worthless. We had previously heard a similar complaint from a few other persons also. All these gentlemen being connected with education outside Bengal know what they say. All we can say is that we are sorry for this impression, if it exists, but we never intended to produce it or thought that such would be the effect of the exposures made in this journal. Perhaps there is some unconscious exaggeration in the statements.

The post-graduate departments of the Calcutta University have scores of professors, out of whom only some half a dozen or so have been proved guilty of plagiarism. But the number of genuine original workers among Calcutta professors is much larger.

Some idea of the work done by them has been given to the public from time to time by this journal, *Prabasi* and other organs. So the literary dishonesty of a few men ought not to have made all the honest workers suspect in the eyes of thoughtful and fair-minded men.

Perhaps the attitude of the men in power in the Calcutta University from the days of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee downwards has had something to do indirectly with the regrettable impression spoken of before. To all outward appearance they have pretended to treat the allegations made in *Prabasi* and the *Modern Review* with contempt. But simultaneously with such affectation, every time that exposures have been made by us, some men connected with the University and others have vilified us. That, however, is rather irrelevant to the issues. It may be admitted at once that the editor of the *Modern Review* is a very wicked man and a very unfair journalist. That may prove why we were moved to publish the things which we have brought to light. But that would not prove that we invented either the books and periodicals, etc., from which passages have been taken without acknowledgment or the works of the Calcutta plagiarists in which such passages are to be found.

The only sensible and honest course to take would have been either to sue the

editor of this magazine for defamation and damages or to ask the alleged plagiarists to face a committee of learned men from the Calcutta and other Universities and to take disciplinary action against them, if found guilty. As the Calcutta bosses, from Sir Asutosh Mookerjee downwards, never had the courage to adopt the former course nor the sense of justice, love of the good name of the University and regard for literary integrity to adopt the latter, it is not surprising if something like the aforesaid impression should prevail. People may have inferred from the inaction of the Calcutta University that in its opinion plagiarism is a legitimate method of authorship, and is, therefore, generally or largely followed there. But it is neither sensible nor fair to make us responsible for any such impression. The scholars who spoke to us on the subject did not, of course, hold us responsible for it. We should not have done our duty if we had not done what we have and what we should be ready to do again if necessity arose.

A Real Hero

The following paragraph is taken from *The Statesman* :

Indian and European merchants of Calcutta met together on Thursday to signalize one of those splendid acts of heroism which have given the British mercantile marine a special place in the admiration and affection of the public. Captain C. Macfarlane, then Chief Officer of the B. I. *Chakla*, went overboard during a cyclonic storm in the Indian Ocean eighteen months ago in order to rescue the captain of a sinking *dhow*. He boarded the *dhow*, bound the unfortunate seaman to himself with ropes and then climbed back to the deck of the *Chakla* carrying the other man on his back. It was a feat calling for great physical strength as well as the highest courage. It is easy enough to talk of Indo-European friendship. A man like Captain Macfarlane is a practical exponent thereof.

Turkish Officers with Foreign Wives not Wanted

"The Angora National Assembly has taken further steps in preventing foreign influence in Turkey. A law has now been passed by the Assembly, compelling officers marrying foreigners to resign connection with the Foreign office, or naval and land defence of the country. Officers already so married are to be removed from the offices."

Last Dream of Nadir Shah

After planning to massacre his leading enemies next morning and retire for refuge to the fort of Kalat-i-Nadiri (in n. e. Khurasan), Nadir Shah, on the night of 9th June 1747, went to the tent of one of his wives, the daughter of Muhammad Husain Khan, for sleep. He had a strong presentiment that a calamity was coming upon him. Under some uncontrollable excitement and distraction he repeatedly went in and out of his harem, unable to find rest in any place. His servants were puzzled, but none of them durst put any question to him. Only Hasan Ali Beg, who had been a devoted attendant and trusted confidant of Nadir ever since the dawn of his fortune, made bold to ask what ailed him. Nadir Shah called him apart and replied that he had dreamt a dream which he would tell to Hasan Ali, but it must be kept a secret from all other men.

"The dream was this : Before my rise to this God-granted Kingship, at the first stage Baba Ali Beg Kusa-Ahmadlu, the governor of Abivard, who had sent me on some errand to Isfahan, had alighted at this village and set up his small tent on the very spot where I am encamped to-day. At night a man called me in dream to his side and said : 'Come with me, as His Holiness [Ali] has summoned you.' I accordingly went with him. In the desert a lofty mansion was seen in which the Twelve Great Ones [i.e., the Imams] were sitting on an eminence. The splendour of their faces lit up the desert. My guide led me before them and said, 'He has come.' I found that one of the Twelve was greater than the others and he addressed one of his companions, 'Bring the sword.' The latter produced the sword as ordered, called me to him, tied the sword to my waist, and said : 'We give you the empire of Iran. Rule the people with careful consideration.'

I then awoke, but did not report the dream to anybody. I went to Isfahan and returned to Baba Ali Beg, [whose daughter Nadir married and whom he succeeded in the governorship of the town,—the first step in his rise.] My fortune increased daily, and all things shaped as I desired, till at length I arrived at this God-given Kingship.

Last night I dreamt that the same man who had then conducted me to the Twelve Great Ones, appeared again, sprang upon me and dragged me with extreme violence to

Them and set me before Them. His Holiness, who had tied the sword to my waist, turned his face away at the sight of me and cried out, 'Take the sword away from the waist of this worthless man, as he is unfit for the work.' All my struggles to retain the sword were unavailing. They tore the sword away from me and turned me out. Since I have awoken from this dream, composure of mind and repose have left me. I know not what is going to happen." [*Mujmil*.]

That very night Nadir Shah was murdered.

The above is probably a Shia legend, accounting for Nadir's downfall as a divine punishment for his having abolished the predominance of the Shia State Church in Persia and yielded to the Sunnis by his compromise decree of June, 1736. In Islamic tradition *xulfaqar*, the sword of Ali, was irresistible.

J. S.

The Seed of Communalism

Hindus and Musalmans are the same people by race and they have lived in India side by side for centuries. What is the explanation for the deplorable outbursts of violence that have been witnessed in various parts of the country in recent years ? The blame has been laid at different doors, there have been accusations and counter-accusations, but we do not think it can be rightly said that the cause of the mischief has been traced to its true source. Nor do we say that we have succeeded in doing so. We have, however, received definite information that one of the root causes of the bitterness of communal feeling is to be found in the public schools and colleges controlled by the Government of Bengal. We are confining our remarks to this Presidency, because we have no reliable information about the other provinces, though we should not be surprised if this example is followed elsewhere. Under the Minister of Education in Bengal a statement was recently prepared showing that the admission to a number of schools and colleges in Bengal is governed by communal considerations. A percentage of Musalman students is fixed for these institutions, the percentage varying from 25 to 100. Let us illustrate how this system works. In a certain form in a particular school there is a rule that the number of Hindu and Musalman boys must be fifty fifty. Suppose there are 50 Hindus and 49 Muhammadan students in that class. There is

one vacant seat and the applicant for it happens to be a Hindu. He is turned away merely on the ground of his religion. There are special Muhammadan educational institutions in almost every province, but even in ordinary schools and colleges students are made to feel that their religion is a disqualification. We do not for one moment suggest that the numerous Hindu-Musalman riots can be explained by this singular regulation, but it is undeniable at the same time that the seed of a certain kind of communal feeling is sown in our schools and colleges.

N. G.

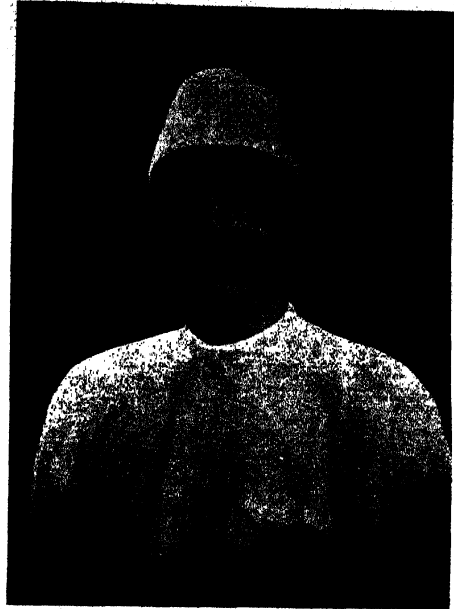
Surat Session of the Hindu Mahasabha

The twelfth session of the Hindu Mahasabha was a success, according to the standard of success usually adopted. That is to say, the gathering was large, the delegates and visitors behaved themselves in an orderly and earnest manner, several very important resolutions were passed and some of the speeches were good. The speakers belonged to both the sexes. The number of women among the audience was considerable. As in Gujarat Hindus, including Jains, do not observe purdah, the attendance of the fair sex could easily have been larger.

The real success of any such gathering should be judged by the actual carrying out of the resolutions. As the President of the Surat Session pointed out in his concluding speech, resolutions are what the delegates are *resolved* to carry out or see carried out. No conference or congress can be a success unless they are carried out.

On account of some local circumstances, preparations for the session had to be commenced rather late and completed in a hurry. But thanks to the devotion and indefatigable and unremitting exertions of Dr. Raeji, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, of Mr. Wamanrao Mukadam, M. L. C., the General Secretary and all their co-workers, every arrangement was complete in time. We may suggest that the seating arrangements in big conferences should be such as would enable the President to be near enough to the rostrum of the speakers to enable him to easily follow what they say and to guide and control them, if necessary. It would also be a distinct advantage if resolu-

tions for submission to the subjects committee were drafted earlier than they are in our congresses, conferences, etc.



Mr. Wamanrao Mukadam

The arrangements for the accommodation and entertainment of the delegates were excellent. Mr. Chunilal Dalal, a wealthy member of the reception committee who was in charge of the President's bungalow where many delegates were also put up, and all the young volunteers were exemplary in their zeal, attention and civility. No caste distinctions were observed in dinners, etc. Men of all castes and no caste sat together to take their meals without any enquiries or curiosity as to one another's caste.

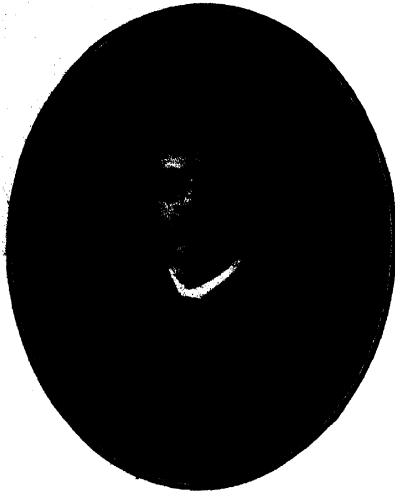
Dr. Raeji's speech was brief but to the point and quite outspoken.

Of the resolutions we should like to mention a few as very important. Clause 4 of resolution V ran as follows :

"The Hindu Mahasabha is of opinion that every Hindu, to whatever caste he may belong, has equal social and political rights."

This recognition of the equality of political rights is not without significance, but as India is not yet self-ruling, as the alien rulers alone

can give or not give such rights, there is at present no means of judging whether the Hindus are earnest in making such a declaration. The case is different, however, with social rights. It is for us to show in practice that we are sincere in declaring that all Hindus have equal social rights. Such a declaration is a recognition of the complete social equality of all Hindus without distinction of caste, creed or sect. "Social" is a very comprehensive word. It includes not only "educational" but "religious" as well. We do hope for the sake of humanity and justice and in its own interests, the Hindu community will give complete effect to this resolution without any reservation. It must not be supposed that it is only the Brahmos or the Arya Samajists who want social equality.



Mr. Chunalil Dalal

There is a growing party among those who alone used to be called Hindus formerly, which is for revolutionary changes in the social constitution of the community. This party succeeded at the last Calcutta session of the Hindu Samaj Sammelan in getting a resolution passed to the effect that "all Hindus are Brahmans." However unreal such a resolution may appear, its significance as a sign of the times can not be ignored. And its chief sponsor, a born Brahman, has already invested many members of the so-called depressed classes with the sacred thread.

The tenth resolution was in part worded thus :

"The Hindu Mahasabha regrets to see that unemployment is increasing day by day among the Hindus and that many professions, such as those of carpenters, blacksmiths, bricklayers, weavers, tailors, shoe-makers, bangles (*manihars*), etc., are going out of their hands. The Mahasabha, therefore, declares that all the professions of the above kind are dignified and necessary for the community and that the Hindus should not hesitate to take them up."

We personally know of high-caste Bengali and Madras Hindu engaged in tanning and shoe-making on the factory scale. What is wanted is the practical recognition of the dignity of the work done by the poor tanner or shoe-maker in his cottage or hut. So with reference to some of the other crafts and occupations.

The eleventh resolution ran as follows :

"This Mahasabha, representing all sections of the Hindus of India...expresses its feelings of brotherly love and sympathy to all Hindus—Brahmanists or Buddhists—residing outside India (e.g., Indo-China and Indonesia) and to all others who in common with the Indians derive their spiritual culture from the great mother culture of ancient India."

"This Mahasabha further emphasizes the necessity of reviving the ancient connection between India and these countries, specially Siam, Cambodia, Java, the Hindu island of Bali, China and Japan, with a view to a brotherly co-operation in enriching and strengthening for the benefit of all humanity this our common spiritual heritage."

Preliminary efforts have already been made in this direction, and these countries have been visited by cultured Hindus with the object specified above. Professors Sunitikumar Chatterjee and Kalidas Nag went to Surat on purpose to enlighten the gathering there on the subject by speech and lantern slide exhibitions. As knowledge should precede action, it is to be regretted that no arrangements could be made there to take advantage of their first-hand knowledge. On their return journey the public in Ahmedabad and Ajmere requested them to give them lantern lectures, which was done.

The Hindu Mahasabha, along with some political organizations, passed also the politico-economic resolution on the boycott of foreign cloth. It was the right thing to do so, though it was not a special feature of the Mahasabha.

The substance of the resolution on *shuddhi* has our entire support. But we adhere to our oft-repeated objection to the use of the

word *shuddhi*, which means purification. Every non-Hindu is not necessarily an impure person, nor is every Hindu, even of the highest caste, pure. The old-world habit of giving to all persons outside one's own community some opprobrious or contemptuous name, such as barbarian, *mlechchha*, pagan, heathen, gentile, *kafir*, infidel, etc., should be given up. The use of such names and the mental attitude they imply have something to do with producing intercommunal misunderstanding and bitterness. They also produce spiritual arrogance. As object (b) of the Mahasabha is "to promote good feeling between the Hindus and other communities in India and to act in a friendly way with them with a view to evolve a united and self-governing nation", nothing avoidable should be done which may stand in the way of such good feeling. We should be sticklers for the reality, not for names. The Hindus claim to be a very tolerant religious community. There would, therefore, be a peculiar appropriateness in their giving up the use of a word which indirectly reflects on other faiths.

The present writer had to unfurl and hoist two flags. He had no conscientious objection to do so. But this outlandish innovation did not touch his heart or give him any inspiration. He did it mechanically, as part of the programme decided upon beforehand.

But one function, of which flag-hoisting was a small part, did touch him. It was when the boy scouts of several depressed class (we hate the words) schools showed him their evolutions, march past, "huts" and "gardens," etc. Some little boys were introduced to him as 'untouchables' (a wicked, hateful and very painful word). Happily, how indistinguishable they looked from "higher caste" boys and youth! He forthwith touched all of them caressingly, saying it did *him* good to do so. It was a very welcome and encouraging piece of information that Raja Narain Lal Pitti, an orthodox Hindu nobleman, spends Rs. 1,000 a month for these schools. May there be more of such really noble men in our country!

Mention and description of social or semi-social functions and visits at Surat and other places are reserved for our next number. Here we want to refer to only one other matter. That is the insistence on the use of Hindi. We feel some delicacy in doing so, as Bengalis in general, including the present

writer, are believed by advocates of Hindi to be indifferent or even hostile to the adoption of Hindi as India's national language or *lingua franca*.

"Hindi", "Hindi"

There are some persons who, even in non-Hindi-speaking provinces, would insist on all speakers making their speeches in Hindi. When some speaker begins to speak in English, they cry out, "Hindi", "Hindi." Thereby they do not show excessive courtesy to the speaker. If he cannot speak Hindi, why cherish the desire to exercise any pressure or compulsion on him? Let Hindi win by its own merits.

At the Surat session of the Hindu Mahasabha also there were such tyrannically-disposed lovers of Hindi. The first man whom they interrupted with their favourite cry was Dr. Rajeji, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, whose printed address was in English. He read what he had written, not minding the interruptions. He is a Gujarati. Some other speakers also were subjected to such interruptions. There was a similar outburst at a subjects committee meeting also.

Our advice to all Indians whose mother-tongue is not Hindi is to learn to speak and read it, if not to write it also. It will pay, both in the literal and figurative senses, and will save them much annoyance.

To the ardent lovers of Hindi also we wish to make a very humble submission.

Let them by all means try to extend the use of Hindi by education, by improving modern Hindi literature so that it may be pleasant and profitable to read Hindi, and by propaganda of all sorts. But pray do not think of compulsion, direct or indirect. Please do not be moved by any idea, however vague or sub-conscious, of linguistic conquest and imperialism. For then there would be plenty of linguistic passive resisters in India. And may we remind those literate persons whose mother-tongue is Hindi that the Hindi-speaking regions in India are the most illiterate in India? It is their duty to enable the illiterate persons in the Hindi-speaking areas to read, at least simultaneously with, if not before, making efforts to spread Hindi in other areas.

It should also be remembered that there

is no necessary connection between the promotion of the cause of Hinduism and the use of Hindi. Ages before Hindi or any other modern Indian language was born, Hinduism existed in India. The Hindus of those days were *perhaps* as good Hindus as the speakers of Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, etc., and probably even as good Hindus as the Hindi-speaking Hindus. There is no particular virtue in speaking Hindi or any other language, and no sin in not speaking any of them. It is all a matter of use and wont and convenience and expediency.

The cause of Hindi should not be mixed up with other causes. At a subjects committee meeting at Surat it was pointed out by some one that not a single delegate had come from South India. Thereupon a delegate from Maharashtra said that the insistence on the use of Hindi had something to do with it. We think he was right. In any case, nobody controverted his opinion. We do not in the least suggest that any one should relax his efforts to spread the use of Hindi. But in the Hindu Mahasabha the sole object is to serve the Hindu community. If by insistence on the use of Hindi whole provinces are practically prevented from taking part in its deliberations and other activities, English or any other suitable language should be allowed to be used. Speakers of other languages than Hindi ought not to be made to feel as if they took part in it on sufferance.

Pratap "Jayanti"

The anniversary of the birth of Maharana Pratap Singh of Chitor falls on the 6th May next. That is the date given in his Hindi biography by Mahamahopadhyay Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha, who must be considered the highest authority on the point.

The Maharana was a very great hero. He prized his personal liberty and honour and the freedom of his country above all things else. Hence he was able to fight all his life almost single-handed with Akbar, at that time, perhaps the greatest and most powerful emperor in the world. Rana Pratap fought both against the political conquest of his motherland as well as the social conquest of his people by the diplomatic nuptial alliances between Mughal men and Hindu women introduced by Akbar.

It was necessary in his days to fight against the Mughal, as it was also in the days of Shivaji. But now both Hindu and Moslem are in subjection to a third party. The two have now to make common cause to regain freedom for India, their common motherland. This should not be impracticable.

The Scots heroes Robert Bruce and Wallace fought against the power of England. But now both the Scottish and English people dwell amicably as citizens of one common country and make common cause, whenever the power, safety and prosperity of their land is threatened politically or commercially, though the Scots, like the Musalmans in India, are in the minority. The celebration of the anniversaries of Bruce and Wallace is not at all resented by Englishmen.

Similarly, in India patriotic Indian Musalmans ought to be able to appreciate the love of liberty and honour and the patriotism and heroism of Maharana Pratap Singh. Akbar, his greatest enemy, was great enough to do it. It is related in the life of the Maharana by Ojha-ji, mentioned above, that when the news of the passing away of the great hero reached the Mughal emperor, he was struck dumb and his face wore a sad expression. Seeing him in this condition, his courtiers, who thought that he should have been rather glad than sorry at the death of the Rana, felt surprised. Then a Rajput *charan* (bard or minstrel), named Dursa Adha, who was present at the Darbar, recited some six lines of poetry impromptu to the following effect :

"O Guhilot Rana Pratap Singh, on your death the Badshah pressed his tongue between his teeth and heaved a sigh and shed tears. For you never allowed your horse to be branded with the Badshah's mark*, never bent your turban before any one, never attended the Badshahi *nau roz* (new year's celebrations), never went to the emperor's palace, never stood waiting under his window for a glimpse of his face. You made people sing your glories and carried on the administration of your *rajya* easily. Therefore you have triumphed in every way."

Hearing these verses recited, the courtiers thought the emperor must be angry with the bard. But, on the contrary, the monarch

* The branding was done to remind all courtiers and vassal kings of their inferior status.

rewarded him, saying, "This poet has truly understood my feeling."

There are many similar verses, addressed to Akbar by the same poet, current in Rajasthan. They are quoted in Ojha-ji's book.

H. H. Setu Lakshmi Bayi, Maharani Regent of Travancore

The Literary Digest for March 30 publishes an article relating to the Junior Maharani of Travancore, quoting from *The Modern Review* and other journals passages in her presidential address to the All India Women's Social Conference, and stating that in Kerala women have been always free and have all along enjoyed full proprietary rights. The American paper also publishes a portrait of the Junior Maharani by Mr. St. Nihal Singh.

The Senior Maharani, Her Highness Setu Lakshmi Bayi, the Maharani Regent of Travancore, is a very remarkable woman. In 1924, in her 28th year Her Highness began to direct the destinies of Travancore at a critical juncture, when, "on account of the unprecedented floods combined with active and acute communal quarrels," even an experienced and daring statesman would have found decent administration not only delicate but highly difficult. But she is of that stuff of which great women are made. Her Highness is the grand-daughter of Ravi Varma, the celebrated artist, and is wedded to Sri Rama Varma, the nephew of that illustrious poet and scholar, Kerala Varma Valiya Koil Tampuran. The Maharani and the Prince Consort are well up in English, Sanskrit and Malayalam and in those special subjects a knowledge of which is essential for the due discharge of the duties of their exalted position. The Maharani is proficient in music and one or two other fine arts and in domestic economy. By her patriotic acts, no less by the purity of her motives and the saintliness of her character, she has already secured a place in the hearts of all true sons of the soil. A few salient features of her administration shall here be enumerated for the information of people outside the State. Her Highness did away with the hoary custom of the presentation of *nazar* by the officers of the State service, though it meant a loss to her. She abolished the racial distinctions at the Regency Durbars. For the first time in the annals of the

State, she appointed a non-Hindu as the Prime Minister of the State, and threw open the high offices of the Land Revenue Department to all classes of the subjects of the country. With a true womanly heart, Her Highness has stopped all animal sacrifices in every temple under the control of the Government. All India knows with what tact and



Her Highness Setu Lakshmi Bayi
Maharani Regent of Travancore

firmness the Maharani tackled the *Satyagraha* problem and redressed the grievances of her non-caste Hindu subjects. Provision is made for the assignment of Government lands on favourable terms to the "depressed classes." For tackling problems connected with irrigation, water supply, railway extension and electrical schemes, special advisors have been entertained by the Government. Expert Committees have come out with suggestions in the matter of prohibition and of

unemployment. But one of the most outstanding reforms of Her Highness is the abolition of the paddy tax on Crown lands. It is only those who know how this tax is made a source of untold misery to the tenants and that there are practical difficulties involved in the commutation that will appreciate the promulgation of this measure. It is also an act of self-denial, as these lands form her private domain, and the change spells a great financial loss to Her Highness.

Britain, India and "Outlawry of War"

Attention has been repeatedly drawn in this journal to the significance to India and other subject countries of Article 10 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, by which "The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League." As India is an integral part of the British Empire and as the territorial integrity of that empire would be destroyed by India being separated from it, this article stands in the way of India being ever independent.

A subtle controversialist may, however, say that the Article refers only to 'external aggression', meaning thereby that the Members bind themselves to preserve the integrity, say of the British Empire, if any foreign power tries to detach India from it, but they do not bind themselves to try to baffle any *internal* effort on the part of the Indian people to achieve independence. On the contrary, they admit by implication the right of the Indian people to become free by internal act on, civil or military.

That is a permissible interpretation, and this loophole in the League article has not escaped the eyes of British diplomats. So they have been always on the alert to close it. The "multi-lateral peace treaty" for 'the outlawry of war', popularly known as the Kellogg Pact, sponsored by U. S. A., gave British statesmen their opportunity. This treaty was ostensibly meant for the renunciation of war; but whilst Egypt, Persia, Turkey, Afghanistan and Soviet Russia have declared for the acceptance of that treaty without any reservations, Great Britain, through Sir Austen Chamberlain, has made a very important and significant reservation which practically nullifies the treaty and in

addition gives her the power to prevent, by armed warfare, India and other nations subject to her becoming free by internal rebellion, whether armed or unarmed. This British reservation is embodied in paragraph 10 of the British note, which runs as follows :

"The language of article 1, as to the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy, renders it desirable that I should remind your excellency that there are certain regions of the world the welfare and integrity of which constitute a special and vital interest for our peace and safety. His Majesty's Government have been at pains to make it clear in the past that interference with these regions cannot be suffered. Their protection against attack is to the British Empire a measure of self-defence. It must be clearly understood that His Majesty's Government in Great Britain accept the new treaty upon the distinct understanding that it does not prejudice their freedom of action in this respect."

That is to say, if the people of India try even by civil disobedience to become free, Great Britain reserves to herself the right to make war on the people of India to frustrate any such attempt. And Great Britain would undertake such war for the "welfare" of India! This reminds us of Mr. Bertrand Shadwell's lines :

If you dare commit a wrong
On the weak because you are strong,
You may do it if you do it for his good!
You may rob him if you do it for his good;
You may kill him if you do it for his good!

So, by means of article 10 of the Covenant of the League of Nations and by paragraph 10 of the British note on the Kellogg Pact, Great Britain has provided against India becoming free by either external or internal aggression.

All these facts and more were brought out by Senator Blaine in his very remarkable and outspoken speech in the United States Senate on the British reservation to the Kellogg treaty. As India's unofficial but accredited ambassador, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu repudiated the British reservations. Her letter to the Hon'ble Senator John H. Blaine was read by him in the course of his speech in the Senate and has found place in the United States Congressional Record. It runs as follows :

The issue you have raised in the course of the debate on the multi-lateral treaty with special reference to British reservations is of momentous importance to India. To accept such reservations in their entirety is to endorse and assume responsibility for all arbitrary policies and actions which might conceivably work to the detriment of my people in their legitimate aspirations and endeavours to secure full national freedom. As an unofficial

but duly accredited spokesman of my country I question the claim of Lord Cushendun to commit India to any treaty in which her own representatives were neither consulted nor included. Though India has always upheld the high gospel of peace toward the recognition of which principle this pact in its original intention constituted an admirable gesture, she cannot be held bound in all circumstances to honor any vicarious pledges made in her behalf and without her consent which deprives her of a single national or international right. But she must reserve to herself complete independence of action in all its implications to establish and maintain her undeniable and inalienable birthright of political liberty.

Mr. Blaine said in the course of his speech :—

Far worse than the threat to our commerce is our denial of the right to liberty and independence everywhere. We propose to weld tighter the steel band of tyranny and imperialism about the form of prostrate and subject people.

We by this treaty solemnly acknowledge that less than 50,000,000 subjects of Great Britain shall have the right to rule over 400,000,000 people, without their consent and against their protest.

Mr. President, is there a single member of this Senate who can say that we are not by this treaty building up a power that is not only a menace to the peace of the world, but, as well, a menace to civilization itself?

Let us look at the world picture briefly. In Africa alone the British Government has subjugated 50,000,000 people in a territory almost equal to Canada and Mexico.

In Egypt 13,000,000 human lives are under her domination.

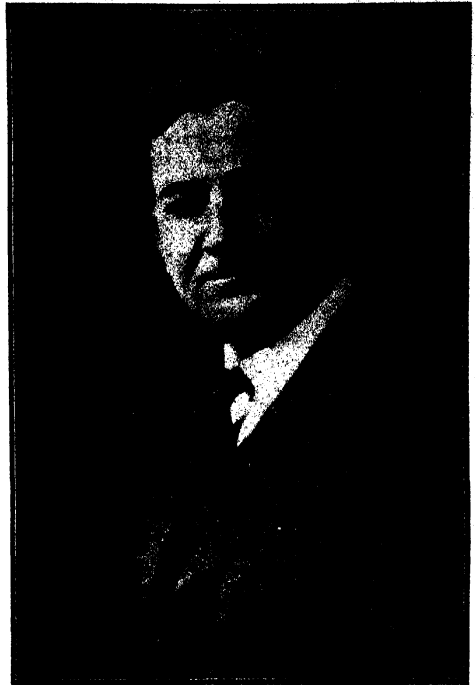
In India she exercises sway over nearly 319,000,000.

The United Kingdom, with a population of only 44,000,000 dominates in Europe three and a half millions of people. In Asia, 329,000,000; in Africa, over 50,000,000; in North America, over 9,000,000; in the West Indies, a million and three-quarters; in South and Central America, 350,000; in Australasia, over seven and a half million inhabitants; and in the scattered islands of the seas, nearly a million.

Of this vast multitude of subjects nearly 90 per cent are a race foreign to the Anglo-Saxon. This vast multitude of Asiatics, Africans, and Malaysians have a civilization far more ancient than that of the British. They have given to the world the greatest men; they have developed the sciences; they handed down to us laws and a literature rich in spiritual value. They constitute a great sleeping giant. In the retrogression of civilization, as we propose by this treaty, who can say that these ancient people may not some day become the salt of the earth and God's chosen people?

And yet it is proposed in the Senate of the United States that we should solemnly recognize the British Kingdom's claim of sovereignty, dominion over, and possession of these people.

I say, sir, that America, born out of the womb of revolution, cannot afford to deny to those 400,000,000 people their right of independence, as they may in the future be able to assert that right. I may stand alone in this, but as for myself,



Hon'ble Senator John H. Blaine

I will not consent, to a treaty that obligates America to recognize and respect the claim of any nation against the right of independence of other nations.

Rammohun Roy on the Value of Modern Knowledge

On 11th December 1823, Rammohun Roy addressed a memorial to Lord Amherst, expressing regret "that the Government are establishing a Sanskrit school under Hindu Pandits to impart such knowledge as is already current in India." "This seminary," he remarked, "can only be expected to load the minds of youth with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of little or no practical use.... The Sanskrit system of education would be the best calculated to keep this country in darkness.... But as the improvement of the native population is the object of the Government, it will consequently promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction, embracing Mathematics, Natural Philosophy,

Chemistry, Anatomy, with other useful sciences, which may be accomplished with the sums proposed by employing a few gentlemen of Europe and providing a College furnished with necessary books, instruments, and other apparatus."

As illustrating the amusing assumption of superior knowledge, love of 'native learning' and wisdom on the part of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy of Rammohun's days we print below two documents unearthed by Mr. Brajendra Nath Banerji :

MEMBERS OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE
OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION,

I am directed to transmit to you for information, the accompanying copy of a representation addressed by Rammohun Roy, to the Rt. Hon'ble the Governor General in Council, expressing disappointment on the part of himself and his countrymen, at the resolution of Government to establish a new Sanskrit College in Calcutta, instead of a seminary designed to impart instruction, exclusively in the arts, sciences and philosophy of Europe.

2. In furnishing your Committee with a copy of the paper, His Lordship in Council cannot abstain from remarking, that it is obviously written under an imperfect and erroneous conception of the plan of education and course of study, which it is proposed to introduce into the new College, that the defects and demerits of Sanskrit literature, and Philosophy, are therein represented in an exaggerated light, and that the arguments in favour of encouraging native learning, as well as the positive obligation to promote its revival and improvement, imposed on the Government by the terms of the Act of Parliament, directing the appropriation of certain funds to the object of Public Education, have been wholly overlooked by the writer.

3. The letter of Rammohun Roy is not considered to call for any answer on the part of Government, but it will of course be at the discretion of your Committee to address any observations, which you may deem the occasion to require, either to Rammohun Roy himself or to Government.*

I have the honour to be, etc.
Persian Office (Sd.) A. Stirling.
January 2nd, 1824 Actg. Depy Persian Secy. to
Govt. In charge

[THE GENERAL COMMITTEE'S NOTE
ON THE ABOVE]

Under the discretion vested in the Committee with respect to addressing any observations on the letter of Rammohun Roy either to himself or to Government the Committee resolve that it is unnecessary to offer any remarks. The erroneous impressions entertained by the author of the letter are sufficiently adverted to in the letter from the Secretary to the Government, but had the views

taken in the letter been even less inaccurate the Committee would still conceive it entitled to no reply, as it has disingenuously assumed a character to which it has no pretensions. The application to Government against the cultivation of Hindu literature, and in favour of the substitution of European tuition, is made professedly on the part, and in the name of the natives of India. But it bears the signature of one individual alone, whose opinions are well known, to be hostile to those entertained by almost all his countrymen. The letter of Rammohun Roy does not therefore express the opinion of any portion of the natives of India, and its assertion to that effect, is a dereliction of truth, which cancels the claim of its author to respectful consideration.*

Sd. J. H. Harington
President

General Committee of Public Instruction

Those who impudently disputed the claim of Rammohun to speak in the interests of his countrymen and accused him of disingenuousness and dereliction of truth, need not be answered. He was not alone in his views—he had friends and followers, but even if he were alone, he was the one outstanding personality of his age and country. To question his claim to speak for his country was mere pettifoggery. That the policy advocated by him was afterwards accepted and that his anti-*Suttee* views were also accepted, go to show that though he had little following, he was entitled to speak and to be heard.

The members of the Education Commission, appointed by Lord Ripon in 1882, in the 6th chapter of their report, referring to Rammohun Roy's exertions, wrote :

"It took twelve years of controversy, the advocacy of Macaulay, and the decisive action of a new Governor-General, before the Committee could, as a body, acquiesce in the policy urged by him."

As regards his views on the Sanskrit education of his days, his critics forgot to note that he spoke of such education as was imparted "*under Hindu pandits*" of that time. It was really such as he said it was. The assumption that his critics had a better knowledge of Sanskrit literature and Hindu education was ridiculous. Rammohun Roy was far better acquainted with the precious and other portions of Sanskrit literature than all his critics combined. He was the first to translate and expound the Upanishads. There should be no mistake regarding his attitude to Sanskrit learning. Take the Vedanta, for instance.

* Copy book of Letters Received and Issued by the General Committee of Public Instruction, 1823-24, pp. 40-42. (Bengal Govt. Records).

* Minutes of Proceedings of the General Committee of Public Instruction, 1823-1841, Vol. No. 5, pp. 45-48. (Bengal Govt. Records).

His biographer Miss S. D. Collet, though an Englishwoman who had never set foot on Indian soil and a Trinitarian Christian, had a better understanding of his position than his Anglo-Indian detractors in India. She writes in her biography of him :

"According as the Vedanta is taught with or without a proper selective adjustment of its widely various contents, its value as a subject of instruction may be set high or low. In the ordinary Hindu schools it was taught in false perspective, with a discrimination exercised, if at all, in favour of what was trivial, incorrect, polytheistic. Rammohun, therefore, opposed with all his might the suggestion that the British Government should perpetuate or encourage this kind of Vedantic instruction. At the same time he saw in the Vedanta, rightly handled and "rightly divided", a means for leading his countrymen out of their prevailing superstition and idolatry into a pure and elevated Theism. Their devotion to the Vedantic scriptures was the lever by which Rammohun hoped to lift them into a simpler and nobler faith. Therefore he founded the Vedanta College; and therefore also he controverted the missionaries' wholesale disparagement of the Vedanta. If the missionaries had succeeded in discrediting the Vedanta, they would in Rammohun's eyes have broken down the bridge which enabled men to pass from Hindu Polytheism to Hindu Theism. He thus combated both the conservative Christian who advocated indiscriminate rejection and the conservative Hindu who advocated the indiscriminate retention of Vedantic teaching; and he provided for a discriminating instruction in the ancient system which should have the approval of liberal Hindus and liberal Christians."

Inspectors of Police in U. P.

The following figures are to be added to our note in this issue on the police services in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh :

There are in that province 222 Inspectors of Police, of which 87 are Hindus, 67 Musalmans and 68 Christians (judging by their European names). There are 86 officiating Inspectors, of whom 38 are Hindus, 28 Musalmans and 20 Christians (judging by their European names). In the C. I. D. there are 10 Musalman and 15 Hindu Inspectors.

In that province Hindus form 84.48 per cent. of the population, Musalmans 14.46 per cent. and Christians 44 per cent. (less than one-half per cent).

"An Alleged Effort of the Government of India"

The Literary Digest writes :

Referring to an alleged effort of the Government of India to stop the publication of statements suggesting "British complicity" in the movement

that caused Amanullah's downfall, an Indian contributor to the *Calcutta Welfare* has this to say :

"It is not possible that even the most hair-brained agitator would 'get away with' a story of an Indian governmental plot to put a new king on the throne of Afghanistan. Nor would sensible people believe that the Government of India made special arrangements for the escape of the Afghan Prince from Allahabad in order to put him up as a 'pretender.' So that we do not think the Government were well-advised to issue hastily a circular which evil tongues might slyly interpret as 'protesting too much.'"

Butler Committee's Report

The terms of reference of the Butler Committee asked that body "to report upon the relationship between the Paramount Power and the Indian States," but the meaning attached to the expression "Indian States" was simply the Princes, to the exclusion of those negligible plebeians, the subjects of the States. For, we are told that the committee declined to hear associations purporting to represent these people, on the ground that it would be outside the terms of reference. Being plebeians ourselves, we are rather prejudiced, and our biassed mind thinks that in the Indian states the people are the most important party, as they are the producers and as they can do without the Princes but the Princes cannot do without them.

The terms of reference being fundamentally wrong, the labours of the Committee were not wholly of the right sort. Such as they were, however, they visited only 15 states out of about 700 and examined only 48 witnesses. They got only 70 replies to their questionnaire from different states. "The important States of Hyderabad, Mysore, Baroda, Travancore, as well as Cochin, Rampur, Junagadh and other states in Kathiawar and elsewhere declined to be represented by Sir Leslie Scott." All this would help the public to decide what value to attach to the report of the Committee.

As the East India Company transferred their Paramountcy to the British Crown, which always acts through the Government of India, and as, therefore, *actually* the relation of the Princes is with the Government of India as at present constituted, we do not think there can be any insuperable obstacle in the way of direct relations being established between the Princes and a future national

or popular Government of India. The Princes, too, need not give themselves lofty airs. The British Crown has no real power. Real power is wielded by the British people through their Parliament. So, if the Princes can have relations with the British people through the British Parliament, what is there derogatory in their having relations with the Indian people through an Indian parliament?

The Butler Committee know that in India the slow or rapid democratization of the constitution is inevitable, and therefore in future the Princes in dealing with the Governor General in Council would have to deal in part with some representatives of the Indian people. But the Indian people are "untouchable". So the Committee suggest that in future it is the Viceroy with whom the Princes are to have dealings, not the Governor-General. This will prevent any Indian from having any knowledge of the correspondence or negotiations with the Princes. One of the reasons given for the proposed change is, "it will relieve them of the feeling that cases affecting them may be decided by a body which has no special knowledge of them"! As if Viceroys have such special knowledge! As if a Viceroy can know more during his brief tenure of office than well-informed Indians born and living in India!

The Committee have suggested the direct recruitment of political officers from the British Universities. Why cannot States subjects do such work? Why cannot Indians of British India?

"The People" Lajpat Rai Number

The Lajpat Rai Number of *The People* is an excellent production, alike in the reading it provides and the illustrations. Particularly interesting and informing is the story of that great man's life written by himself, which is begun in this special number.

Hemendra K. Rakhit

The unanimously passed resolution in the 17th Annual Convention of the Hindustan Association of America, recording sincere appreciation of and deep-felt gratitude for the services of Mr. Hemendra K. Rakhit, the Editor-in-Chief of the *Hindustanee Student*, puts in words what is recognized to be the general sentiment of the Indian community in general and the student body in particular in the United States of America regarding Mr. Rakhit's selfless and varied activities toward the cause of India in America. The resolution referred to is as follows:

"That this convention place on record its sincere appreciation and deep gratitude of the members of the H. A. A. to Mr. Hemendra K. Rakhit, one of the founders of the H. A. A., for his selfless, conscientious and constructive work in formulating and building the activities of the association such as *The Hindustanee Student*, the Loan and Scholarship Fund, Alumni Organizations, etc. We earnestly hope that the H. A. A. will continue to receive the same substantial and hearty co-operation from Mr. H. K. Rakhit during the years to come."

Out of a small student group discussion held in Chicago in 1911 the Hindustan Association was formed so that the interests of the students from India in America may be safeguarded by mutual co-operation and that the culture and cause of India may be systematically presented before the people of America.

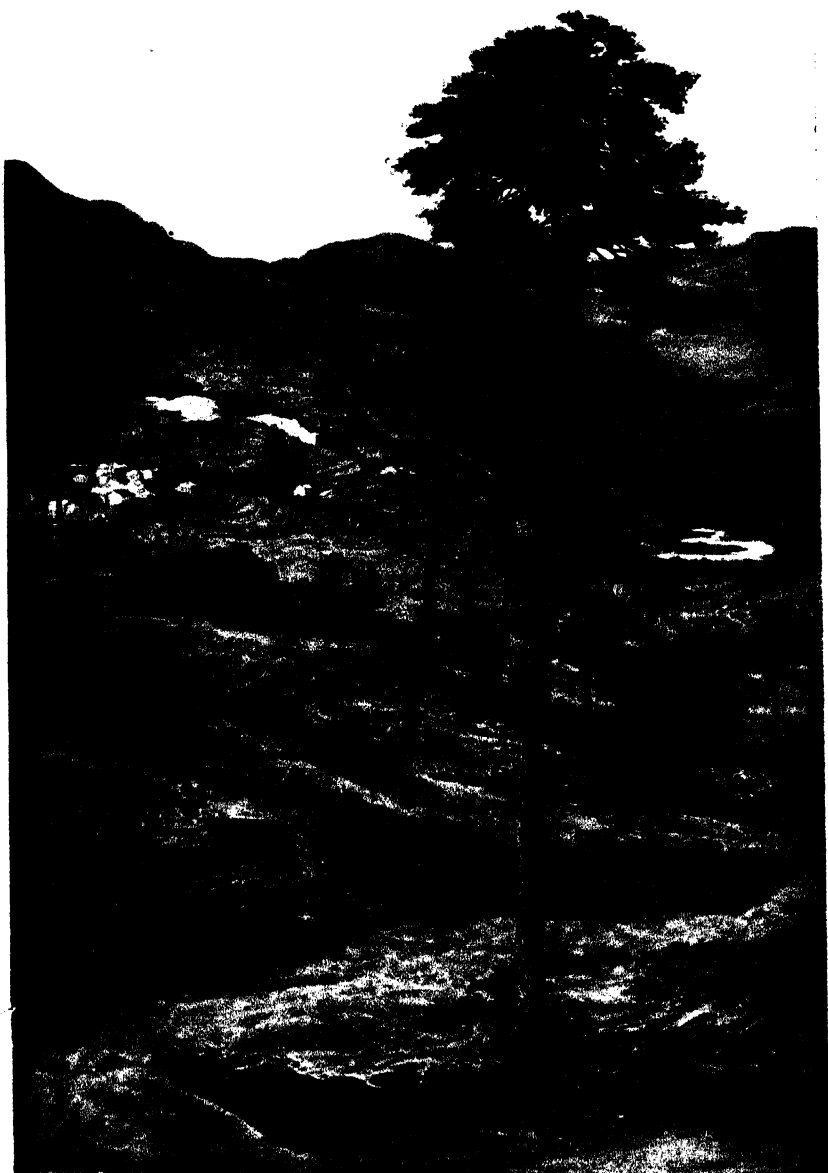
And to-day there are over fifteen chapters of the H. A. A., scattered throughout the U. S. A. at different university centers. During these years Mr. Hemendra K. Rakhit served the H. A. A. as President of several local chapters, twice as President of the H. A. A. itself, organized the Loan and Scholarship Fund of the H. A. A. acting as its Chairman for over a number of years. *The Hindustanee Student*, the official monthly of the Association, may be said to be the fruit mainly of Mr. Rakhit's efforts. To those who know the difficulties of running a magazine in a foreign land, the labours involved in placing the *Student* on a firm foundation will be evident.

One of the most important features of the Student activities in general in America is the Inter-relations of different national groups of students, and the Hindustan Association of America has been one of the actively interested organizations in the entire international student bodies in the U. S. A.

Besides Mr. Rakhit's permanent activities at International House, New York, where nearly 600 students and scholars representing over 60 different nations live, as Head of its Extension Bureau, and his work in connection with the H. A. A., he is constantly called upon to join and lead conferences of all sorts throughout the country. In the World Conference on Education, first organized in San Francisco in 1923, where eminent scholars from all over the World attended, Mr. Rakhit's paper on "India and the World" was received with great applause and much appreciation. Mr. Rakhit has been delegated to the several Cosmopolitan Clubs Conventions, twice to the Canadian Students National Convention at Montreal and Toronto, and the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. Conventions.

The Chinese Students Association in this country invited Mr. Rakhit to edit a special issue of the Chinese Student Monthly, official monthly of the organization commemorating Tagore's visit to China.

He has also been president of the several cosmopolitan clubs at California and Wisconsin, of which university he is a graduate, and in 1920 he was elected Vice-President of the Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs of the U. S. A. He also organized the Young India League, founded by Lala Lajpat Rai. In all his activities he has earned the respect of all.



IN GARHWALL
By Promode Kumar Chatterjee

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.



THE MODERN REVIEW



VOL. XLV
NO. 6

JUNE, 1929

WHOLE NO.
270

A Lesson of Indian History

By JADUNATH SARKAR, M.A., C.I.E.

EFFECT OF NADIR SHAH'S INVASION

THE conquest of Delhi by Nadir Shah (1739) is the most significant event in the history of indigenous India and ought to give us food for the deepest thought.

As its first and most obvious effect, this easy success of the foreigner disgraced India in the eyes of other nations. I shall not speak of the wholesale massacre and mutilation of the men, outrage on the women, and plunder and burning of cities and villages along the victor's line of advance. But Nadir's success set an example and opened a path before the rest of the world, which other enterprising races were not slow to tread as the easiest means of enriching themselves.

The Persian proved in the clearest manner India's impotence for national defence even against small bodies of foreign invaders. He exposed the rottenness of India's indigenous forces and central Government by reason of their palpable failure to discharge the first duty of every State and every living organism, namely self-preservation.

Here is a country of proverbial fertility with a continental vastness of territory and population,—with abundant and cheap labour for all purposes, where Nature aids man by

easing the processes of agriculture and thus increasing the annual addition to the national stock,—where the mildness of the climate reduces human wants to a minimum and thus leaves a huge surplus of produce free to swell the garnered wealth of the land.

Nadir's victory, unlike that of Timur or Babur, was gained not over the lord of a small district round Delhi, not over one out of the many rival and wrangling petty kings of the land,—but over the Emperor of all India except the extreme South. His Mughal opponent was the lawful sovereign of the vast stretch of country from Ghazni to Chittagong and from Kashmir to the Kaveri. This huge empire Muhammad Shah had inherited intact, and as yet none of his provincial governors and sub-kings had thrown off his suzerainty. The hoarded treasures of his ancestors for seven generations were still undissipated.

Our land had been torn by the wars of petty kings and independent provincial dynasties throughout the Pathan period. But the Mughal empire had ended this state of things and brought nearly two-thirds of India together under one sway for over a century and a half, and the central Government had had a very long opportunity of

welding the parts together and organizing their resources under one compact and unitary system by actual administration and experience.

Why then did the heir to such an empire and the master of such resources go down in a single day before a Khorasani shepherd, whose father had lived by selling sheep-skin bags, whose mother died in slavery and who had himself passed his early life as a captive and drudge of robbers? This problem is worth investigating from the point of view of the Indian patriot no less than from that of the student of history.

All political systems and constitutions are mere abstract devices or dead machines; they can act only through human agents. And it is the quality of these human instruments that determines the practical efficacy of any system. The complexion of a Government is determined by the character and intellect of the *men* who must conduct the administration in its actual operation. This is the bed-rock truth in politics, which no amount of rhetoric can conceal for ever.

CAUSES OF INDIA'S NATIONAL WEAKNESS

The fate of India's indigenous empire in the 18th century was not decided by the factor of population, as had been the case with the Roman empire in the fifth century. Here no dying race was overwhelmed by millions of more prolific barbarians, but just the contrary. Population was on *our* side. Hence, the fall of our own Government was one more example of the historic superiority of quality over quantity, of discipline over emotional laxity, of enlightened selfishness and self-control over blind greed and irrational self-indulgence.

The Great Mughals had imposed their peace and oneness of administrative type and official language upon two-thirds of India, but they had not succeeded in creating a homogeneous nation. Provincial isolation, in thought and action, was still hard-set; the oneness of India was not realized. The people of *Delhi* despised those of the Panjab, and so, too, in other provinces. As for the Kashmiri, the estimation in which he was held can be inferred from his "constant epithet" *Bad-bakht* in popular speech. Bengal was a "hell full of bread," and Sindh another "hell" (of the dry variety?) in the eyes of the people of Upper India. In fact, provincial jealousy and parochial or sectarian pride—the very antithesis of nationality, were

in full force. The disastrous effect of this fratricidal spirit among our people was that the frontiers were not recognized as an integral part of our own country, our first line of defence, whose loss meant the loss of the whole empire. When Ghazni and Kabul and even Peshawar fell into the invader's hands, the people of the interior provinces said it was not their concern, they themselves were untouched! They continued their life of pleasure and repose and delayed to send out reinforcements to the threatened frontier. A terrible awakening is always in store for such blind selfishness.

In an empire the Crown is the centre and heart of the nation's power and resources. This centralization must be a reality, a fact of daily experience throughout its territory; and homogeneity of thought and interest must be secured throughout the provinces, otherwise their union will be a superficial one, dissolved at the first touch of adversity. If the central Government is not heartily supported by the provinces, the empire does not exist; it is a mere confederacy of allies or more correctly of ill-concealed enemies. After the death of Aurangzib no Mughal Emperor had the capacity to draw together the resources of all the provinces and make one will obeyed throughout the entire realm. Local autonomy was an accomplished fact, though not yet admitted in theory.

A similar moral decay had infected the lesser leaders. They had no patriotism, no sense of duty, no discipline, and no enlightened selfishness even; but merely vaulting ambition and blind pride and prejudice. There was, however, no lack of honour and personal bravery among the rank and file of the Indian army, and some of the lower officers. But it was rendered ineffectual by the rottenness of the *head*. There was no honest and universally obeyed leader to think out and enforce plans, organize unite and guide these good raw materials, and make their numbers tell. Such individual bravery did our cause no more good than the rush of a wild bull on a Macedonian phalanx. The highest nobles intrigued for self-aggrandizement and the lesser nobles ranked themselves in the rival parties formed by such leaders. The administration was weakened and corrupted by the play of these selfish personal policies in peace time, while in war each noble only tried to make his own terms with the foreigner, leaving his brethren

to their fate. In such a state of society, India's very vastness was a source of weakness rather than of strength, to her.

In the moral decay that seized our aristocracy in the 18th century, there was no force within the Mughal empire that could eliminate the unfit and raise the honest and the able to power. The leading families formed cliques and kept themselves in position and wealth by mutual pact or intrigue against rivals. It was the reign of chicanery here. The outside world was rapidly progressing by ruthlessly destroying the unfit; our possible invaders were growing stronger and more compact, while the exuberant wealth of this land only bred a race of human vermin that buzzed and stung one another in the high places. The wages of sin is death,—for nations no less than for individuals.

REQUISITE CONDITIONS OF MILITARY DEFENCE

In the 18th century our leaders slept on the achievements of their Rajput and Turkish ancestors against foes of a different kind of equipment and a lower degree of civilization. They forgot that in India, more than elsewhere, eternal vigilance is the price of national liberty. Bismarck used to say that Germany, by reason of her geographical position as sandwiched between the mighty and ambitious empires of Russia and France on her two flanks, had to be always on the alert, *toujours en vedette*; she could not relax her military preparedness even for a day. India, too, is confronted by the teeming hungry millions of the Mongolian race on her east and of the Turanian (born-soldiers every one of them) on her west, while her wealth offers the strongest temptation to foreigners. Therefore, India's self-preservation demands that she should be ever on the watch, with her loins girt, her armour shining and her weapons sharpened. She cannot afford to relax her fibres or fall behind other nations in the march of creative (as distinct from adoptive or parasite) civilization and national organization. The centre of her defence must be a military *corps d'élite*, of the superior physical types, trained and maintained in a tiptop condition of fitness by constant exercise intelligent guidance and patriotic ardour of a kind that is not fatal to strength in reserve. Such "first line" troops must be costly, must be treated with exceptional favour; but they are indispensable. Local levies will form the

"second line" behind these, but the fabric of our national defence will tumble down unless we maintain such a "steel frame" in our army. The Later Mughal Emperors forgot this truth, and let their army deteriorate into mere provincial militia, and mere casual assemblages of hurriedly armed peasants, whose number was a terror only to the peasantry whose lands they traversed and the despair of the commissariat department of the Government.

In almost all the historic encounters between the Indians and their foreign invaders, wherever we have lost it has been because we have forgotten that speed is one of the greatest factors of victory, and that mobility cannot be improvised for the occasion but is the result of long, careful and costly previous preparation. While Nadir Shah was thundering at the western gates of India, the princes and nobles in Delhi spent their time in tall talk, in hee-hawing, and—sleeping.

Then comes God's relentless judgment on such a people. Nadir Shah was followed by Ahmad Abdali.

RISE OF AHMAD ABDALI

The Abdali clan of Afghans called themselves Ben-i-Israel, and traced their descent from Benjamin, the son of the Biblical Jacob. Leaving out such pre-historic legends, we find that an ancestor of Ahmad was a disciple of the Muslim saint Khwajah Abu Ahmad Abdal of the Chishti order, and so pleased his Master that the holy man one day called him *abdal* and blessed him. *Abdal* means a man free from earthly bonds, by reason of his close communion with God. This word has become *abdali* on the tongues of the Afghans.

Saddu, a member of this clan, had a son named Khwajah Khizr, who was highly venerated by the Afghans in general as a holy *pir*, and this reverence descended to his offspring. Ahmad, the later conqueror of Delhi, was a Saddu-zai and his ancestors had their home in the Herat district. According to one account, his grandfather Abdullah Khan and father Asadullah migrated from Multan with the boy Ahmad (who had been born there) and settled in Herat, where the first-named became the chieftain of the Abdali clan, who were reputed to have numbered 60,000 households. He later (about 1716 A. D.) seized the fort of Herat from its Persian governor and also the fort of Farah from a Ghilzai chieftain.

reason why you should utter such (unlucky) words as these." Nadir continued, "I know for certain that you will become Emperor. Treat Nadir's descendants well."

The historian Husain adds that Ahmad Shah in the days of his power was always mindful of his late master's appeal. He helped Shahrukh Mirza (the grandson of Nadir), and Ahmad's son Timur Shah followed the same policy, freeing the sons of Shahrukh from captivity at the hands of their fellow tribesmen and escorting them to Mashhad. Shahrukh gave one of his daughters in marriage to Timur Shah, who made her the chief lady of his harem.

AHMAD ABDALI ELECTED KING

In the service of Nadir Shah, Ahmad greatly distinguished himself and rose to be general of that king's Abdali contingent (some four thousand strong). Nadir Shah used often to say in open court, "I have not found in Iran Turan or Hind a man equal to Ahmad Abdali in capacity and character," and made the Abdali troops the favoured guards of his own tent and harem-quarters.

In the morning he marched in full strength towards Nadir's tent. There a wild scene met his eyes. The soldiers and camp-followers threw to the winds the advice and entreaty of their Qizilbash leaders and engaged in indiscriminate plunder. Some broke into the harem tents, some into the public treasury, and some into the store rooms. All was confusion and bustle. As one historian graphically describes it, "The Qizilbash troops plundered the property of Nadir Shah, they stripped one another naked, and each tribe took the way to its home. In short, in four hours from the dawn no trace remained on the ground of the tents and property of Nadir Shah. Everything had been dispersed and had disappeared. (*Verses*):

There is a charming legend that one day Nadir Shah was enjoying the breeze seated on his golden throne and Ahmad was standing before him at a respectful distance, when the king cried out, "O Ahmad Abdali! come forward." Ahmad approached, but Nadir again said, "Come closer still." When Ahmad came up, Nadir Shah told him, "O Ahmad Khan Abdali, remember that after me the kingship will pass on to you. You must treat Nadir's family kindly." Ahmad replied in alarm, "May I be your sacrifice! If you wish to slay me, I am present (for the purpose). But there is no

At night he planned to slay and rob,
At dawn his body had no head and his
 head no crown;
By one revolution of the blue sphere,

Nadir did not remain in his place nor anything of Nadir."

The Afghan contingent, seeing their patron dead, marched off rapidly from the place, in a compact body for self-defence, in fear of a Qizilbash attack. At the end of the third day they halted and held a council. Their captains said among themselves, "On this long journey we need a man whose commands all shall obey. It would be difficult, nay impossible, for us to reach Qandahar with our entire body (women, children, and servants) in the face of the hostility of the Persians unless we have a supreme chieftain. We must obey our leader with all our power, whatever happens." All the Abdalis took this view and chose Ahmad as their commander. Plucking a handful of green grass they fixed it like an aigrette on his head, hailed him as *Ahmad Shah*, and took the road to Qandahar." [*Mujmil*. I have rejected Ferrier.]

Spiritual aid was also secured by the new king. Three days before the death of Nadir, while his camp was pitched at Khabushan, Shah Sabir, a *darvesh* of Lahore, met Ahmad Abdali on his way to Nadir's presence and prophesied, "On your forehead I read the signs of kingship. Give me a packet of cotton that I may weave some (royal) tents and screens for you and read a laudatory ode on your coronation."

It was done, and the holy man made some toy tents and set up before them some clay horses, declaring that they were Ahmad's palace and guards!

Three days afterwards Nadir was killed, and Ahmad did not forget to take the *darvesh* with him during his hurried flight. At the first halt the *darvesh* urged Ahmad, saying, "Now make yourself king." The Khan pleaded his incompetence and lack of materials befitting royal grandeur. But the holy man piled up a small mound of earth and seizing Ahmad's hand placed him on it, saying "This is thy throne." Then, showering some grass [or barley shoots] on his head, declared them as the crest of his crown, and added "You are a *durrani badshah*, (i.e., pearl among kings.)" From that day Ahmad called his tribe *Durrani* and himself *Durr-i-durrani* (pearl among pearls.)

The high honour enjoyed by this *darvesh* is illustrated by the following amusing anecdote which the historian Husain heard from a retainer of Nasir Khan (the Mughal governor of Kabul)—"One day, when I was on a visit with my master to the darbar of Ahmad Shah, I saw that king seated on the throne; a *darvesh*, naked from head to foot with a mud-coated body, was lying on his lap and every minute pulling him by the ear or nose towards himself and saying—O Afghan! you see how I have made you king? And Ahmad Shah was replying to him with great respect and bending of the head."

This *darvesh* (Shah Sabir), after some time, came to Lahore to his kinsfolk and began to shout wildly in the streets and bazars, "I shall set up Ahmad Shah Durrani's standard here."

Moves To Make Indians In Ceylon Political Helots *

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

I

THE developments that have taken place in the Ceylon Indian situation since I wrote the article entitled "Anti-Indian Moves in Ceylon," which appeared in the December issue of the *Modern Review* have strengthened the fears and anxieties that I

then entertained in respect of the political future of our countrymen in this island. Even when I wrote that article I was quite sure that a conspiracy was afoot in the island—that that conspiracy was directed solely against Ceylon Indians—and that if it were allowed to succeed it would condemn the bulk of our people there to political helotry.

Since the publication of the article, however, the conspirators have thrown off their masks and come out into the open. Some

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of the people whom they had tried to inveigle have not only refused to join them but also had the courage to expose the tactics that the anti-Indians were employing. Evidence is therefore available from two separate sources to convict the conspirators.

There is now not a ghost of a doubt that a movement is being carried on in Ceylon to :

(1) deprive Indians in the island of the equality of political privileges which they at present possess ;

(2) exalt all the other communities in Ceylon above them—make them all free ; and

(3) condemn practically cent per cent of Ceylon Indians to political serfdom.

In other words, if the conspiracy succeeds there will be 4,000,000 freedmen in Ceylon and nearly 1,000,000 serfs. The serfs will be our own people, living among free communities, working for them and piling up riches for them.

This is discrimination, invidious and flagrant. It is discrimination directed exclusively against our people. Even the British in Ceylon are not to be adversely affected as our people will be.

Those of my countrymen who read the preceding article on the subject in the December issue of this *Review* no doubt will remember that I had scented this conspiracy even before it had come to the surface. Now that the plotters have thrown off the mask and have also been unmasked, confirmation in abundance is available to prove every assertion that I then made.

II

The position that Ceylon Indians now occupy in respect of franchise is the result of a compact proposed by the Sinhalese, who constitute the majority in the island. That compact was expressly accepted by the Ceylon Government and has also the support of His Majesty's Government. To enable the reader to follow this matter without difficulty I turn the pages of history backwards.

During the autumn of 1921 I had occasion to visit Ceylon. During my stay in Colombo my good offices were sought by a number of Sinhalese and Tamil (the second largest community in the island) leaders to help to forward the cause of nationhood in Ceylon, by smoothing over some of the political differences that prevailed

The Ceylon National Congress had been started two years earlier ; but its founder, Sir Ponnambalam Arunaschalam, a Tamil of great learning and force of character, would then have nothing to do with it. The other important Tamils, with hardly an exception, too, were fighting shy of it.

Finally a conference was held under my presidency at "Stravasti," the palatial home of Mr. W. A. de Silva, with whom I was staying at the time. Mr. de Silva, in his impulsiveness, stated in the course of an interview that he gave, a day or two after the conclusion of the conference, to the *Morning Leader*, of which he was part proprietor, that the problem of nationhood had been solved.

Being much more matter-of-fact than Mr. de Silva, I did not share his enthusiasm, but feared that many more such conferences backed up with persistent, solid work would be needed before the various ethnic elements in Ceylon could be induced to forget their historic hatreds, race and religious prejudices, caste invidiousness, and above all personal jealousies and ambitions, and made to cohere in any constructive national cause. Hardly had my back been turned when persons who had been party to decisions arrived at at that conference failed to observe them, to the undisguised pleasure of those who had kept away from it.

My work was not, however, entirely wasted. On the first of December, 1921—less than twenty-four hours from the time the train bearing me India-wards steamed out of Colombo, the Hon'ble Mr. (now Sir) James Peiris moved a resolution in the Ceylon Legislative Council which contained a courageous proposal designed to incorporate the minorities in the general body politic. The new constitution for which he pressed on that occasion should, he urged, make it possible for "all persons irrespective of race resident in any electorate, otherwise qualified, . . . to vote for the election of a member or members to represent such electorate."

In commending this item—No. 9 in his comprehensive resolution—to the Legislative Council Mr. Peiris made it quite plain that he was not seeking to deprive any community of any special rights that at the time it possessed. The incorporation of such communities in the general territorial electorate was, he stressed, to be supplementary to

communal and special representation and not in substitution of it.

The exercise of the new privilege, Mr. Peiris foresaw, would make it possible, at no distant date, to get rid of communalism. Some persons belonging to minority communities would, he predicted, come in through the territorial electorate. That would inspire confidence. Voting in the territorial electorate would also develop the habit of working together, and that habit would drive out misunderstandings and mistrust, prejudices and jealousies. Once the minority communities were incorporated in the general electorate, he emphasized,

"...they will find that their interests are the interests of the general community, and that there is no dividing line existing between them. They will find further that they will be able to return members of their own communities to the Council through the instrumentality of the general electorate. When that time comes—I hope it will come before the other reform of the Council, the next but one—then perhaps it will be time for us to consider the abolition of communal and special representation."

The Member of the Legislative Council who made this enlightened plea was a distinguished Sinhalese. As a young man he had gone to Cambridge, where his forensic ability was soon recognized and in course of time he was elected President of the Cambridge Union—the first Asiatic to be given that honour. Upon return to Ceylon, he set up practice as a Barrister and made a great name. In 1920 he was elected to the Presidency of the Ceylon National Congress. He spoke in the legislature, therefore, in the dual capacity of representative of the Metropolitan Constituency of Ceylon and President of the Congress. It took great courage for him to do so, for, as indicated in his statement, all his colleagues of the Congress were not in sympathy with his view.

Not a single dissentient voice was raised in the Legislative Council against this item of the Peiris resolution. Not one of the representatives of the Tamils, Muslims, Indians, Burghers (persons of Dutch descent) or Britons had any fault to find with this particular proposal.

His Excellency General Sir William Manning, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Ceylon and its Dependencies, presided at that session. A broad-minded, generous-hearted man, he was anxious to start Ceylon on a constitutional career. He readily saw eye

to eye with Mr. Peiris in regard to giving the minorities an equal voice in the territorial representation. Speaking of it he said :

"Then as regards Section (9), I entirely agree to that. It is, in my opinion, the beginning of wisdom. We are here going to put, I trust, into our constitution a condition which I should have liked to see there from the beginning, and which I hope will in time remove all these difficulties of communal representation."

Following the promulgation, on February 16, 1924, of the Order in Council revising the Constitution of Ceylon, all the minorities—including Ceylon Indians—were incorporated in the territorial electorates while permitted to enjoy special representation. Such incorporation aroused no protest, even though our people, as also the Britons in Ceylon, were non-Ceylonese. The very definition of the term "Indian" incorporated in the Order in Council marked them out as non-Ceylonese. An Indian, for the purpose, was :

"...any person who is a native of British India or of the territories of any Native Prince or Chief under the suzerainty of His Majesty exercised through the Governor-General of India, or through the Governor or other officer subordinate to the Governor-General of India, and is a resident of Ceylon, but is not domiciled therein."

I wish to draw the reader's special attention to the last few words of the definition. They make it as clear as clear can be that our people who were *resident in Ceylon but were not domiciled there* were not only to vote in two special electorates created exclusively for them, but also in the territorial electorates in which they resided, without being subjected to any limitations which were not also imposed upon all the other communities, including persons who had no other domicile than Ceylon.

One of the terms under which franchise was conceded to our people took away in detail, to some extent, the equality that had been given in principle. The literacy test as laid down in the Order in Council, recognized literacy only in English, Sinhalese and Tamil. It had the effect of rendering ineligible Indians who were literate in a language or languages other than those.

The British, as I have often pointed out in my articles, are especially adept at this sort of prestidigitation and ever since I came to Ceylon some two years ago I have been using such influence as I possessed to secure the alteration of this particular term, which presses upon our people.

The question of equality of treatment of

Indians was important from the Indian national—and not merely the material—point of view. Any successful attempt to differentiate against our people would not only place them at the mercy of other communities but would also lower them in the estimation of those communities; and what would be worse still, such discrimination would lower India herself in Ceylon's eyes.

IV

Soon after my arrival in the island I began to see signs that showed that the Indian position in Ceylon was not as secure as it might be. Most of our people had come over from Madras and were Tamils. Hindus predominated among them. Ceylon Tamils did not take much interest in them. The Sinhalese, particularly those who had come under the influence of the Buddhist revival, were more or less hostile to them.

This hostility was partly the result of the friction that for centuries past had existed between the Sinhalese and the Tamils. In ancient times and during the Middle Ages the Tamils had again and again worsted the Sinhalese in open warfare. At times the Tamils had remained in the ascendancy for decades. Not a few Sinhalese, in fact, blamed the Tamils for the break-up of the Sinhalese kingdom.

The Sinhalese hostility toward Indian Tamils was partly due to the fact that most of the immigrants from India engaged in lowly vocations. The bulk of them were employed in producing tea and rubber for British and Sinhalese estate owners. Some of them performed duties that the Sinhalese considered too dirty to engage in, such as removing night-soil and cleaning the streets.

In addition to hostility and aversion, there was also a species of jealousy. Indians in Ceylon are, almost without exception, workers and not shirkers. They are industrious and persevering. Most of them also are thrifty—in spite of the fact that the Sinhalese, in the name of temperance reform, have imposed an excise system upon Indians on tea and rubber estates which encourages drinking. The Sinhalese, on the contrary, are noted neither for their industry nor for their thrift.

In the course of the Budget debate in 1925 a well-known Sinhalese Buddhist leader and ex-President of the Ceylon National Congress (the Hon'ble Mr. D. B. Jayatilake,

for the Colombo District), had seen fit to complain that Government was giving work to Indians in Government factories instead of employing Ceylonese. Remarks to that effect brought a sharp rebuke from a Tamil Hindu (the Hon'ble Mr. S. Rajaratnam, M. L. C.) representing one of the constituencies in the Jaffna Peninsula, which is separated from the Madras Presidency by only a narrow strip of water and which, in respect of physiographical conditions and the characteristics of the people, is closely allied to that part of India. I quote the actual words used by this Member of the Ceylon Legislative Council:

"I think the Honourable Member representing the District of Colombo said yesterday that Indian labour should not be encouraged or employed in the Railway workshops. I thought that the Government would not have taken him seriously on the point. As I find the Director of Public Works has taken note of the same and has replied in detail, I am sorry that I have to make a few observations.

"...The Indian National Congress, the Ceylon National Congress, and other public bodies want that the Indians should have equal rights in all parts of the British Empire, whether it be in Canada, Africa, Australia, or any other part of His Majesty's dominion. But when it concerns Ceylon, why should the ex-President of the Ceylon National Congress take up this uncharitable and inconsistent attitude? I cannot really understand what is going to happen. We say India is our motherland, and we look to India for our food. We have wrongly shut out the sons of our motherland from the Civil Service. We do not want them even in a workshop. It looks as if we were saying 'Let the Indians be latrine coolies and estate coolies and no better.' I am afraid, Sir, the time may come when perhaps the Indian Government, as a result of Indian opinion, will say 'Good-bye, gentlemen in Ceylon, no food for you, no labour for you.' Are we really prepared for such a contingency?"

More than one Sinhalese who appeared before the Donoughmore Commission on Constitutional reform spoke in a manner that showed that he was chafing under the arrangement which gave the Indian equal political status with the Briton and the Ceylonese.

A Buddhist Sinhalese schoolmaster made an attempt to commit the Ceylon National Congress to discrimination against the Ceylon Indians at its 1927 session, while the Donoughmore Commission was still making its investigation. I happened to be present on the occasion—I was, in fact, seated on the platform near the President, the Hon'ble Mr. W. A. de Silva. The move was so

Congress had pursued in this matter that it was defeated without any difficulty. No one seemed to be happier at the result than the Congress President.

This was in December, 1927. Seven months later the situation was entirely changed. All desire to weld the minorities together with the majority in national solidarity had disappeared. The pent-up passions of centuries had asserted themselves in the Sinhalese breast and a stream of lava poured from the erupting volcano of historic hatred menacing the very existence of Ceylon Indians.

On September 1, 1928, the same Mr. W.A. de Silva who, eight months earlier, had seemed to be pleased at the defeat of the motion politically to handicap the Ceylon Indians, actually suggested that the Congress, which, under his presidency, was meeting in a special session, should embark upon such a course. A number of Buddhist-Sinhalese, many of them, like himself, large employers of Indian labour, sat at his right and left and aided and abetted him.

As I related in the article that I contributed to the December issue of this *Review* how the agitation was got up and how it had been stimulated, it is not necessary for me to deal with it here. I stated, in that article, that at the moment of writing a motion that sought, on the one hand, to give the vote to every adult Sinhalese, and on the other to prevent almost every Ceylon Indian from being enfranchised, was pending before the Ceylon Legislative Council. I shall deal as briefly as I can with the fate that that resolution met in the Council.

As I have already written, the Hon'ble Mr. A. F. Molamure, the author of that motion, is a Buddhist Sinhalese. As soon as he got to the part of his motion that, in my opinion, had been directed against Indians, he came out from cover. To quote him :

"Now I come to the other part of the resolution, which I feel is more delicate than the one I have dealt with already. I refer to the case of non-Ceylonese British subjects ; and I say that the literacy qualification should be added to the proposed five years' residential qualification. I shall come to the alternative later.* It has been said that this resolution of mine is brought with the object of keeping out a large number of Indian

voters. There is no use of any camouflage in this matter ; I will boldly admit that that is so."

This confession is both naive and unblushing. Its author was, at the time he uttered these words, a member of the Executive Committee of the Ceylon National Congress. He is now its Vice-President. Only a few weeks before he made this statement he was acting as an unofficial member of the Ceylon Executive Council. A man occupying such a position—and a lawyer, too—would be expected to have a sense of responsibility and to show some consistency. He, however, proposed to jettison an arrangement which, by common consent, placed Ceylon Indians on the same basis with the other communities in Ceylon in respect of franchise. Such jettisoning was to be done to prejudice the position of Indians—and Indians alone.

Mr. Molamure could have dared to pursue such a course of invidious and flagrant discrimination against Ceylon Indians only because he felt that they were helpless—only because he must have thought that he could do so with perfect impunity. He knew, on the other hand, that the other non-Ceylonese British subjects (the Britons in Ceylon) were much too powerful to be tackled in the same way. He, therefore, left them severely alone and, in fact, as I shall show a little later, actually put forward proposals to improve the British position.

So cock-sure was this Buddhist Sinhalese of the inability of Ceylon Indians to resist the open attack that he was making upon their political status that he went ahead and cited certain figures which showed that even if only one of the limitations that he sought to place upon them (the literacy test) were applied to them, the bulk of our people in the island would be rendered ineligible to vote. I shall quote his words as they appear in the *Ceylon Hansard* after correction by him :

"I took the trouble to look up the Census of 1921 to find out what percentage of the Indians are literate. The total number of Indians in 1921 was 493,944, and of this number 114,830 were literate. So that, the proportion of literates was about one-fourth of the population."

In other words, by proposing the literacy test, which the Donoughmore Commission had rejected, Mr. Molamure made sure that at least four-fifths of Ceylon Indians would be excluded from the electoral register. His intentions were, in reality, much more

* This part of Mr. Molamure's motion contained (1) substantive proposals and (2) an alternative proposal. The full terms will be found in the author's article in the December issue of the *Modern Review*.

sinister. The literacy test that he proposed was ability to read and write English, Sinhalese and Tamil "one of the languages of this country." Through its imposition Ceylon Indians who were literate in Malayalam (as several thousand were) and other Indian languages but did not know the so-called languages of the country, would be treated as illiterate and disqualified. The literacy test was moreover, to be coupled with a residential qualification stiff enough, by itself, to exclude a very large proportion of both literate and illiterate Indians.

The legislator who unblushingly pressed proposals so prejudicial to the material interests as well as the national honour of Ceylon Indians had, nevertheless, the hardihood to declare that he was not anti-Indian. What would have been his potentiality if he really were anti-Indian !

Through the alternative part of the motion Mr. Molamure sought to improve the position of the British and at the same time to heap additional handicaps on the Ceylon Indians. He also tried to split the ranks of Ceylon Indians—to make the propertied Indians leave their poor countrymen in the lurch.

This triple object was to be attained by proposing a residential qualification of one year instead of the five years recommended by the Donoughmore Commission ; and the imposition of a property or income qualification and literacy in English, Sinhalese or Tamil. In asking the Ceylon Legislative Council to adopt this alternative, Mr. Molamure exhorted :

"The reason why I brought that (the alternative) in is that there are a large number of people in the European community who would get disfranchised by the five years' residential qualification ; and I also feel that there are a large number of Indians who come to this island and who though they may be disfranchised would come in under the alternative. To take a personal example, I would refer to the Agent in charge of the Indian immigrants here. Is it not fair and right that people like him should have a vote if they have been in the island for a year ? I say that people like him are people who can take an intelligent interest in any electorate and in the affairs of the country in which they live. It is not fair simply by reason of their not being here for five years that they should be shut out from exercising this privilege. I feel sure that this alternative would bring in a large number of members of the European community who would be otherwise disfranchised."

If Mr. Molamure's plea had been accepted, all the British adults in Ceylon with the exception of a few newcomers would have been given the vote, whereas nearly all the

Indians in the island would, through the property or income or literacy test, be excluded from the register.

VI

A word needs to be said about the attitude of the Ceylon Indians in the matter. Few of them have taken any active part at least openly in combating the propaganda carried on by Mr. Molamure and his anti-Indian colleagues in and outside the Ceylon Legislative Council.

The Hon'ble Mr. K. Natesa Aiyar, M. L. C., has, I am happy to say, used his pen and tongue in defence of our people's rights. So has Mr. K. Satiavaghisvara Aiyar, a young advocate. One or two other Indians have written a stray letter or two to the press. There have been a few conferences at one of which, to my knowledge, the Hon'ble Mr. I. X. Pereira, M. L. C., Mr. K. Natesa Aiyar and the Government of India Agent, Mr. A. N. Hydari, I. C. S., were present. Both the Indian Members have, of course, spoken from their places in the Council.

With these few exceptions the Ceylon Indians have chosen to maintain silence. That has been the case even with professional and business men, many hundred strong.

In the absence of any explanation only one conclusion is possible. The well-to-do Indians in Ceylon feel that they are more or less at the mercy of the Sinhalese and have chosen to place their own pecuniary interests above the cause of their countrymen. In this respect the Ceylon Indians have not shown the patriotism that our countrymen have exhibited in South Africa and other units of the British Empire. I must say that I have been greatly disappointed in them.

I have thus been compelled to step into the breach. For months I have done all that lay in my power to counter every anti-Indian move. The anti-Indian agitators, unable to answer my arguments, have time and again tried to stab me in the back. Undeterred by personal abuse, I have gone on with the crusade single-handed.

Credit must, however, be given to the wealthy Indians in Ceylon for possessing the wisdom to realize that Mr. Molamure had thrown the apple of discord among them and the moral courage to fling it back at him. There are plenty of men of conservative views among them. A property qualification has great fascination for all such Indians. I was afraid at one stage that they would

fall victims to Mr. Molamure's blandishments. Upon arguing with them I, however, found them to be reasonable. Mr. Molamure and his anti-Indian colleagues discovered, in the end, that not one Indian—not even the Agent of the Government of India of whom he had specifically spoken—would feather his own nest and leave the bulk of the Ceylon Indians out in the cold.

VII

The failure of the attempt to detach the rich from the poor Indians in Ceylon has had the effect of compelling the anti-Indian M. L. C.'s to concentrate their energies upon the effort to win the British to their side. With that end in view Mr. W. A. de Silva, then President of the Ceylon National Congress, proposed an amendment to Mr. Molamure's substantive motion. If accepted it would have reduced the residential qualification to six months instead of one year, and thereby made it possible for nearly every British adult in the island to get on the register. The literacy test would not have mattered in their case, for English was to be one of the prescribed languages. Nor would property or income qualifications make any difference to them for the minimum income limit was to be Rs. 50 per mensem.

The de Silva amendment would, on the other hand, have imposed a further handicap upon our people. It would have subjected them to income or property as well as to literacy and residential qualifications. It will be remembered that Mr. Molamure's substantive motion did not propose income or property qualifications.

The amendment also gave Mr. W. A. de Silva the opportunity to throw dust in the eyes of persons unfamiliar with the situation in Ceylon. The wording was such as to give the impression that no rights previously conceded were being taken away from the non-Ceylonese.

The dishonesty of that suggestion was patent to any one familiar with the situation. To-day, as has already been pointed out, Indians enjoy franchise rights on par with Sinhalese and Tamils and other Ceylonese. Mr. de Silva and the Sinhalese co-operating with him would, however, give the vote to every adult among themselves. They would also give the vote to every adult among the British who had been in the country for six months. They would, on the other hand,

prevent practically every Indian from getting on the register.

I exposed these tactics in the press in Ceylon and India. So flagrantly unjust were the Molamure and de Silva proposals that they were voted down in the legislature—though the Sinhalese constitute the largest single *bloc* in the House and all the Sinhalese present, with one exception, cast their votes against equality of treatment to Indians. Almost all the representatives of the minorities stood out for justice to our people in Ceylon.

Mr. Molamure's substantive proposal was defeated by the acceptance of an amendment imposing the literacy test upon all voters, whether Indian, British or Ceylonese, of which I shall write in a subsequent section of this article. The alternative proposal was defeated by two votes. Mr. W. A. de Silva's amendment was lost by six votes.

IX

Who are these anti-Indians? What is their race? What is their religion? What are their interests?

I already have had something to say in regard to these matters. I wish, however, to supplement it with information derived from authoritative sources. With that end in view I propose to examine the list of persons who, according to the *Ceylon Hansard*, gave their votes to Mr. de Silva's amendment, which, I have shown, would have hit Ceylon Indians the hardest. Here is the list:

Ayes—13

The Hon'ble Mr. E. W. Pereira
 The Hon'ble Mr. E. R. Tambimuttu
 The Hon'ble Mr. A. C. G. Wijeyekoon
 The Hon'ble Mr. C. W. W. Kannangara
 The Hon'ble Mr. N. J. Martin
 The Hon'ble Mr. C. E. Victor Corea
 The Hon'ble Mr. G. E. Madawala
 The Hon'ble Mr. A. F. Molamure
 The Hon'ble Mr. D. S. Senanayake
 The Hon'ble Mr. V. S. de Silva Wikramanayake
 The Hon'ble Mr. W. A. de Silva
 The Hon'ble Mr. P. B. Rambukwelle
 The Hon'ble Mr. G. R. de Silva

Of the thirteen members who voted in favour of politically handicapping Indians in Ceylon, only one, Mr. E. R. Tambimuttu, is a Tamil and one, Mr. N. J. Martin, is a Burgher. The remaining eleven are all Sinhalese.

Three of these eleven Sinhalese, Mr. E. W. Pereira, Mr. Wijeyekoon and Mr. C. E. Victor Corea, are Christians. The remaining

eight, so far as I know, are Buddhist by religion.

Among the Christian Sinhalese who voted with the Buddhists at least one—Mr. Wijeyekoon—gets his wealth through the sweat of the Indian brow. So do Mr. W. A. de Silva, Mr. D. S. Senanayake and Mr. G. R. de Silva.

Not one of these four planter-politicians gave a silent vote. They, in fact, delivered speeches that were openly hostile to Indians and some of them exceedingly bitter.

Mr. Wijeyekoon counselled his colleagues to take a leaf out of Australia's—or at least out of Burma's—book. He even went to the length of misrepresenting the utterances of distinguished Indians to support his contentions. He, for instance, contended that Mr. Shanmuga Chettiar—the Chief Whip of the Swarajist Party of the Legislative Assembly—had stated at a function in Colombo that "the Australians were fully justified in the policy they adopted in keeping out Indians."

Another of these Sinhalese planter-politicians who is growing fat on Indian toil suggested to his fellow M. L. C.'s that they shape their Indian policy on the pattern of the white colonists of Kenya. Mr. D. S. Senanayake said, as recorded in the *Ceylon Hansard* :

"We know that in Kenya they (the white colonists) have resorted to differentiation. There they say that the Indians, who are British subjects, should not have the vote or equal rights because the interests of the native should be safeguarded. But the Englishmen here say that the Indians should have the vote because they are British subjects. Well, then what would happen to the interests of the natives here?"

Mr. G. R. de Silva—another Sinhalese who derives his wealth through Indian labourers, also asked his people to treat Indians in Ceylon as "the self-governing Dominions and several of the British Colonies"—particularly Australia—were doing.

Mr. W. A. de Silva went further than anyone else. Knowing that the majority of the Council were definitely opposed to his plea for discrimination against Ceylon Indians he uttered the threat that if the Government shaped its policy in conformity with that wish of the Council "there will be no non-co-operation but there will be trouble."

The examination of the list of the M. L. C.'s who voted with Mr. W. A. de Silva offers conclusive evidence that outside the Sinhalese and Buddhist Sinhalese at that—there is little opposition to the treatment

of Ceylon Indians on the same basis as the Ceylonese in future as to-day. That conclusion derives additional strength from an analysis of the list of M. L. C.'s who voted against the Ceylon National Congress President's proposals. They were :

Noes—19

The Hon'ble Mr. N. H. M. Abdul Cadar
The Hon'ble Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan, Kt.,
K. C., C. M. G.

The Hon'ble Mr. W. Duraiswamy
The Hon'ble Mr. A. Canagaratnam
The Hon'ble Mr. C. H. Z. Fernando
The Hon'ble Mr. H. R. Freeman
The Hon'ble Mr. T. B. Jayah
The Hon'ble Mr. H. M. Macan Markar
The Hon'ble Mr. A. Mahadeva
The Hon'ble Mr. I. X. Pereira
The Hon'ble Mr. S. Rajaratnam
The Hon'ble Mr. M. M. Subramaniam
The Hon'ble Mr. G. A. H. Wille
The Hon'ble Mr. T. M. Saba Ratnam
The Hon'ble Mr. T. L. Villiers
The Hon'ble Mr. K. Natesa Aiyar
The Hon'ble Mr. George Brown
The Hon'ble Mr. M. J. Carey

In this list the name of only a single Sinhalese—Mr. C. H. Z. Fernando—is to be found. Though an employer of Indian labour he is highly socialized and takes active interest in the welfare of workers.

All the Tamil Members, with one exception—Mr. Tambimuttu, who has already been accounted for—refused to countenance the anti-Indian move. All the three Muslim Members, the two Indian Members, and all the four unofficial Britons, including Mr. Freeman (a British ex-Government Agent who represents a Ceylonese constituency) stood out for justice to Indians. One Burgher Member—Mr. Wille—too, voted with them, thus negating the one Burgher vote cast in favour of Mr. W. A. de Silva's proposal.

The representatives of all the minorities in the legislature, in fact, united to defeat the Buddhist-Sinhalese machinations. Judging by the speeches that many of these members made, they were convinced of the justice of the Indian cause. They knew, moreover, that if the Sinhalese were permitted to make political helots of Ceylon Indians to-day, they would take the earliest opportunity to mete out the same fate to the other minorities.

X

It is a matter for no small gratification that the frontal attack made by Mr. Molamure and Mr. de Silva with the Sinhalese standing in a phalanx behind them failed. Unfortunately,

however, some of the minority members who did not believe in franchise upon a broad basis combined with some of the reactionary Sinhalese to recommend the imposition of a literacy test upon all voters.

The amendment to that effect had been proposed by a Tamil Member, Mr. Tambimuttu. He, it may be remembered, voted in favour of Mr. de Silva's anti-Indian amendment. Mr. Molamure had at one time sat at his feet when he was employed as a schoolmaster. So had Mr. D. S. Senanayake, an employer of Indian labour, who also stood four-square behind Mr. Molamure and Mr. W. A. de Silva.

Just before Mr. Tambimuttu's amendment was put to the vote he moved for the deletion of a clause that appeared to have been put in specially to safeguard the interests of Indians literate in languages other than English, Sinhalese or Tamil. Confusion prevailed in the Council Chamber to such an extent that not one of the Members who had stood out against injustice to Indians pressed for a division in time. The amendment as adopted, therefore, would keep up the present system whereby Indians literate in Malayalam and other languages are not counted as literate.

XI

The Secretary of State for the Colonies has yet to have his say. The Labour Party in Britain is bringing all the pressure that it can command to induce him to ignore this reactionary limitation urged by the Ceylon Legislative Council.

The anti-Indians are, in the meantime, busy going about the country rousing the population against Indians. They are saying that if Indians are given equality of treatment in future as in the past they will be able to impose their will upon the Ceylonese. Their will also, they declare, be an invasion from India for the sake of exercising the franchise and being elected to the Council.

Such arguments are, of course, without rhyme or reason. There are less than a million Indians, most of them are poor and unlettered, in Ceylon as against more than four million Ceylonese. There can, therefore, be no question of Indians acquiring the power to dominate.

It is, moreover, to be remembered that most of the Indians in Ceylon have not come to the island of their own initiative, but have actually been brought to it. Agents

known, as Kanganies are sent in shoals to the Madras Presidency and neighbouring Indian States to offer all sorts of inducements to lure them, and on top of that a large and costly establishment presided over by a British ex-planter carries on propaganda for purposes of recruitment, and manages the processes of recruitment and the sending of Indian recruits to Ceylon.

Some 50,000 Indians leave the island for India annually. During certain years the number is much larger. If the process of bringing Indians from India were stopped, the Indian population would soon be reduced to a small fraction of what it is to-day.

The dishonesty of the tactics employed is especially demonstrated by the fact that there is not the least desire—there certainly is no agitation—to end the recruiting system. Some of the anti-Indian agitators, in fact, would be ruined if further supplies of Indian labour were denied to them.

In this connection I must call attention to certain statements made by Mr. Molamure in the course of his speech winding up the debate on his motion. He said that he was a planter in a small way, and that he did not employ—and did not wish to employ—any Indians. To quote his exact words:

"I do not employ a single Tamil labourer on my estate. I never employed a single Tamil labourer and I hope I never shall, not because I have an antipathy towards Tamil labourers but because I wish to employ my own people."

Admirable sentiments these. Why do not the Sinhalese who are co-operating with Mr. Molamure in anti-Indian moves follow his example in this respect? When will Mr. W. A. de Silva, Mr. D. S. Senanayake, Mr. A. C. G. Wijeyekoon, Mr. G. R. de Silva, and the other anti-Indian Sinhalese planter-politicians send away their Indian labourers and employ their own people? I have a shrewd suspicion that they will continue to exploit Indian workers and try to keep those workers down so long as the Government of India does not intervene and stop their labour supply.

XII

The anti-Indian agitation that is now being carried on in Ceylon is due, in a measure, to the fear that possesses the heart of the anti-Indian Councillors. In seeking to impose the literacy test upon their own people—and not merely upon Indians—they have placed powerful weapon in the hands

of their political opponents. Labour leaders and other democrats have been denouncing them as reactionaries—and quoting in support statements made by Mr. W. A. de Silva and others before the Donoughmore Commission showing that they have been all along anxious to keep the privilege of voting confined to a narrow clique which they themselves could easily influence.

The frantic efforts made by the reactionaries to rehabilitate themselves with the people have led to their unmasking in regard to their designs upon Ceylon Indians, too. On February 16th the anti-Indians met in great force under the presidency of Mr. W. A. de Silva at the Town Hall in Colombo, denounced Ceylon Indians as a "million parasites," and passed a resolution denying them the vote because they did not have an "abiding interest" in the island. A day or two following the flow of turbid oratory the Hon'ble Mr. Forrester A. Obeyesekere, a Sinhalese M. L. C., who, at the time of the debate, was absent from the island, sent a letter to the press in which he exposed the de Silva tactics. He wrote:

"You cannot eat your cake and have it. We thank the (Donoughmore) Commissioners for removing communalism but insist on differentiating against Indians.

"Mr. W. A. de Silva protested at the meeting (held in the Colombo Town Hall on February 16th) that the 'abiding interest' referred to was not directed against Europeans, but Mr. Godamune (another Sinhalese leader from the up-country district) said: 'that he and others protesting against the extension of the franchise who had come from India or perhaps from England, etc., etc., who, while being temporary sojourners, tried to wrest from us the power of Government.' Only last Friday Mr. de Silva assured a well-known gentleman in my presence that all Englishmen in Ceylon had an 'abiding interest.'

"So, whatever the language used at the meeting which might have appealed to popular sentiment, we are expected to differentiate in regard to Indians only."

Mr. Obeyesekere, I may state, comes of a family which is held in high esteem in the island. He is a *goigama* by caste, which is considered higher than the *karave*, to which Mr. de Silva belongs. Mr. Obeyesekere is a Christian while Mr. de Silva is a Buddhist. Two clansmen of Mr. de Silva opposed Mr. Obeyesekere at the last election but failed to keep him out of the Council. Both the legislators are adherents of the Ceylon National Congress, but by birth, breeding, life experience and religion they

are poles apart in thought and methods of work.

A few days later Mr. Obeyesekere's statement was confirmed by another revelation from a totally different source. The Hon'ble Mr. T. L. Villiers, who, I understand from a Sinhalese friend, is a grandson of the Earl Russell, delivered a lengthy address at the meeting of the European Association, in the course of which he exposed the W. A. de Silva tactics. Here is a brief excerpt from his lengthy statement, as reported in the *Times of Ceylon*:

"I had hoped that after the long and thorough debates that took place in the Legislative Council we should now be left in peace until such time as the Secretary of State for the Colonies should reply to H. E. the Governor's despatch, but on Saturday last (February 16th) the Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva thought fit to preside at a meeting at the Town Hall (which is reported to have been very crowded) called by means of signatures to a paper, and to have moved a resolution there which might have a very definite effect on European interests.

"Now he opened his remarks by saying that the meeting had been called to discuss a matter which was very much in the minds of all the Ceylonese and that he had received no unfavourable criticism except from a 'tainted source.' And he moved, or subsequently a resolution was moved, to the effect that the franchise should only be granted to those who have an 'abiding interest in the country.'

"I would like to say that in the lobby of the Legislative Council on both Thursday and Friday last the holding of this meeting was fully discussed and I venture to say that a very large number of those present felt that a meeting of that sort at the present time was inopportune, but, I believe, the reason for it is this that when the Commission's Report arrived originally and it was seen that there was to be adult suffrage a paper was sent round calling for the names of those who wished to oppose any such extension. That paper, gentlemen, has been burning in Mr. de Silva's pocket ever since. He felt he must do something with it and eventually he agreed to preside at that meeting.

"He even proceeded to point out this 'tainted source' of criticism and he made a very virulent attack on a certain journalist whose articles have appeared in the local Press for some months past. The gentleman he refers to also wrote certain criticisms of planting matters, to which no little exception was taken by the planting community, but during that time he was a friend of the Ceylonese, he was a 'great man' and a 'true journalist'—so much so that in his hands was placed a commission for taking photographs of Ceylon railway scenery and publishing a handbook on it. They could not have put the work into better hands. I have seen those photographs. They are a credit to the man and they will reflect much of the beauty of the country. He was selected by the Finance Committee for that work as the man to do the job, but as he wandered about the country and understood the position, he began to write on Indian matters and the Indian position

in a way that was not so acceptable, and then this bosom friend was attacked first of all in the Legislative Council and has now received a further attack from Mr. W. A. de Silva. I do not hold any brief for that particular writer, but it shows how quickly men change when they find something that touches their own personal views.

"The resolution that was put forward contained these words—'an abiding interest.' There is something a little bit sanctimonious about this 'abiding interest' somehow or other. It is one of those nebulous phrases which you can handle in all sorts of ways, but the interpretation of the expression as applied to the franchise was explained to us in the lobby by the Chairman of that meeting (Mr. W. A. de Silva), and certainly I for one was given to understand, 'Oh, it won't affect the European. Nearly all of them have a share in some company or they rent a house. That is an abiding interest.'

"The Indian members, I think, were assured, 'Oh, no, no, it doesn't touch you. You have an abiding interest. You have your shops and your businesses.

"In other words, he was representing to those who criticized the holding of this meeting that this term 'abiding interest' was only to refer to the Indian immigrant labourer. To put the matter quite plainly, the capitalist was to have the vote, but not the labourer."

No words of mine are needed to supplement that statement. There never was any doubt in my own mind as to what the objective of the Sinhalese agitators was. If, however, there was any doubt in anyone's mind, no room is left for it.

These Sinhalese are out to discriminate

against Ceylon Indians, openly and flagrantly. While preventing our people, with the exception of a minute minority, from getting on the electoral register, they are determined to make it possible for all Ceylonese and British adults in Ceylon to become enfranchised.

XIII

This, then, is the Ceylon Indian situation to-day. It will ultimately depend upon India whether the anti-Indian Sinhalese are able to discriminate against our people in the island: for India holds the whip hand, Ceylon cannot exist without food and labour from India.

If the agitation against our people enjoying, in the new era, voting privileges on a basis of equality with the other communities in Ceylon—as they do to-day—succeeds, the material interests of our nationals there will be prejudiced. Fancy exploiters of Indian labour alone having representation in the Ceylon Legislative Council!

The matter touches our honour and not merely our people's pocket. If nearly a million Indians are reduced to political vassalage in Ceylon while all the other communities are made free, India—which, by raising her little finger can prevent such barefaced injustice—will find it difficult to hold her head high.

All I can do is to ring the tocsin. It is for India to act.

The Rise of America as Britain's Rival

By JAGADISAN M. KUMARAPPA, M.A., PH. D.

(Alias John J. Cornelius)

IT is commonly held that the opening of each new century means in some mysterious way the incoming of a new era and the passing away of a notable landmark in world's affairs. Whether there is any truth in this or not, there can be no doubt, however, as to the profoundly significant course of world events during the first quarter of this century. The nineteenth century was most marked by the colonial

and commercial expansion of Europe and its dominant place in world affairs. But the economic changes and political events of the first quarter of the twentieth century point to the gradual decline of Europe and the rapid rise of America as the greatest industrial and financial power of the world. The most significant aspect of this new position is the gradual decline of Great Britain's importance in world trade, and the

steady growth of America as her commercial rival.

The principal economic spheres of influence of the United States are reflected in the following figures of investments made during the year 1927: America invested in that year \$571,000,000 in Europe; in Latin America, \$359,000,000; in Canada, \$268,000,000; in the Far East, \$145,000,000; in the possessions of the United States, \$32,000,000. On the other hand, Great Britain, within the same period, absorbed only \$130,000,000 of European securities; she invested \$118,000,000 in Latin America; \$172,000,000 in Africa and \$255,000,000 in the Far East; in her own Dominion of Canada she invested only the small sum of \$51,000,000. These figures show how powerful is the financial penetration of America even into territories where Great Britain was once predominant. Britain's attempts to avert this development have proved futile. New York bankers now control enterprises all over the world and hold at their mercy governments which they can reduce to bankruptcy with a mere stroke of the pen; America's power, as the world's banker, is really without precedent in history.

Not only financially but commercially also America has come to occupy a foremost place in international trade, and has made for herself a place in the economic structure of the world corresponding to her needs and resources. Her foreign trade reveals three principal currents. The first one is directed to countries, like Canada and Australia, whose economic wants are much similar to those of the United States. The second one flows into countries, like France and Germany, which are economically more developed. But the third, and the most important, current is that which carries goods to countries, such as those of the tropics, of lower economic development. In this connection a fact that should be noted is that a generation ago America exported mainly raw materials to industrially more advanced countries and imported manufactured goods from them, but now this situation has changed radically, so much so, that to-day her imports are primarily raw materials, of which about a quarter comes from the tropics.

The World War curtailed European activities in Asia and Latin America, and created tremendous openings in those places for the United States. Besides, an outstanding

development of this time which has been of very great importance to American trade, is the shift in trade routes for ordinary raw materials, many of which had hitherto been reaching American factories by way of European distributors. Since 1915 there has been a steady growth of a direct Trans-Pacific interchange between America and the Far East. Rubber, vegetable oil, and tin were being brought directly from the Far East and South America to the United States instead of by way of Europe. Such was also the case with cocoa, dyewoods, furs and numerous other commodities, which used to pass through the hands of European intermediaries before reaching their American destination. By the end of the war, Boston, for instance, had succeeded in supplanting London as the centre for American purchases of hides and wool. Further, it must be pointed out that this direct interchange applies not only to the handling of east-bound silk, fibres, rubber, skins, etc., but also to a much more intensive effort on the part of the manufacturers to establish the distribution of American textiles, machinery, automobiles and specialties in Oriental centres without recourse to European intermediary agencies. This direct method of interchange has resulted in advancing steadily American trade and displacing gradually European and British commodities in competitive markets of Asia and Latin America.

With her rapidly growing industrialism, the United States is becoming more and more dependent on the tropics for her raw materials. A recent bulletin of the United States Department of Agriculture shows that the total value of the principal tropical imports,—coffee, sugar, rubber,—is about \$1,000,000,000, and that fruits, spices, nuts, oilseeds, tobacco, hemp and sisal, tea, woods and the gum from the tropics are imported in about the same value. Her tremendous industrial expansion makes America an insatiable purchaser of raw materials; she empties Asia of her raw silks, Cuba of her sugar, and the British and Dutch East Indies of their rubber. She takes a large share of the Chinese furs and nuts, of Brazilian coffee, Chilean nitrate and copper, Australian wool crop and Mexican petroleum and minerals. Among all these imports the increase in the quantity of rubber is most striking; it is now nine times what it was in 1909. While the volume of tea imported is about the same as it was in the early

years of the century, the volume of coffee has increased 50 per cent; and the imports in sugar, oils, cocoa and cocoanut meat show even a greater increase.

The United States imports cocoanuts by the millions. The meat or copra, when dried, provides oil not only for industrial uses but for substitutes for cod-liver and other oils. After the extraction of the oil, the copra makes food for livestock. The shell is worked into combs, spoons drinking bowls, linoleum and other articles. The outer fibre of the nut is used to make felt. The stem goes into furniture, sail boats and lumber for houses. Potash and phosphoric acid come from the husk. Palm leaves are used for roofs, brooms, mats, baskets and fodder for cattle. The unripe husk is made into preserves and young leaves into pickle. Cement, vinegar and gum are also got out of it. Multitude of products from the cocoanut tree find a ready market in the United States. Among the Latin American countries which ship them, Jamaica, Trinidad and Panama head the list. Other parts of the tropics too, such as the Philippines, find a lucrative outlet there for their cocoanut products. Ceylon and the Philippine Archipelago fill with their desiccated cocoanut and cocoanut oil the holds of many ships bound for the United States. One billion pounds of cocoanut oil alone are consumed annually in the manufacture of soaps, candy, margarine, glycerine, cosmetics and other goods; this oil is freely used now in the place of animal fats, on which hitherto the manufacture of the above articles solely depended.

The present trade interests of America are centred in the countries and islands that lie to the south of her, in the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies and Malaysia. It is interesting to note that between the years 1910 and 1914, Europe supplied 49·6 per cent. of the imports of the United States whereas between the years 1921 and 1925, European supply decreased to 30·4 per cent. of the American imports. On the other hand, Asia, and Oceania, which supplied only 16·3 of the imports of the United States in 1910 and 1914, increased to 28·9 between 1921 and 1925. Such was the growth of American trade in the tropics by the end of the first quarter of this century. But now her trade is growing even more rapidly. America's ever increasing activity in the Far East is well illustrated by the fact that in 1928, according to the statistics compiled by the

American Chamber of Commerce, her exports to China increased by about fifty per cent., and her exports to Japan amounted to \$250,000,000. Though the latter represents only about 5 per cent. of the export trade of the United States, yet it indicates an 8 per cent. increase. It must also be noted that while the total export with South America during the year 1928 showed only an increase of 7½ per cent., the total export of the United States to Asia increased during the same period by \$10,000,000 or about 12 per cent. Though Great Britain was pre-eminent in Asian trade till the beginning of the war, the above figures clearly show that the United States is gaining ground in the Orient at the expense of Britain.

If we turn our attention to Latin America, there again one notices a similar phenomenon. Within the past fifteen years American investments in South American countries have increased twelvefold, amounting to \$2,215,000,000 at the beginning of 1928 as against \$183,000,000 of the pre-war period. During the same period American commerce also advanced from \$328,000,000 to \$959,200,000, a gain of almost 200 per cent. in her trade with her southern neighbours. Another significant fact is that in 1927 the United States sold more goods to Latin America than were sold by her three competitors,—Germany, France and Great Britain. In fact, she sold more than what was sold by all these three combined. And Latin America, in turn, sold to the United States more than she did to her three important European customers. Of all the leading rivals for Latin American trade, the United States alone has made signal progress in the volume of its exports over that of 1913. The volume of exports of the United States to Latin America as a whole has increased over 150 per cent., while that of the British exports has gone up only 14 per cent. According to the general index of prices compiled by the United States Department of Labour, one finds that while the actual increase in the volume of the shipments of the United States to Latin America is about 70 per cent., the volume of shipments of the United Kingdom has decreased 23 per cent. The imports of the United States from Latin America since 1913 have increased more than 117 per cent., while those of Great Britain show an increase only of 71 per cent.

But what is still more remarkable is the way the United States is penetrating into

British possessions and undermining the importance of Great Britain even in her colonial trade. A survey of the foreign trade of the British colonies with the 'mother' country and with the United States is, indeed, most illuminating. India, for example, imported in 1913 from Great Britain 62.2 per cent. of her imports; in other words, she imported from England alone four times as much as she imported from all the other countries put together. And her imports from the United States that year was only 2.6 per cent. In the year 1927-28, however, England's share of India's imports decreased to 47.7, while that of the United States increased to 8.2. It is significant that India's import trade during the last fifteen years with the United States shows steady increase, while that with Great Britain indicates a gradual decrease.

Of the import trade of her South African Colony, England enjoyed 56.8 in the year 1913, while only 8.9 fell to the share of the United States but by 1927 the share of the latter increased to 15.4, while that of the former declined to 44.8. What is really noteworthy here is that the share of England in the import trade of India and of South Africa, had decreased during a period in which the total foreign trade of these two countries remained stable in relation to the world's foreign trade. When we turn to Great Britain's relation to her great North American Dominion, there again England's share in its import trade is conspicuous only by its smallness. Canada imported from the 'mother' country in 1913 only 21.3 per cent. of her needs, but by 1927 she reduced even this already small percentage to the still smaller percentage of 16.8. The United States, on the other hand, enjoyed that very year (1927) 64.9 per cent. of the Canadian import.

When one turns to the export trade of the Colonies, one finds the situation not very different. India's export trade with England, which was 23.5 in 1913, fell to 21 per cent. by 1927; on the other hand, her exports to America, which was 8.9 per cent. in 1913, increased to 11.1 per cent. in 1927. It is interesting to observe that even Australia, which exported to England 44.3 per cent. of her export goods in 1913, decreased it to 41.4 per cent. in 1926. Whereas her export trade with the United States which was only 3.4 in 1913, more than doubled, amounting to 8.7 in the year 1926. So also Egypt's export trade with England, which was 42.6 in

1913, decreased to 39.6 in 1927, while her exports to the United States, which was only 7.7 in 1913, rapidly rose to twice as much in 1927. These figures are sufficient to lead to the inescapable conclusion that the dominating position of Great Britain even in her own Colonies and Dominions is now being undermined by foreign Powers, and notably by America since the Great European War.

Parallel with the incapacity of Britain to compete with America,—Germany and Japan in regard to certain industrial products,—goes the inability of Britain to export capital to the same extent as before the War. In this direction also one cannot fail to notice America's rapid expansion at the expense of Great Britain. In the Dominion of Canada, for instance, the American investment is five times as much as that of the British. In fact, the penetration of the United States into Canada is so great that the latter is gradually becoming an economic annex of the former. American loans are now finding their way not only into Canada but, though to a lesser extent, into other British possessions like South Africa, Australia and even India. It must not be understood, however, that such rivalry between these two Anglo-Saxon Powers is confined to the tropics and British Colonies; it is also quite evident in the Americanization of Europe. Since the War America's foreign loans have been greatly used for the rehabilitation of many of the European countries, and that advantageous situation has helped her to penetrate into Europe with amazing success. Even in the foreign trade of Russia, the United States is rapidly displacing Great Britain. Whatever else these developments may signify, they render at least this much quite clear, namely, that the United States is well on the way to challenge the pre-eminent place held hitherto by Great Britain in the affairs of the world.

This situation places the United States in a position similar to that of Germany before the Great War. In order to refresh our memory and to better understand the Anglo-American situation, let us, by way of digression, make a brief survey of the pre-war Germany. We observe that she changed within two or three decades, much like the United States, from an agricultural country, able only to feed herself,—to an industrial nation, enormously increasing in consequence her demand for raw materials from other

lands. In 1870 about 65 per cent. of the German wage-earners were engaged in agriculture, and by the outbreak of the war the proportion had fallen to 25 per cent. The fact that by 1913 only one-eighth of Germany's total imports was in the form of finished goods, is in itself a sufficient indication of her rapid industrialization. Her exports, which were valued at \$ 1,200,000,000 in 1900, more than doubled during the decade following amounting to \$ 2,500,000,000 in 1913. She succeeded in making, at the expense of the United Kingdom, tremendous headway in such rich markets as Japan and the larger South American countries. Her rapid rise as an industrial Power, her intensive drive for foreign markets, and the commercial jealousy of rival Powers,—like France, Great Britain and others,—could not but bring about an international restlessness which finally resulted in the most devastating cataclysm in all history.

The United States is now playing the role that Germany did before the War; she has become the most outstanding industrial nation; she is actively engaged, like the pre-war Germany, in capturing raw materials and displacing Great Britain in competitive markets of the world. The products which America will need in great quantities in the future,—rubber, sugar, silk and coffee,—do not come from Europe. Between 1910-14 and 1921-25 the purchases of the United States in Asia increased 265 per cent. and in Oceania 212 per cent. Her heavy trade with Asia in 1928 is only a further indication of her ever increasing need of the tropics; she can do more easily without Europe than she can without Asia or South America. The economic importance of this trade for America is obvious; it is certain to grow, bringing with it increased opportunities for export of machinery and manufactured goods from the United States. In fact, already most of the trade of the countries of Central America, together with that of Cuba, Haiti and San Domingo, is controlled by the United States. Were the sugar supply of Cuba to be shut off or the sources of rubber in the Dutch East Indies and Malaysia to be closed, it would create in America a situation which would be considered so serious as to justify, according to the European practices of imperialism, the use of force to bring about a favourable settlement.

Not only the United States but also other

countries of the West are becoming more and more dependent on the tropics for supplies of essential raw materials, and the resulting competition naturally leads to frequent friction among them. This new rivalry for markets between the United States on the one side and Europe and Great Britain on the other, has made both the parties conscious of a coming conflict. Holding the position that the United States does in the commercial and financial world, it is natural that she should feel that Britain's naval strength is a menace to her world trade. When asked why he was experimenting so laboriously on the production of rubber from weeds, Mr. Edison is reported to have told Mr. F. Parker that the United States never has, and never will have, on hand enough rubber to run the country for more than a year. Such being the case, what would the United States do, asked Mr. Edison with great concern, in case of a war which cut off all rubber supply? No nation can fight a war without rubber since all the present transportation is on a rubber basis. It is this vital economic need in time of war that is driving Mr. Edison to concentrate his attention on rubber production from weeds. But then, is there any likelihood of a war, asks one, between Europe and America? "Do not make any mistake about that war" answers the wizard; "it will come. We may run along for a good many years without it, but sooner or later the nations of Europe will combine against the United States." There is no doubt whatever that the Old World is jealous of the rapid rise of America in world affairs, and it is but natural that their competitive race for markets should give rise to friction and frequent disagreement in their international dealings.

It has already been noticed how America's gain has meant Great Britain's loss in the trade of the world. The striking advance in America's export trade with China, for example, is gained almost exclusively at the expense of Great Britain. Before the war, the latter's export trade with China was three times that of America, but since the war America's rise has been so rapid that her export trade with China, which was only one-third of Britain's, is now double that of Great Britain. Similarly China's import trade with the United States has doubled, while that with Great Britain has gone down considerably. The important place occupied

by Great Britain during the last century in the commerce of the world is now being usurped by this young, but powerful, industrial nation. This situation is largely responsible for the marked strain in their present relationship about which one hears and reads so frequently to-day. Great Britain is finding it almost impossible to resist the penetration of America even into markets considered as British monopoly and the conflicting trade interests are creating sore spots in their relation and making both these Anglo-Saxon Powers increasingly suspicious of each other..

It is small wonder, therefore, if Rear Admiral Charles P. Plunkett of America, following a recent discussion of the Navy Bill at the Foreign Policy Association of New York, asked if any one in the audience could explain why and against whom Great Britain is building up her navy. He is in the company of many other leaders who think that Great Britain is now directing her attention against her most powerful commercial rival,—the United States of America. Their present dispute in reference to naval armament bears a close resemblance to the dispute in 1913 between Germany and Great Britain in regard to the same question. While condemning the wild race in Europe for armament, the American Senators emphasize in view of European preparations, the necessity and importance of America maintaining a navy second to none.

At present the Americans are the only people strong enough to challenge the British claim to supremacy on the seas. This is made quite evident by the recent "I'm Alone" incident. In other days and at other times the fact that a British sloop was fired upon and sunk and the sailors taken to the American coast in irons would have inflamed public passion, and there would be loud demands in Parliament and elsewhere for suitable apology and reparation. But what do we find to-day? The prevailing opinion in Great Britain seems to be that since no protest could be made adequate, they had better make no protest at all and leave the matter to the Washington State Department to clear the business up and do whatever it can to prevent a repetition of any action so extravagantly absurd. This is the position that America wanted to hold even before the World War. Her present cruiser programme is calculated to increase her

naval strength in proportion to that of Great Britain. While the Americans have no quarrel with Great Britain's wish to protect her commerce adequately in the event of war, they certainly resent her claim to extend that protective force into an offensive one,—as she has done in the past with her superior force,—for the purpose of dictating to neutral nations in time of war.

Ever since the blockade of Germany in the last war the conduct at sea of belligerents and neutrals in time of war has been one of the bones of contention among the Great Powers. Great Britain then insisted upon her right to interfere with the sea trade of a neutral, and such claim is maintained and supported even now in London. The American demand, however, is for an interpretation of the freedom of the seas in the light of the rights of neutrals in time of war. Because of the unyielding attitude of the British and the break-down of the Naval Disarmament Conference, America, unmindful of all the present conciliatory gestures of Sir Austen Chamberlain, is bent on building a navy equal in strength, if not superior, to that of Great Britain in order to protect her sea trade: such a navy, she maintains, will enable her to break any blockade established by belligerent Powers, and enjoy, in consequence, the freedom of the seas. If war should ever break out between them, it would only be as a result of this commercial rivalry and the traditional dispute over the rights of navigation in time of peace as well as in time of war.

A clear symptom of the earnestness with which England views the possibility of a breach with America is the present tendency in Britain to view favourably the project of constructing through the English Channel a tunnel, twenty-one miles in length, at a cost of some \$150,000,000, connecting England with the mainland. This scheme has come up for discussion many a time during the last sixty years, but military strategists have consistently opposed it in the interests of national security. Strange as it may seem, the arguments that are now being advanced in favour of the tunnel are also advanced in the interest of national security. The facts, that the country is open to siege by submarine and that it is dangerously exposed to attack from the air are serious enough considerations, it is

maintained, to favour the construction of such a tunnel. In the view of European statesmen, however, the changed attitude of Britain in regard to this project is largely the result of the need Britain feels of assuring food supplies in the event of a rupture with the United States. Though both these Powers frequently wax eloquent on their friendship and deny the possibility of a war between them, yet their actions speak louder than their words; their preparation show that they are tremendously suspicious of each other. America's superior resources, her increasing naval strength, and her insistent claim to the right of trade through a blockade, make Great Britain live in suspicion and partial dread of her most powerful commercial rival. Greed for gold, competition in commerce, and race in armament have frequently been the cause of war, and it is not surprising, therefore, if the present Anglo-American naval and commercial rivalry cause more anxiety among thinking group on both sides of the Atlantic.

It is inevitable that such competition for markets and materials should have its effects also on the countries of the tropics. The rivalry for what is available in the markets of the tropics is growing more and more intense. No doubt, the productive capacity of the tropics has hardly been tapped yet. Though about 40 per cent. of the earth's surface lies within the tropics, yet not even 4 per cent. of it is under cultivation. But the natural tendency of industrial nations has been and will be to keep the less developed countries as feeders to their factories and markets for their manufactured goods. To meet the present competition there is, and will be on the part of imperialist Powers, a vigorous attempt to increase the returns from their possessions in the tropics. America, for instance, has already launched a survey of Porto Rico's economic and industrial possibilities. France is making preparations for a two-year study of her undeveloped Colonial Empire for the purpose of showing its vast possibilities in an exhibition to be held in 1931. By such a careful survey of the undeveloped riches of her colonial possessions she hopes to multiply the national fortune by a scientific exploitation of her empire. Similarly Great Britain is attempting to make her possessions contribute to an enhanced extent in swelling her wealth in order to regain her lost position in world affairs, and to strengthen her

economic hold over them, while outwardly granting them, as in the case of India, a larger semblance of political power. The tendency on the part of the British Dominions, however, is to break away from such control and make their own preferential trade treaties, such as the one for example, between South Africa and Germany. But unfortunately it is the helpless dependencies that will have to continue to suffer the economic tyranny of the present-day imperialism.

The self-seeking interests of the leading industrial countries of the West have resulted and are resulting, in retarding the industrial development of the countries of the tropics, and consequently, in keeping them fixed more or less in their poverty, inasmuch as, they have to pay more for finished goods and receive in turn less for their raw materials. Then again there is the further danger of capitalist nations in interfering in their domestic affairs and thus obstructing them in their political progress. Examples of internal interference are many and varied. However, such opportunities, one is thankful to observe, are now being curtailed by the rise of national consciousness and stronger governments in the various tropical countries. It is worth mentioning that the American Foreign Policy of to-day is tending more and more to one of non-interference in the internal affairs of such countries and of fostering the development of strong and capable governments, hoping thereby to win the goodwill of the peoples and insure a constant and steady supply of tropical crops or raw materials.

A whole group of countries,—British Colonies and Dominions not excepted,—which were formerly attracted by Great Britain are now turning for good or ill to the United States, and among them the Pacific and Latin American countries are destined to become the future field of America's economic activity. America of to-day is Great Britain's greatest commercial rival; having grown powerful both financially and otherwise, she is unwilling to recognize the British claim to primacy in commerce and supremacy on the seas. No doubt, it is true that of all the nations of the world, the American nation, as Sir Austen Chamberlain points out in one of his conciliatory speeches, is nearest to the British in racial and moral outlook. This fact, however, does not alter the situation, namely, that there is a growing rivalry,—naval and commercial,—between these two

otherwise friendly nations. While the affinity of race and similarity of culture tend to bring them together, yet it cannot be denied that

their naval rivalry and commercial jealousy tend not only to keep them apart but even threaten their peaceful relations.

Greek Artists in Buddhist Afghanistan

By R. S. PANDIT, *Bar-at-Law*

It is said that the impact of the thought of modern Europe on the social and religious ideals of the Afghans is in the main responsible for the obscurantist revolution against King Amanullah. This is however not the first time that Eastern and Western ideas have met in Afghanistan. For a thousand years Buddhism prevailed in Afghanistan and drew within its fold the warring races of Persia, Greece, Scythia and Parthia who in turn conquered the country. Meanwhile from the art of Greece inspired by the philosophy of Buddhism arose a new culture of which the best product was the Graeco-Buddhist art of Afghanistan and the North-West Frontier of India. The remains of the architecture unearthed

found by Sir A. Stein in Central Asia (*Sand-buried Remains of Khoten*, p. 396) and according to Mr. E. B. Havell there exist "paintings treasured as the most precious relics and rarely shown to Europeans which closely resemble the Graeco-Buddhist art of India" in some of the oldest temples of Japan (*Studio*, Vol. XXVII, 1903, p. 26).

Long before the conquests of Alexander a Greek population existed in Central Asia, which according to the historian Tarn was descended from the Greek Branchidae settled by the Persian conqueror Xerxes. After the conquests of Alexander a Greek population maintained its distinctive character in Afghanistan and the North-West Frontier of India. It is an interesting fact that Greek character continued to be used on coins two centuries after the last Greek prince of Kabul, Hermacus had in about 40 B.C., succumbed before the advance of the Scythians. About this time the Graeco-Roman world of the West was consolidated as the Roman Empire and though Greek rule disappeared from India and Afghanistan active commercial relations continued between the Hellenistic lands and India of which Afghanistan then formed part. The influence of Greek coinage lasted for nearly eight centuries in Afghanistan and India. Mr. Brown says, "Since the important discovery in 1824 by Col. Tod, that Greek coins had once been struck in India, the names of thirty-three Greek and twenty-six Indo-Scythian or Saka and Indo-Parthian or Pahlava princes ruling territory round the Indian frontier, have gradually been recovered from coin legends, and not more than half a dozen of these are known from other sources. Even the names of the later Kushana Kings were first deciphered from their coins. Thus coins alone have been



A Stupa on an Eminence

by the British in India and the French in Afghanistan enable us to trace the development of this art, through the centuries, back to pure Greek types. The stream of this Buddhist art went eastwards across Asia. The influence of Greece is proved by the seal impressions with Athene and Eros types

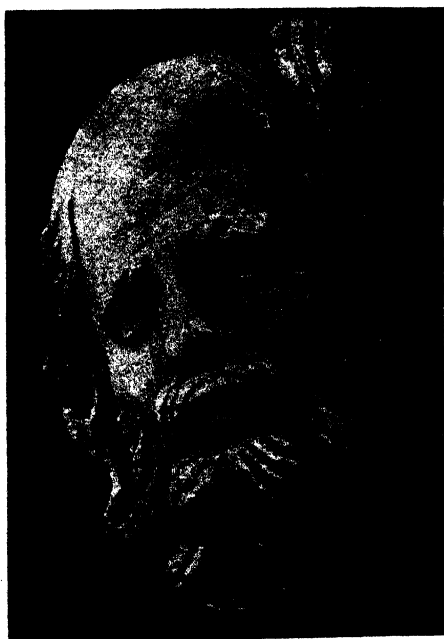
responsible for the recovery of a whole period of Indian history." On the coins of the Greek Princes are found the Brahmi (older Devanagari) and Ksharoshthi scripts.

After the departure of the Macedonian conqueror Greek supremacy beyond the Indus collapsed and in about 303 B. C. Seleucus was obliged to cede to the Emperor Chandra Gupta Maurya large districts west of the Indus. His grandson Asoka extended the Indian frontier to Herat. Meanwhile the successors of Alexander especially Seleucus and Antiochus had founded many Greek towns in Eastern Iran and the Greek language had become dominant there. Diodotus, Satrap of Bactria became independent about 255 B. C. and in about 190 B. C. the Graeco-Bactrians under Euthedemus began to make incursions towards Iran and India. In 180 B. C. as the Maurya power declined the Bactrian Greeks conquered Afghanistan while King Demetrius advanced far into India. But the Graeco-Bactrian

the Scythians fixed his head-quarters at Kabul where his descendants continued to rule for a century. Of the Greek princes of Kabul and the Punjab the most famous were Menander and Apollodotus whose reigns may be placed between 140-80 B. C. The last Greek King of Kabul was Hermaeus,



Afghan Workman on an Archaeological Site



Ascetic of the 3rd Century (Scythian type)

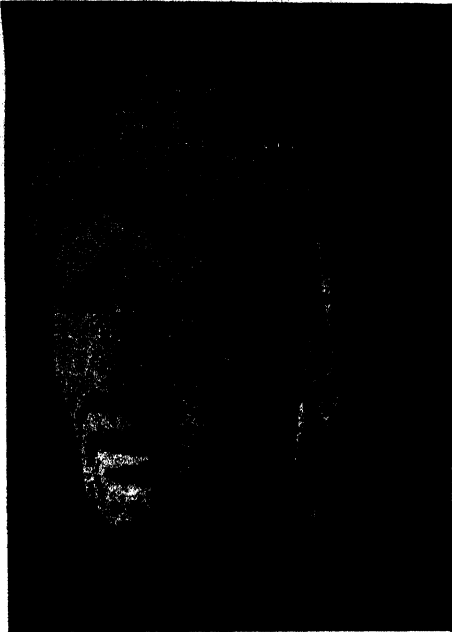
Empire was in turn overwhelmed by the Scythians in about 139 B. C. In 135 B. C. the last King of Bactria, Heliokles, having been forced to fly from the country by

whose rule was ended in about 40 B. C. by the Parthian tribe known in India as the Pahlavas (V. Smith, "Indo-Parthian dynasties from 120 B. C. to 104 A. D.") According to Strabo (XI. 510) "Menander conquered more tribes than Alexander, as he crossed the Hypanis to the East and advanced to Isamus. He and other kings especially Demetrius occupied also Patalene (District of Patala, near Hyderabad, Sind) and the coast which is called the district of Saurashtes" (*i. e.* Syrastene, Saurashtra or modern Kathiawad).

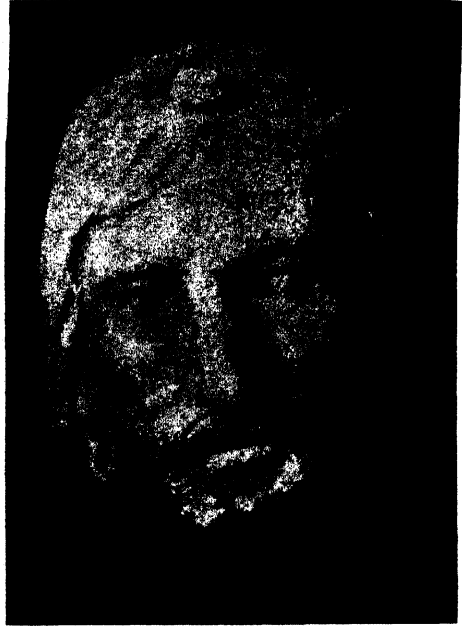
The mention of these kings by classical authors is supported by Indian accounts. Greek tradition preserved by Plutarch relates that "when Menander, one of the Bactrian kings died on a campaign after a mild rule, all the subject towns disputed about the honour of his burial till at last his ashes were divided between them in equal parts." Menander appears in Buddhist tradition as King Milinda. He became a convert to Buddhism and his discourses with the Buddhist Saint Nagasena contained in the *Milindapanha* or *Milinda Panho*, "the questions of Milinda," are preserved in Pali in Ceylon, Burma and Siam. They were probably originally so written in Eastern Afghanistan in a dialect spoken in that reign. The work is quoted as authoritative by the celebrated Buddhaghosha who wrote about 450 A. C., and it is the only work not

part of the Buddhist canon which has received the honour. Prof. Sylvain Levi working in collaboration with M. Specht has shown that there are two if not three Chinese works written between the 5th and 7th centuries on the questions of Milinda. They purport to be translations of Indian works, but they are not translations of the Pali text and are probably derived from a recension older than the Pali.

greatest authority is Foucher (*Notes sur la géographie ancienne de Gandhara*). M. Foucher indicated the site of the great relic tower erected by the Emperor Kanishka. This tower which was 400 ft. high was one of the wonders of the world. The tower was visited by famous Chinese pilgrims and so late as 1030 A. D. Alberuni refers to it as the Kanik Chaitya. The Indian archaeological department excavated the spot indicated by



Life size head (3rd Cent.) recalling the art of Guido Mazzoni



A Head of the 4th Century some of whose characteristics are to be found in the mediaeval sculpture of Reims

The Mongolian tribes known to the Indians as the Saka (Scythian) advancing from Bactria founded a great Indo-Scythian Empire upon the fall of the Greeks. Their ruling tribe known to the Chinese as Yue-chi, to the Greeks as Tochari and to the Indians as Kushana became like the Greeks converts to Buddhism. The most famous among the Kushanas was the Emperor Kanishka who like Asoka before him was an ardent evangelist of Buddhism. His capital was at Purushapur (Peshawar) in Gandhara (districts of Peshawar and Rawalpindi) and his summer capital was at Kapisha north of Kabul.

For the topography of Gandhara the

M. Foucher with remarkable success, the most notable discovery being the now celebrated relic casket bearing an image and inscription of Kanishka whose Superintending Engineer had the Greek name Agesilaos.

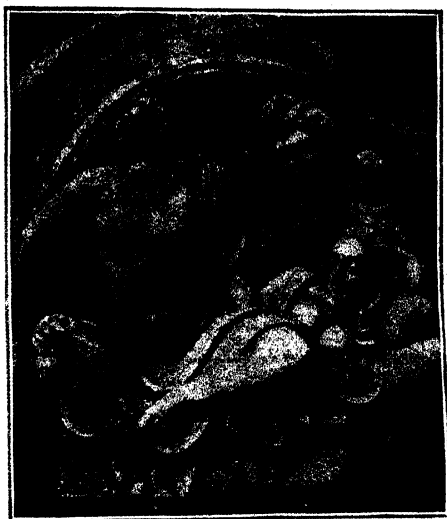
M. Foucher realized that the Kabul valley was virgin soil for the archaeologist and that capital data lay awaiting there underground. In 1924 he succeeded in obtaining a monopoly of excavation in Afghanistan from King Amanullah. The wonderful vestiges of Buddhist culture discovered by the French archaeological mission have already been described by the writer in an illustrated article in the *Modern*

Review of February, 1927 entitled "Buddhist Remains in Afghanistan." M. Foucher having left for Japan in 1925 the work of directing the excavations in Afghanistan was entrusted by the French Government to M. Barthoux. This article deals with the recent discoveries of M. Barthoux near Hadda in the district of Jelalabad known in Buddhist times as the sacred city of Nagarahara,

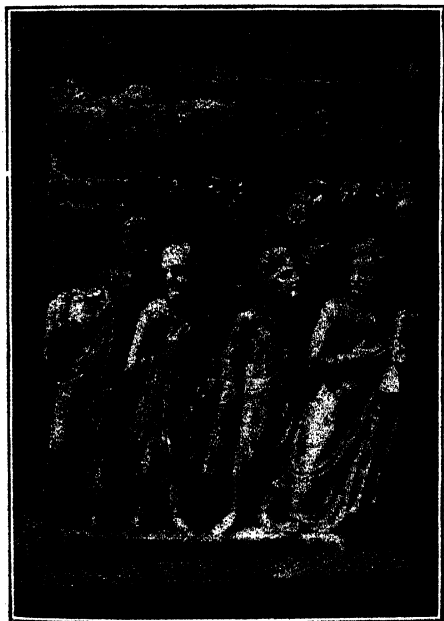
Through the courtesy of M. Hackin, conservator of the Musée Guimet at Paris who has great personal knowledge of Afghanistan I was able to inspect the precious works of Graeco-Buddhist art which had arrived in Paris in the autumn of 1928. Owing to an unfortunate mistake the Customs authorities at Marseilles opened the packing cases and did irreparable damage to the valuable finds.

Hadda, the sacred city of the Buddhists, is now the centre of Moslem orthodoxy. When the first archaeological finds were

protection of the finds but before any steps could be taken the fanatical population, after Friday prayers looted the yards and attacked



Mutilated Bodhisattva by the side of his sleeping wife receiving his bonnet from his attendant



Fragment of a relief representing an episode of the life of Buddha

brought to light the chief of the French Mission drew the attention of the Afghan Government to the need for a guard for the

and demolished the most beautiful statuary. It became necessary to surround the French Mission by an escort to counter the hostility of the population excited by the Mullahs and the members of the Mission themselves became the victims of attempts to poison on two occasions. To-day nothing but a shapeless mass remains where there were the beautiful edifices excavated with such great care by French experts. The museum at Kabul where the more important finds were transferred is also now reported to have been destroyed by the vandals. One turns with relief from the Afghans to the modern Turks amongst whom men and women are now devoting themselves to the cultivation of fine arts including sculpture. In February, 1929 a most extraordinary mosaic, one of the finest examples of Byzantine art of the fourteenth century, was uncovered by the workmen engaged in repairing the walls of the little mosque of Kahrie, on the outskirts of Constantinople. The mosaic depicts the death of the Virgin Mary, who lies on her bier surrounded by saints. It had remained hidden under Moslem whitewash for five hundred years. The modern government of

Angora immediately ordered the preservation of the mosaic. It was completely uncovered and remains where it is. Moslems now worship beneath the shadow of images whose representation had for centuries been forbidden by their religion.

Fortunately for the civilized world the French Mission were able to transport some of the finds over the Afghan mountains to

M. Barthoux is situated at the end of the Kabul valley. It is now barren owing to the neglect of its ancient irrigation canal of the Buddhist period. The sites of ancient Buddhist institutions at Hadda are marked by mounds and it is the number of such mounds which indicates their importance from an archaeological view point. Chinese Buddhist pilgrims who traverse



A cell with stupa in the centre and Buddhas on the margin, leaning on foundation walls, and showing beautiful draperies

distant Paris and to execute a large number of designs and sketches. In February, 1929 the President of the French Republic opened a special section at the Musée Guimet for the Buddhist art of Afghanistan. No Indian visitor to Paris should fail to see the valuable finds now safely lodged in the Musée Guimet.

The locality near Hadda excavated by

Afghanistan from the 4th to the 7th century have left us graphic descriptions of the sacred places which made it possible for M. Barthoux to identify the sites. The grottoes and hypogeums are to be found in great numbers along the plateau which extends beyond the village. This was the important field of excavation where M. Foucher and M. Goddard had first commenced to dig. The results

their labours have been surpassed by the discoveries made by M. Barthoux. The French Mission secured no less than 6,000 statues and unearthed 500 edifices known as stupas.

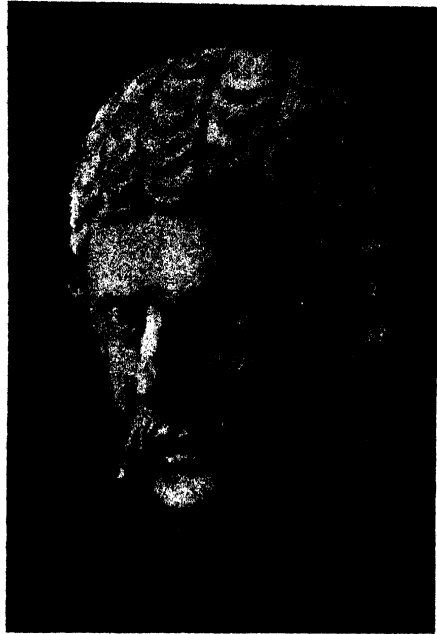
A stupa was an edifice with several storeys often exceeding in height 60 feet intended to protect the relics of Buddha placed in its centre. Its architectural design was very simple but its decorations were often complicated and elaborate. For its base the stupa had a pedestal with a plinth and for its crown a platform having a projecting roof below a cornice. Over this reposed a massive cylindrical edifice surmounted by a dome. A cornice and another platform separated the two platforms. The decorations consisted of a series of pilasters at regular intervals terminated by a capital not unlike the Corinthian. The central projections, trapezoid in shape, were strengthened by a buttress. Between these were either statues of Buddha or reliefs both high and low reproducing scenes from Buddha's life. It is from these that the majority of the beautiful statues in the Musée Guimet have been collected.

According to M. Barthoux the grand stupas with their massive centres would appear to have been inspired by ancient Roman and Greek fortresses. The stupa was built facing the east on an eminence so as to dominate a large stretch of territory. Then came smaller stupas executed in imitation of the grand stupa with certain variations. The little stupas were built parallel to the inner wall of the grand stupa and placed in two rows. Their dimensions were different, three to eight feet wide and somewhat more in height. A good deal of liberty was left to the builders, *e. g.* rows of cupids carrying enormous garlands of leaves were often substituted for the ornamental Buddhas. In their interior have been discovered cenerary vases containing remains of bones coins or fragments of papyrus. Some of the small stupas had miniature ladders inside in imitation of the grand stupas.

Within the circumference of the stupa were found deep embrasures which served as chapels with a throne supporting a Buddha in meditation. By the side of the Buddha were statues of various sizes of divinities, genii, donors or devotees which are perfect in execution. In some cases the representation is of Buddha on the march and from the wall behind emerge the divinities. It is thus that we find the beautiful statue of the type of Apollo holding flowers in the toga which is

tucked up with while the free hand throws at the Buddha.

In the place of chapels in some cases are found square cells in the centre of which is a tiny stupa. Against the wall lean Buddhas, on the march, of life size—judging from the size of the fragments such as heads, feet etc., which have survived. Since these statues were coloured or gilt one can imagine the magnificent effect produced by the collection of statues and stupas. Unfortunately, all that remained



Head of a Non-Greek—probably a Gaul

of these historic pieces when unearthed by the French Mission was the lower portion of the drapery falling in well-arranged folds over the legs. They were extremely fragile and the stucco in which they were modelled was so little adherent to the substance on which they rested that the least little exposure to air made them crumble and fall in small pieces. Several such stupas have been discovered revealing a wealth of statuary both artistic and curious. A monastery constituted on the same model was also discovered. The atrium was empty and the residential quarters were close to the wall.

In the simple cells devoid of decoration lived the numerous monks.

M. Barthoux says, "The Hellenic character of the fragments suggests freedom from Indian influence. On the other hand the technique is so pure and the adaptation of the statuary to the needs of the edifices so perfect that one cannot conceive of an indigenous source nor an importation from

modes of their costumes, coiffures and jewellery.

The question arises at what period were the Greek artists introduced into the country? According to M. Barthoux they may have been introduced by the Seleucid Greeks who had embraced Buddhism. But certain ornamental details which are clearly much later than the period of Seleucid



Trenches of the excavations and the unearthing of a stupa
(French excavations of Hadda in Afghanistan)

Rome or Alexandria. One is constrained to think of an introduction into the country of Greek artists for whom Hadda became the cultural centre. One is left to conjecture how fresh artists were procured or whether the colony established a school. One thing is certain none of the statues can be attributed to the hesitating hand of a pupil. The designs sketched in pencil no less indisputably reveal the mastery of the artists."

From another point of view the French Mission has discovered a mine of precious documents of ancient ethnography. They depict the physiognomy of Greek and Scythian and other tribes and the definite

Greeks who formed part of the empire of Alexander point towards the middle of the third century after Christ. It was at about this time that maritime connection slackened between the Hellenic world and the Extreme Orient. Alexandria remained in communication with India up to the period of Diocletian. It was in the reign of Trajan that the relations of India with the western world reached their zenith. The Indian embassy which offered its congratulations to Trajan at some date after his return to Rome in 99 A. C. is believed to have been despatched by the Indian Emperor Kanishka to announce his conquests. This epoch

furnished artists to Kapisha, the summer capital of Kanishka to the north of Kabul. Even so this would still be far away from the third century of the Christian era since some savants believe that the Saka era of 78 A. C. if not established by Kanishka coincides with the date of his coronation. (Prof. R. D. Banerji's "Scythian Period of Indian History," *Ind. Ant.*, pp. 25-75) while others like Dr. Fleet, Dr. O. Franke of Berlin and Prof. Sylvain Levi believe that the Vikrama era of 58 B. C. marks the accession of Kanishka. It is, however, interesting to note that the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and his son Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar have advocated so late a date as 278 A. C.

Another problem for M. Barthoux was to fix the date of the destruction of these institutions. Vincent Smith says in the case of the Buddhist monastery of Peshawar that "the final demolition of this celebrated establishment undoubtedly must have been due to the Mohammadan invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni and his successors. Muslim zeal against idolatry was always excited to acts of destruction by the spectacle of the innumerable images with which Buddhist holy places were crowded." (*Early History of India*, p. 262). M. Barthoux tells us that the infiltration of water and the shocks of earthquakes so frequent along the Hindu Kush range caused irreparable damage to the statuary. But fortunately in the centre of the cells and the stupas was deposited a thick layer of dust which has played the part of protector. Thanks to this layer of dust the delicate statuary resisted

the destructive effect of centuries and some of the statues were discovered in such a wonderful state of preservation that they looked as if they had been finished yesterday.

The French Mission also collected from Kafiristan interesting specimens of wooden images and other objects of Kafir worship. According to Sir Henry Yule the country of the Kafirs was part of that pagan country stretching between Kashmir and Kabul which medieval Asiatics referred to as Belaur, a



Divinity throwing flowers on the Buddha
(Type of Apollo of the first century B. C.)

name found in Marco Polo as Bolor. The Kafirs living in inaccessible mountains preserved their ancient religion and customs which appear to be a mixture of ancient Greek, Buddhist and indigenous beliefs. Although their language is of Prakrit origin they cherish a tradition of Greek descent. Baber mentions the idolators and refers to their love of wine which each man hung from his neck in a leathern bottle. The reference in the *Ain-i-Akbari* to the Kafirs is the origin of the widespread story that the Kafirs are the descendants of the ancient Greeks. Many chiefs of the little Hindu Kush States still pride themselves on their descent from Alexander the Great and a princess from heaven who came down miraculously to wed him. In 1603 Benedict Goes travelling from Peshawar to Kabul tasted Kafir wine. He speaks of the country of the idolators where no Mohammadan might enter on pain of death while Hindu traders were freely admitted to visit the country but not its temples. During the British occupation of Kabul in 1839-40 a deputation of Kafirs journeyed to Kabul to invite to their free country the British whom they assumed to be their kindred. Unfortunately for the Kafirs the British Indian Government allowed Amir Abdur Rahman to include in his map of Afghanistan the independent territory of the Kafirs by the Treaty of 1895. The Amir's invasion of the country was followed by a terrible repression of the religion of the people and a wholesale deportation of Kafir boys to Kabul to be converted to Islam. The majority of the population however still continues to cherish their ancient religion which so long helped the Kafirs to maintain their independence. Kafir religion centres round Gish. In life a hero and after death as a god Gish symbolizes hatred of the religion of Mohammad.

The past from which the French Mission has lifted the thick veil that centuries of desolation had woven over it is but of yesterday compared to the past of Egypt, Mesopotamia and Central Asia. Egypt has been yielding up her secrets since Napoleon conquered her and in recent years Mesopotamia has been bringing home to us the lives of people, who have left their records in wonderful sculpture and in books of clay and who have left jewellery and utensils which are abiding witnesses to their skill and taste. Sir Aurel Stein's recent work *Innermost Asia* describes his discoveries in Central Asia. This evidence is of great bulk and of various kinds ranging from large Buddhist frescoes to coins, bronzes and pottery and manuscripts in Chinese, Sanskrit and Khotenese which formed part of the eighty camel loads safely brought to New Delhi. Unfortunately the efforts of the French Mission have been interrupted by the revolution in Afghanistan but the work so far accomplished is indeed most valuable.

Opinions may differ as to what is the inference of most interest that on a first view may be drawn from the mass of information already collected by the French Mission. Perhaps the most general among those who are not experts will be that the intercourse between the East and West and the reaction of each upon the other in manifold fields of activity in Buddhist Afghanistan arose earlier and continued much longer than most of us have supposed.

The real significance of the labours of M. Barthoux remains yet to be widely recognized. Not until the work of experts in many branches of learning has been completed, and compared by accomplished scholars with laymen of ordinary information be able to appraise the full value of the discoveries of the French Mission in Afghanistan.

Rammohun Roy and an English Official

By BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJEE

The following letter to Lord Minto, dated 12th April 1809, which I have discovered in the Bengal Record Office, is of very great personal, I may even say, historical interest. It is the first English composition of Rammohun yet known and it shows that already at that early age he had

acquired a wonderful ease, flexibility and purity in the use of a foreign language. His insistence on the just rights of the Indians when their personal dignity was attacked, is a most significant trait of his character and must have been an extremely rare thing in that age. R. Montgomery

Martin (quotation in Miss Collet's biography, p. 16) informs us: "A written agreement was signed by Mr. Digby to the effect that Rammohun should never be kept standing (a custom enforced by European Civil Servants towards natives of the highest rank) in the presence of the Collector, and that no order should be issued to him as a mere Hindu functionary."

The biographical details, incidentally supplied by Rammohun in this letter, are all new.

RAMMOHUN TO LORD MINTO

To the Right Hon'ble Lord Minto
Governor-General, etc. etc.

The humble petition of Rammohun Roy
Most humbly-sheweth,

That your petitioner, in common with all the native subjects of the British Government, looks up to your Lordship as the guardian of the just rights and dignities of that class of your subjects against all acts which have a tendency either directly or indirectly to invade those rights and dignities, and your petitioner more especially appeals to your Lordship as, from the nature of the treatment, however degrading, which he has experienced, and from the nature of the existing circumstances with reference to the rank and destination of the gentleman from whom it proceeded, your petitioner is precluded from any other means of obtaining redress.

Confiding therefore in the impartial justice of the British Government and in the acknowledged wisdom which governs and directs all its measures in the just spirit of an enlarged and liberal policy, your petitioner proceeds with diffidence and humility to lay before your Lordship, the following circumstances of severe degradation and injury, which he has unmeritedly experienced at the hands of Sir Frederick Hamilton.

On the 1st of January last, your petitioner arrived at the Ghaut of the river of Bhaugulpur, and hired a house in that town. Proceeding to that house at about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, your petitioner passed in his palanquin through a road on the left side of which Sir Frederick Hamilton was standing among some bricks. The door of the palanquin being shut to exclude the dust of the road, your petitioner did not see that gentleman, nor did the peon who preceded the palanquin, apprise your petitioner of the circumstance, he not knowing the gentleman, much less supposing that, that gentleman (who was standing alone among the bricks), was the Collector of the district.

As your petitioner was passing, Sir Frederick Hamilton repeatedly called out to him to get out of his palanquin, and that with an epithet of abuse too gross to admit of being stated here without a departure from the respect due to your Lordship. One of the servants of your petitioner who followed in the retinue, explained to Sir Frederick Hamilton, that your petitioner had not observed him in passing by; nevertheless that gentleman still continued to use the same offensive language, and when the palanquin had proceeded to the distance of about 300 yds. from the spot where Sir Frederick Hamilton had stood, that gentleman overtook it on horseback. Your petitioner then for the first time understood that the gentleman who was riding alongside of his palanquin, was the Collector of the district, and that he required a form of external respect, which, to whatever extent it might have been enforced under the Mogul Government, your petitioner had conceived from daily observation, to have fallen under the milder, more enlightened and more liberal policy of the British Government, into entire disuse and disesteem. Your petitioner then, far from wishing to withhold any manifestation of the respect due to the public officers of a Government which he held in the highest veneration, and notwithstanding the novelty of the form in which that respect was required to be testified, alighted from his palanquin and saluted Sir Frederick Hamilton, apologizing to him for the omission of that act of public respect on the grounds that, in point of fact, your petitioner did not see him before, on account of the doors of his palanquin being nearly closed. Your petitioner stated however at the same time that even if the doors had been open, your petitioner would not have known him, nor would have supposed him to be the Collector of the district. Upon this Sir Frederick asked your petitioner how the servant of the latter came to explain to him already, with your petitioner's salam, the reason of your petitioner's not having alighted from his palanquin. Your petitioner's servants stated in reply to the observations of Sir Frederick Hamilton that, he had not been desired by your petitioner to give that explanation, but that seeing that your petitioner had gone on and knowing that the doors of the palanquin were almost shut, he had explained that circumstance to Sir Frederick Hamilton, in the hope of inducing that gentleman to

discontinue his abusive language, but that he the servant had not expressed your petitioner's salam as he had had no communication with your petitioner on the subject; Sir Frederick Hamilton then desired your petitioner to discharge the servant from his service and went away. In the course of that conversation, calculated by concession and apology to pacify the temper of Sir Frederick Hamilton, that gentleman still did not abstain from harsh and indecorous language. The intelligence of your petitioner's having been thus disgraced has been spread over the town, and your Lordship's humane and enlightened mind will easily conceive, what must be the sensations of any native gentleman under a public indignity and disgrace, which as being inflicted by an English gentleman, and that gentleman an officer of Government, he is precluded from resenting; however strong the conviction of his own mind that such ill-treatment has been unmerited, wanton and capricious. If natives, therefore, of caste and rank were to be subjected to treatment which must infallibly dishonour and degrade them, not only within the pale of their own religion and society, but also within the circle of the English societies of high respectability into which they have the honour of being most liberally and affably admitted, they would be virtually condemned to close confinement within their house from the dread of being assaulted in the streets with every species of ignominy and degradation. Your petitioner is aware that the spirit of the British laws would not tolerate an act of arbitrary aggression, even against the lowest class of individuals, but much less would it continue an unjust degradation of persons of respectability, whether that respectability be derived from the society in which they move or from birth, fortune, or education; that your petitioner has some pretensions to urge on this point, the following circumstances will shew:—

Your petitioner's grandfather was at various times, chief of different districts during the administration of His Highness the Nawab Mohabut Jung, and your petitioner's father for several years, rented a farm from Government the revenue of which was lakhs of rupees. The education which your petitioner has received, as well as the particulars of his birth and parentage, will be made known to your Lordship by a reference to the principal officers of the

Sudder Dewani Adawlat and the College of Fort William, and many of the gentlemen in the service of the Hon'ble Company, as well as other gentlemen of respectability and character. Your petitioner throwing himself, his character and the honor of his family on the impartial justice, liberality and feeling of your Lordship, entertains the most confident expectation that, your Lordship will be pleased to afford to your petitioner every just degree of satisfaction for the injury which his character has sustained, from the hasty and indecorous conduct of Sir Frederick Hamilton, by taking such notice of that conduct, as it may appear to your Lordship to merit.

And your petitioner in duty bound shall ever pray.

12th April 1809.

Note : A copy of the above petition was sent to the Magistrate of Bhaugulpur for his report on the 5th of May last.*

BHAGALPUR MAGISTRATE TO G. G.'S SECRETARY
To

G. Dowdeswell, Esq.,

Secretary to the Government in the
Judicial Department, Fort William

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 5th instant, together with a copy of a petition from Rammohun Roy.

2. On the receipt of the orders of Government, I called upon Sir Frederick Hamilton for his reply to the circumstances stated by the petitioner the original of which I have the honor to enclose for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council.

3. The necessary information has also been given to the petitioner agreeably to the orders contained in the second paragraph of your letter.

4. I have not entered into a regular investigation on the subject by calling upon the petitioner to prove the circumstances stated by him without receiving your further orders.

Zilla Bhaugulpur
Fowjdaree Adawlat
the 20th May, 1809

I have the etc.
Sd. J. Sanford
Magistrate.†

* Judicial (Criminal) Procdgs. 12th June, 1809.
No 26.

† *Ibid.*, No. 27.

SIR FREDERICK HAMILTON'S DEFENCE

Report

In the afternoon of the 1st of January last, I rode to a brick kiln near my house, where I alighted from my horse. While standing on the top of the kiln, I observed coming towards it, a palanquin highly decorated, attended by four chuprasseys. I turned to a servant of mine and enquired who it was coming along; he replied, Mr. Digby's Dewan, Baboo Rammohun Roy. He passed within about 6 ft. of where I was standing, elegantly dressed in blue silk, and silver fringe, his palanquin doors wide open; I said not a syllable to him. I took no notice of him nor he of me. When he had passed about 600 yds., he sent one of these outrunners with his salam, that he did not know it was the Collector, or he would have stopped. I immediately rode after him, desiring to know what he meant by sending his salam to me, as I have said nothing to him, that if he thought he ought to have made the salam, instead of sending, he should have returned, as the distance was so trifling. I reproached him for his want of civility, and warned him how he did so again to other gentlemen, lest he might find one who would not keep his temper with him so well as I had done. He said, he had not ordered his servant to give his salam; I then told him that he ought to punish his servant, for delivering messages without his orders. Upon which, in a great rage, he asked, 'How shall I punish him? Shall I cut off his ears?' 'No no, my friend'

said I, 'that is your look out', and rode away.

The above is a true and faithful account of a transaction between two private individuals. It may be necessary to observe that, previous to submitting this petition to Government, he sought redress in the Supreme Court in Calcutta, without success.

Sd. Frederick Hamilton*

SIR FRED. HAMILTON WARNED BY GOVERNMENT

Ordered that the Secretary write the following letter to the Magistrate of Bhaugulpur.

To the Magistrate of Bhaugulpur.

Sir,

I am directed by the Rt. Hon'ble the Governor General in Council, to acknowledge the receipt of a letter from you dated the 20th ultimo, with its enclosure, and to acquaint you that, from the inquiries which have been made, it does not appear that Rammohun Roy ever instituted any suit against Sir Frederick Hamilton in the Supreme Court of Judicature, or at all events, that such a suit was brought to trial. His Lordship in Council deems it however sufficient to desire that you will caution Sir Frederick Hamilton against having any similar altercation with any of the Natives in future.

I am, etc.

Fort William
the 12th June, 1809.

Sd. G. Dowdeswell
Secretary to Government in the Judicial Department.†

* *Ibid.*, No. 28

† *Ibid.*, No. 29.

The Garden Creeper

By SAMYUKTA DEVI

(23)

THERE was a good shower during the night. The wind howled outside, and tried to force an entrance through the closed shutters of the windows, thus giving rise to a tumultuous din. The trees in the garden waved their long leafy arms, defying

and fighting against the stormy wind. Dried twigs and leaves strewed the ground, and every tree, bush and creeper showed signs of the ravage, in the morning.

Mukti lay wide awake in her room. Memories of long past showers raised their heads in her mind and made her restless.

The playmates of her childhood, with their young, joyous faces, trooped in one by one through the paths of memory. Mukti seemed to have gone back to those care-free days and become a child again. She had thrown away her books and had run with the other girls into the rain, getting drenched to the skin. Miss Dutt, the teacher, had caught them, and given them heavy tasks, as punishment. So Mukti sat in the verandah of the bedroom, writing and looking out alternately, tears streaming down her small face.

Now Mukti recalled those days and felt inclined to laugh. How big those sorrows loomed in those days! To-day she was quite ready to welcome them back, if by so doing she could get rid of her present sorrows. Those sorrows hurt terribly while they lasted, but fortunately they did not last long. And there were no inward struggles, no complexities. But things were different now. Not only were there troubles innumerable all around her, but they were of a nature which offered no easy remedy. Life had become extraordinarily complex and she saw no way of escape.

In her childhood, she used to fight and quarrel with her friends, but she made up soon afterwards. There was Krishnadasi, for instance. Mukti used to become frantic with jealousy as that odious girl would try to alienate the affection of their young teacher Susie, from Mukti, and she would stand first in the singing competition, thus depriving Mukti of a prize. Mukti used to have terrible quarrels with Krishnadasi, but next day she would clasp her in her arms and swear eternal friendship. No psychological problem arose in their young minds, no complex feeling, half hatred half love, made their nights sleepless. They never troubled to think what impressions they were creating in each other's mind. Then there was that old coachman Pitambar. Mukti had terrible rows with him too, about that corner seat in the school bus and she would tear the chain of silver which the old man wore round his neck. But after an hour or so, she would weave a chain of red hibiscuses and present it to him as a peace offering. She never doubted that he would take it in the spirit it was offered. But these last few years had changed her beyond belief. Now she thought ten times before doing a single thing, taking a single step. She was always anxious about the impression she created, always afraid of being misunderstood. Especially with regard

to Dhiren, she wanted to be very careful. She understood very well that the young man was gradually getting too much attached to her. She did not know how to check his infatuation. The boy was rather difficult. He would get angry at jokes and he would be deeply hurt at a bit of sarcasm. On the other hand, he took ordinary civilities very seriously and was quite ready to lay down his life in gratitude for them. What could she do with such a person? She did not like hurting him, as thereby she hurt herself too. But she was afraid of being friendly too; Dhiren might mistake it for encouragement. He might try to rush the citadel of her heart, and Mukti was none too sure of herself. So she felt herself to be in an awful fix. There was none to help or advise her. The other two members of the family were all on the side of Dhiren, they had been getting fonder of the boy every day. Even Mukti could not wholly escape his fascination. Why else should she be so much afraid of hurting him? Why could not she tell him plainly, that he was not wanted? Dhiren would be awfully hurt, of course, but she need not have cared about that. She should have thought first of herself, her own conveniences and pleasures. But the trouble was, she could not do it. She knew Dhiren was in love with her, and a woman is always grateful for love, even when she cannot love in return. She could not push him away rudely and frankly. She could not tell him plainly that she had nothing to give him. So she tried diplomacy, but she did not succeed too well.

But she felt very impatient with Dhiren, though not exactly angry. Why could not he understand her? He was not stupid. Why could not he recognize the boundary line of friendship, she had set up and respect it? Why must he blunder in, like a bull in a china shop, and upset all her pet arrangements? Because she tried to spare him, he should not take advantage of her kindness of heart.

There are some women who are more in love with the idea of constant faithful love, than with the lover in person. They could bear to lose him but not their ideal. Mukti was getting very much nervous now. She knew that Jyoti had given her his whole heart, and she too had reciprocated that love. Now she was afraid of insulting that love, insulting Jyoti's whole-hearted faith in her.

She tried with all her might to love Jyoti more, to keep faith with him every minute, every second, of her life. But she was afraid of the growing influence of Dhiren upon her father and grandmother. They too might try to change her way of thinking. In fact, it seemed they had already begun operations. Her grandmother was too eager to secure a husband for her. And recently that imaginary husband had begun to take on a certain form in the old lady's mind. So Mukti was feeling very disturbed and restless. She wished she could go back to the peaceful days of her childhood. She had got tired of struggling with others and with herself.

She had fallen asleep, towards the small hours of the morning. She was dreaming a happy dream and her sleeping face looked as beautiful as a lotus bud. The storm had passed off during the night, and the air was heavy with the scent of the wet earth and the fallen leaves and blossoms. The morning sun shone brightly over the ravaged garden and peered in through the window shutters at Mukti. Mukti still slept on, while the end of her sari, with her ring of keys tied to it, rolled down on the floor, as if essaying egress out of the room. Suddenly, the padding of slipped feet were heard, and Shiveswar came out of his bedroom and entered his daughter's room. Seeing that she was still asleep, he gave her curls a playful tug, saying "Get up, Mukti darling, it is very late. The post man had already been, and left your English mail."

Mukti sat up at once, and found a letter in Shiveswar's hand. The handwriting showed that it had come from Jyoti. She rubbed her eyes vigorously and stretched out her hand for the letter. "I shall be coming down within a few minutes," she told her father.

Shiveswar went out of her room. Mukti took a hair-pin from her hair and slit open the envelope. The letter breathed joy and happiness in every line. She felt his love and trust in her through every word, he wrote, and she seemed to feel his clear gaze. He had mentioned Dhiren too, Dhiren who had become an obsession with everyone in this house. He had jested and joked in his old easy manner. This seemed to relieve Mukti a good deal. "We are all fools," she thought, "making mountains out of mole-hills."

Jyoti had sent her a water-colour drawing too. He had recently been taking lessons

from a teacher of drawing and could not refrain from showing himself off to Mukti. The drawing showed an Indian maiden passing through a forest, carrying an earthenware lamp, which she was sheltering with her palms. The ray of light from the small lamp fell on the forest glade. "The lamp of love," he had written underneath. Mukti seemed to recognize something of her own appearance in the picture of the girl. She went and stood near a mirror and consulted the picture again. Then she laughed and moved away from the mirror.

When at last she came down after finishing her toilette, she was in a very happy frame of mind. She had forgiven Dhiren completely and was blaming herself for having been so rude to him. The poor boy loved Shiveswar and liked them all, so he had said such things. And it was true too. People generally love to serve those whom they love. Mukti made a firm resolution, to make much of Dhiren, if he should come again, and to wipe off all memories of past cruelties from his mind.

Shiveswar sipped his tea and said, "I have decided upon going, Mukti. But I won't take you now, with me. You shall have to go to the college hostel again for some time. Mother may go to her country-house. I shall start within a week. I shall put up at Delhi for a few days, then pass on to Simla. Naresh Dutt had invited me to Delhi. Anadi, too, recommends the plan."

"But father", broke in Mukti excitedly, "I won't stay in the hostel for such a long time. Why, it would mean months and months."

"Certainly not," said Shiveswar laughing. "Many people go to the hills for the Pujah vacation. You too, come up then, with some of them. And if you don't want that, there is our Dhiren. He should be only too glad to escort you to Simla. I shall ask him to do so. He, too, will be on vacation then. Naresh Dutt was saying that Simla was simply grand during the Pujah season. They are all going. Anadi, too, thinks it would be good for you."

Mokshada had been hitherto listening to their talk silently. But the plan did not suit her at all. Why did they all want Mukti at Simla? Why did doctors Anadi and Naresh show such eagerness for it?

"But cannot Mukti come to me in the vilage?" she asked suddenly. "It is not

such a bad place. Why go to Simla at all?"

"We shall decide that later on," said Shiveswar. "It rests with Mukti. She will go, whenever she wants to. But those chaps are medical men, you know. They say that the mountain climate will do wonders for her. But of that hereafter. Now I should like to meet all my friends, before I leave town. Invite them all to tea for to-morrow. Mukti, since you will have to play the hostess, it is better that you should invite. And I shall invite Naresh Dutt, too. He had been very civil, and asked me to put up at his house in Delhi. A fine chap, Mukti. You don't know him? All right, you shall know him to-morrow."

Mukti felt very happy. She assumed an important air and said, "Yes, father, I shall go and write the invitations now."

On that very morning, poor Dhiren sat in his room, thinking and thinking. Why had Mukti begun to change so suddenly? A new regime must have begun in her heart. Her childhood had passed away, entirely and her youth had commenced. But who was the fortunate man, who had achieved this change? Who was he, whom Mukti kept enshrined in her heart? Could it be Jyoti? But he had gone away, long ago. Mukti was but a child then. She used to romp about like a tom boy. She had not begun to put on the airs of a grown-up woman. Then who could it be?

Could it be himself, by any chance? His whole being thrilled with happiness as the thought entered his mind, but he did not dare to believe it. But reason came to his aid. He was the only young man whom Mukti saw nowadays. He had not met any other visitor of marriageable age in their house. So, was this so impossible after all? Mukti had often been very sweet to him. She had also been rude frequently, but perhaps she did not mean anything. Perhaps she had been jesting.

Suddenly, the hooting of a motor horn broke through his meditations, and the driver of Shiveswar's car appeared, bearing a letter. The hand-writing on the cover was Mukti's. She had invited him to tea, next evening. Dhiren got up with a smiling face and dismissed the driver, telling him, he would be sure to come. He sent his respects to Shiveswar also.

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Mukti was never accustomed to afternoon naps. Having lived in a boarding school, from her childhood, she had not been able to form that habit. But, though a lot of people were coming in the evening to-day, she began very strangely to feel sleepy. She decided not to give way to this drowsiness, and took up a new collection of poems, intending to look through the book. But within a few minutes her eyes had closed and the book had found a resting place on the ground at her feet. Mukti was fast asleep on the sofa.

As the sun began to decline towards the west, Mokshada rushed into Mukti's room, crying "Good lord! look at her, sleeping soundly! She must have forgotten all about her guests. The old woman is to look after everything, I suppose? Here Mukti, get up at once, get up, I say! what a strange creature you are. Now, what if your guests come in? Who is going to receive them pray? I am no match for your modern friends, and you know that very well, too."

Mukti started up in alarm, at the loud voice of her grandmother. She began to roll up her loose hair and said in a petulant voice, "I am getting up, don't shout down the house-roof. Have all the guests arrived. that you are in such a hurry?"

"No need for hurry, of course," said her grandmother with sarcasm. "But who is going to arrange the tea things? I don't see any plates, cups or saucers, either. Are they to take care of themselves? And that brute of a Oriya gardener, has carried in a huge load of flowers and ferns and screaming like a railway whistle. I don't understand what he wants."

Mukti got up from the sofa, and rushed downstairs. She looked out once and said, "It is really late, I see. Hope someone does not arrive, before I am ready."

The old lady was still feeling a bit upset. "That would be a very good lesson for you," she said. "I wonder at your training! You don't seem to possess any sense of responsibility at all. We, on the other hand, forget to eat and drink until we have finished what we undertook."

Mukti went down to the drawing-room, first of all. It was all right, only the flowers, ferns and leaves, needed a bit of arranging to give the room a festive appearance. But that too can wait. First of all she must see

to the refreshments, and have them carefully arranged. For, if the guests began to arrive, she would not be able to leave them and come to this side at all. So Mukti sat down in the dining-room, with stacks of plates before her and began to arrange the refreshments. The servant, Ram, began operations with the ice-cream freezer, according to the young mistress's orders.

The sun set suddenly, a bit before its time, behind a bank of dark clouds and the shades of evening descended on the earth. Mukti had just put the finishing touches to the dining-room table and was trying to decide whether to dress or to arrange the drawing room first and Ram was turning the handle of the ice-cream freezer very diligently, giving rise to a strange music, when suddenly Dhiren entered the room, dressed immaculately and twirling a smart stick in his hand.

Mukti was taken aback. She was scarcely in a condition then to appear before any guest. Dhiren, too, noticed the dishevelled hair and dirty dress and nearly blushed with embarrassment. He should not have blundered in like this. "I am much before time, I am afraid," he said awkwardly. "Please don't mind me, but go on with your work."

Mukti was again herself by that time. "I cannot say whether you are before or behind time," she said with a laugh. "But I am glad to see you. I was just wanting some one to help me."

A flood of joy seemed to sweep through Dhiren's heart. Before starting out, he had thought and thought. He wondered how Mukti would treat him. Perhaps he had offended her too much, with his melodramatic airs, the other day. Perhaps his heroic pose had only made her laugh. Perhaps their relations could never be as easy and friendly as it had been before, due to his stupid blunder. So he was feeling rather nervous to appear before her.

But Mukti's laughing greeting blew away the clouds from his mind at once. "What sort of help?" he asked eagerly. "If a good-for-nothing like myself, can be of any use--"

Mukti was still full of the joy that Jyoti's letter had brought her. She was determined not to hurt Dhiren to-day. She wanted her festive day to be perfect, without any flaw anywhere. So she laughed again and said, "Oh, it is a terrible thing. I don't

think you will be able to manage, single-handed. I must call other people."

Dhiren entered into her merry mood and said with a fine show of anxiety, "But let me know first, what it is. If it is a question of physical strength alone, I dare say I shall be able to manage. Anyway, you won't get a stronger coolie than myself in the whole of Bhowanipore."

"Then I am sure, you deserve a trial. The fact is, I need somebody to arrange flowers in the vases, for the drawing-room."

Dhiren felt a bit disappointed, though he took good care not to show it. He would have been happy, if Mukti had given him something really hard to do. But he drove away that disappointment, because he was determined not to lose his opportunities, through making stupid scenes. He followed Mukti to the drawing-room, and took all her orders very seriously. "You won't have to work all alone," said Mukti, as soon as she had finished giving him directions. "I shall come down as soon as I can and help you" With that she went up to dress.

As soon as she had gone out, Dhiren set about his work, very seriously. But as he was going to place a bunch of flowers in a bronze vase, he was struck with the resemblance the flowers bore to somebody's eyes. He laughed at his foolishness and put the flowers in.

Mukti made as much haste as is possible for a young lady and came down to find Dhiren almost finishing his job. Very little was left. Between them the work was finished in no time. Mukti took up a flower vase and cast admiring glances at it. It contained a mass of green foliage and ferns and only a single big red rose peeped forth from amidst all this green.

"This is very beautiful," said Mukti. "You have got real artistic talent in you."

Dhiren smiled shyly at her praise. Then suddenly, he came close up to her and said, "But the praise is really due to you. I stole the idea from you."

"When?" asked Mukti, in surprise. "I don't remember ever having done anything like this."

Dhiren was silent for a moment, then he said, "Don't you remember the day, you returned from a party and I met you at your door? You were dressed all in green."

This was too daring and open a compliment. Mukti was startled out of her

equanimity. Of course, she knew that Dhiren admired her tremendously, but hitherto he had not expressed it in so many words. But he was getting bolder, it seemed. Mukti was on guard, at once. Perhaps, she felt a bit glad, too, because it is natural for a young girl to love admiration. She is always in love with love, though not always with the lover.

Many thoughts flitted across her mind, but aloud she spoke only a few words. "You are fast becoming a poet," she said.

"Yes, Jyoti has infected me," returned Dhiren.

Perhaps, he meant nothing more than he said. But Mukti tried hard to find out a hidden meaning. Why did Dhiren mention Jyoti? How had Jyoti infected him?

The state of affairs would have become more complex, if they had been left alone much longer. But suddenly a trill of laughter and the sound of talking, made Mukti conscious that her guests had begun to arrive. She rushed to the door with a smile of welcome on her lips. Dhiren too moved off, away from the flower-laden table.

His mind was in a turmoil. How could Mukti baffle him every time he tried to advance a bit? She looked so fragile and small! Yet what an insurmountable barrier had she set up between herself and Dhiren. With all his vaunted physical strength, he could not crash through it. Was there no way of getting within the citadel of her heart? He wanted to break down this impervious wall that surrounded the girl. Perhaps, even then he would gain nothing, but his suspense would be at an end.

A crowd of young people burst into the room. Mukti cast a single glance at Dhiren, then she got busy with her guests. Shiveswar too came down, and greeted them. Mokshada did not like these modern parties. So she always remained absent.

"Is that you, Dhiren?" cried Shiveswar, sighting the boy. "Have not seen you for ages. What kept you away? Have you been ill, or anything?"

"No sir," said Dhiren; "I am never ill. I was rather too busy these last few days."

"That's all right then," said Shiveswar slapping him on the back. "I was afraid you might be ill. But why are you standing in a corner? Don't you know anyone here? Come on, I shall introduce you. Chapala, this is my young friend, Mr. Dhiren

Mukherjee. Dhiren, this is Miss Chapala Ghosh, the daughter of a friend of mine."

Dhiren still felt shy, if brought face to face with any young lady, with the single exception of Mukti. Still he managed to bow with folded hands as Shiveswar introduced him and looked at the girl. He saw a pair of large dark eyes looking at him, from a small serious face. He pulled up a chair and sat down by her side, but could not utter a single word. He could find no topic for conversation. The girl Chapala, too, sat silent. She always spoke very little, even to old acquaintances, but Dhiren's attitude rendered her completely speechless. Her mother had been watching this stupid behaviour of her daughter and now she advanced to rectify matters as far as possible. But fortunately for Chapala, Shiveswar got into the way of the good lady, and an animated conversation sprang up between the two. The evening was cloudy, so the lights were switched on much before the usual time.

Another batch of guests arrived. "Oh is that you Chapala?" cried a fashionably dressed girl, and ran up to her. Dhiren got up from his chair and moved away. "Thank you," said the newcomer, smiling at Dhiren and throwing herself languidly in the chair. Dhiren would have liked to thank her, for getting him out of an unpleasant situation, but she had become engrossed in conversation with Chapala.

As Dhiren moved away from Chapala's side, his eyes naturally roved about in search of Mukti. He found her being introduced to a gentleman in English dress. "This is Doctor Naresh Dutt," he heard Shiveswar saying. Doctor Anadi stood by his side, beaming approval. Chapala's mother stood at a little distance, trying to catch Shiveswar's eye. She wanted an introduction to the young eligible doctor for herself and Chapala.

Doctor Naresh Dutt was not, strictly speaking, handsome. Still there was nothing in his appearance that justified Dhiren's anger as soon as his eyes fell on the young doctor. Dhiren was convinced that the man was a fop and a libertine. He wondered why Shiveswar allowed all sorts of people to approach Mukti and he thought it very unwise of Mukti to talk on with that young bouncer, for nearly half an hour.

But Shiveswar was not neglecting Dhiren. He introduced the boy to everyone, much

to his discomfiture. But fortunately for himself, the ladies did not try to converse with him. Chapala's mother did not condescend to talk to him, when she came to know that he was not "England-returned", or likely to be one. Bella began to titter at the sight of his solemn face, thereby drawing all eyes upon herself. Dhiren did not speak to Naresh Dutt even. But that gentleman was much in favour with Mrs. Ghosh. She would hardly let him go and talked on and on. But Shiveswar blundered in, in his usual undiplomatic manner and took away the young man to be introduced to Bella. An animated conversation soon sprung up between the two, which caused Chapala's mother to glare angrily at her own stupid daughter. But the young lady paid no heed whatever to the maternal glare and went on talking serenely to Mukti.

When the time came for serving refreshments, Dhiren ran to help Mukti and took everything off her hand. "He behaves quite like a gallant now," said Bella, giving Mukti a playful slap. "What had been the matter with him, so long?"

"He must have been struck stupid at the sight of your beauty and is just recovering," said Mukti.

Bella let out a trill of shrill laughter.

"May I have a share in the joke?" said young Mr. Dutt approaching. As he found no objection on the part of the fair ladies, he sat down then and there. Mukti left Bella to entertain him, and went off to look after the other guests.

Mukti approached Dhiren and asked, "Have you taken your tea? You have been so busy serving others."

"No, I haven't", replied Dhiren shortly.

Mukti felt a bit sorry for having neglected him so much. She ran and brought him a plateful of refreshments, saying, "A pretty hostess, I am! I should have looked after you better."

Dhiren took the plate from her hand, but the first mouthful seemed to stick in his throat. A few minutes later, Mukti saw him putting down the plate, and passing out through the door, leading to the inner apartments.

Mokshada had been looking in through the shutters, at the modern party, going on, in the drawing-room. The sight of Dhiren startled her somewhat. "Why have you come out, my dear?" she asked. "Go in and talk to them."

Dhiren drew out a cane stool, and sat down. "I am sick of talking," he said. "Besides, I don't know how to talk to those people. They are highly cultured and I am nothing but a country lout."

"Country lout indeed!" said the old lady indignantly. "Those cultured ones are not fit to hold a candle to you. Culture means something better than talking English, I can tell you."

Dhiren laughed at Mokshada's words and said, "Grandma, everybody does not hold such a high opinion of my attainments, as you do."

"Don't think I stand alone," said Mokshada. "I may be an uneducated old woman, but my son is a very learned and wise man. His words must carry weight. The other day he said that there were few boys as good as you and he would have considered himself fortunate, had God granted him such a son."

Dhiren sat up suddenly. "No! Did he say that really?"

"Yes, indeed. So I said, 'Why don't you make him your son? Then my son said—'"

"There now, grandma is on her pet subject." Saying this, Mukti came in and stood by them. She looked at Dhiren and said, "A nice person you are. Why did you escape from the drawing-room? To talk to grandma?"

"I don't think you have missed me much, have you?" said Dhiren. "I would not have been much of an acquisition in your set. Have your guests gone?"

"Yes," said Mukti, leaning against the railings of the verandah. "Otherwise, I could not have come in. Only Doctor Anadi is there, talking to father. Lord, how tired I am! Thank God, this sort of thing won't happen again for a long time."

"Why?" asked Dhiren. "Are you going to retire from the world, so soon?"

Mukti laughed aloud and said, "No, but I am going to retire to a college hostel, as father is going away to the hills."

"I see," said Dhiren, getting up. "I must be going now," he left almost at once.

Mukti too began to climb the stairs to her bedroom. She heard Mokshada saying to Dhiren, "I am going to the village, too. I shall meet you there."

As Mukti began to take off her party dress, she thought how serious Dhiren had looked all the evening. She had wanted to make him especially happy to-day, and she

felt angry with Dhiren for having thwarted her. She knew she could not keep him on as a friend, for ever. He had grown bolder of late, and he was trying to batter down barriers. Why could not he remain content, with what she had to give? He would have to be told the truth.

Dhiren too was thinking of the same thing as he walked towards his hostel. His uncontrollable eagerness would ruin his chances with Mukti. But perhaps it would

be better. No use running after a mirage all the days of his life.

But Mokshada's words again whispered a message of hope in his ears. Did Shiveswar really like him so much? Did she want him for Mukti?

But the decision was not yet to be. The father was going to the hills and the daughter was going to the college hostel. So Dhiren must learn to be patient.

(To be continued)

Philology, History and Archaeology in India*

By HEINRICH LUEDERS

(Read before the fifth conference of the German Orientalists at Bonn)

THE place at which the German orientalists have met for the fifth time has quite a peculiar interest for the German orientalists. Here at Bonn at the re-opening of the university in the year 1818 the first chair for Sanskrit was created and assigned to August Wilhelm von Schlegel. The government did much more to nurture this first centre of Indology in Germany: it furnished the university with types for the publication of Sanskrit texts in the original script, which Bopp too afterwards acquired for the Berlin Academy. Goethe then said: "A Sanskrit printing-house on the Rhine seems to me to be a great and almost impossible undertaking; but it is all the more creditable for that reason; may the Indus and the Ganges give their blessings to it."

Now the Indus and the Ganges actually saw it happen that Sarasvati, the goddess of the sacred lore, rose from their banks in order to prepare a seat for herself also in Germany. Among the pupils of Schlegel in 1819 and 1820 was also Heinrich Heine, who however attended only the Germanic lectures of Schlegel. At that time he admired Schlegel as much as he ridiculed him in later days. He portrayed him in the sonnets as a man who was indefatigable in collecting the treasures of the earth and who wanted to pick up the pearls even from the Ganges, and in a foot-note he remarks: "The Portuguese, the Dutch and the English have for long year in year out, carried away the treasures of India in their large ships; we Germans were mere spectators. But we had our share of the intellectual wealth of India. Schlegel, Bopp, Humboldt, Frank etc., are our present day East India traders (Fahrer); Bonn and Munich will be good factories." For Bonn at least the prophecy was soon to come true. When Schlegel for the first time in the Summer

semester of 1822 read the first elements of Sanskrit, there was Lassen sitting at his feet, who, though a Norwegian by birth, had long lived in Germany and here as the successor of Schlegel he wrote his Indian antiquities—the monumental work which contained the results of the first period of our philological activity and also marked the end of it.

In consequence of the political circumstances of the day, the edifice of Indian philology in Germany had to be built up without any help from the Indian pandits. The English pioneers in the field of the science of Indology such as Wilkins, Sir William Jones, Colebrooke, Wilson, Prinsep—all carried on their studies in the country itself with the assistance of the Indian pandits. To the German and the French Sanskritists however this source of knowledge was closed. They had only the literary works before them which at first were quite meagre. Already Bopp planned a journey to India but the first German Indologist to be able to carry on studies in India was Haug who in 1859 got a professorship for Sanskrit in Poona. Seven years later Kielhorn followed him and already in 1863 Buehler was a professor in the Elphinstone College, Bombay. Through Buehler and Kielhorn alone a real fruitful relation between the savants of the East and the West was established. Both of them have always candidly admitted how much they owe to the assistance and instruction of the Indian pandits. On the other hand, they were the first to make known to the Indian scholars the historical outlook and the critical methods of the west. The men who had worked before them in India were not capable of doing it, for they were not philologists or historians in the true sense of the words and neither had they any opportunity of giving instructions as teachers. Sir Charles Wilkins came as a "writer" in the civil service of the East India Company. Sir William Jones was a pious judge of the Supreme Court at Fort William in Bengal,

* Translated from the original German by Batakrisna Ghosh from *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 1929.

Wilson first belonged to the Medical Service and was later the mint warden at Calcutta and Prinsep was his successor to this post. Only Colebrooke for a few years was professor of Sanskrit at the College of Fort William, but he was only a part time professor. He was a member of the highest court of appeal in Calcutta, and under Lord Minto a member of the Council.

When these Englishmen came to know the Indian pandits they could look back upon a long past of several milleniums reaching up to the Veda, the oldest collection of sacred literature. The whole of this extensive literature had been orally transmitted from generation to generation through countless centuries. We do not know when the first Vedic text was written down but this is certain that the collection of the Rigveda, the oldest hymns, has been handed down with the greatest care. For us it is not easy to imagine how with human memory it is possible to preserve this huge mass of texts. It is still more astonishing that the collection and arrangement could be effected without the help of writing. But we hear nothing of it. Writing was certainly known in India about the middle of the third century B. C., the varieties of script in Aśoka's inscriptions in different parts of India prove that they must have been in use for a long time. But in the older period they seem to have been used only for business purposes and not used to write down the literary works. That oral transmission of extensive texts is possible is shown also by the Buddhists, the rivals of the Brahmans. The Buddhist canon too is said to have been orally handed down at first and only in the first century B. C. it was written down under the Singhalese King Vattagamani. We have no reason to doubt these statements. From the canonical texts of the Buddhists we know all the details of the life of the monk, but the reading or writing of the texts is never mentioned, nor is there a single word about manuscripts or writing utensils. In case of the danger of a text being lost it is prescribed that a monk should go to the neighbouring community, commit the text in question to memory and then return. It is remarkable that a man of wide knowledge is not called "widely read" by "*bahu-śruta*," "one who has heard much," and that every sūtra text begins with the formula "so have I heard." Of course, in judging the prodigious memory of the so-called Vedīs we should not forget that they can correctly recite the text up to the last accent but they understand almost nothing of the contents. They are just moving and living text-books. These people were, of course, more numerous in previous times than to-day, but even to-day, when almost every Vedic text has been printed, they have not died out. When I and my wife were in Conjeeveram with some Indian friends, the high priest of the Ekāmbaranath temple took us through a number of splendid temples which adorn the capital city of the Pallavas. For the hours of midday, which we spent in the room of an empty house, this lovable gentleman had prepared a peculiar treat for us: accompanied by two young Brahmans he recited the Taittirīya and the Rigveda Samhitās and noticing out joy at his treat he called in another Brahman who sang hymns from the Sāmaveda but their melody was somewhat marred, for the singer was quite hoarse. Similar Veda recitations regularly take place at Conjeeveram at regular intervals in

the Sridevarājasvāmī temple and on the occasion of great festivals nearly 1000 Aiyangar Brahmans are said to assemble there. I should however do no wrong to my friend the priest and assume that he too understood nothing of the text he recited; at all events he spoke excellent Sanskrit, the only language in which we could understand each other. Among those who are conversant with the Veda the Yājñikas certainly stand on a higher level, i.e. those Brahmans who learn the Vedic texts by rote and perform sacrifices according to them. When one afternoon in Madras I was in the house of Sir Sivasvāmī Aiyar, at an order from our host two Brahmans recited the Śrautasūtra of Āpastamba and they said that they have many times performed Śrauta sacrifices according to prescribed rules. The knowledge of the Vedic ritual and its texts has, of course, in course of time, fallen into the shade, but it has not disappeared. In Poona, the erstwhile capital of the Peshwas in Western India, attempts are being made to revive the study of the Vedic ritual texts more for practical purposes than for philologico-historical studies. In connection with the New Poona College a Mīmāṃsā Vidyālaya has been established where both the theory and the practice of sacrifices are taught. The visitor first enters a court-yard where long rows of cow-dung cakes are drying which will keep up the sacrificial fire. On one side Kuśa grass has been planted and in an enclosure there are the cows with their calves who give the milk for the sacrifice. In the middle of this place stands the Agnisālā with its four altars, a room, which naturally cannot be entered by any non-Hindu. We were allowed to look through the window. In an ante-room there is a set of the sacrificial utensils prepared exactly after the prescribed rules and the most complete that I have ever seen. The set of these utensils is purchasable but it is a pity that on account of the enormous price that was demanded I could not get it for the Indological seminar in Germany. The institute also intends to publish ritualistic literature and the Brahman who showed me all this gave me at parting a beautiful plan, in black and red, of sacrificial altars which are often very complicated. Vedic sacrifices are actually performed in this institute and on a second visit I had the opportunity of attending the performance of an evening Agnihotra. Never perhaps was I struck with the peculiar conservative trait which rules the intellectual life in India than on that evening when I saw the Brahman in his sacrificial attire reciting the mantras and performing the ceremonies just in the same forms as when they were fixed thousands of years ago. It would be false to say that the intellectual life in India is stagnant; on the contrary ideas in abundance have grown on the soil of India with changing times. But the ancient culture, though it may be pushed back into the background for some time, does not die; it preserves its place by the side of all that is new and it is this which lends such a perplexing abundance of different traits to Indian life which in my opinion may be explained only by studying it historically.

If now people are so eager to revive the study and practice of the Vedic sacrifice, it is in my opinion, connected with a heightened sense of national consciousness. An Indian now emphasizes

his own culture the root of which, if anywhere in the world, is here to be sought in religion. I have also observed that often Hindus of high castes who have fully assimilated western ideas, through long sojourns in Europe and by mastering more than one European language retain a pronouncedly national bias and make a parade of their orthodoxy. The same may be observed also in Buddhist regions. The excellent and unusually well-educated driver who took us through the primeval forests of Ceylon in his motor car is born of a Christian family; he himself has, however, been reconverted to Buddhism and from what he said about this change of creed I gathered that with him it is more a question of national prestige than of religion.

In oldest times the Veda was in sole charge of learning. But from the beginning of Indian Middle Age science came to be more and more separated from the Veda; independent branches of learning were established, such as philology and poetics, philosophy, law and statecraft, astronomy and medicine. The depositories of this learning were the Śāstris or pandits. The system of teaching was based, as among the Vedis, on the one teacher system. A savant gathered round him a number of young people and instructed them in the Śāstra, the branch of learning, to the study of which he has devoted his own life. The pupils lived in his house and were completely under his guidance and supervision during the period of study. There was no fixed rule as to the honorarium for the teaching, yet it was customary to pay a *gurudakṣiṇā* to the teacher at the end of the period of study. Moreover, the king of the region and well-wishing patrons bestowed gifts on the teacher for his maintenance and as a rule, he never lacked patronage. The princes who were particularly interested in learning were also fond of assembling a large number of such teachers, permanently or for a period of time, at a certain place, particularly because it gave a good opportunity for disputations so much in vogue in India. At the beginning of our era Taxila had become a seat of learning of this sort. The university quarter of the town which has been recently excavated, may still be reorganized by the peculiar structure of the buildings. Other centres such as Mithilā and Nabadwip, the birth-place of the famous Vaiṣṇava reformer Chaitanya, have preserved the fame of their Sanskrit schools up to the present day. Private activity in a mild degree, founded such schools often also in connection with temples and Mathas, and these schools flourished particularly at sacred places, where troops of pilgrims met and gifts in large quantities accumulated. In this way grew up the Sanskrit schools of Benares. The system of higher education among the Indian Muhammadans too has grown up exactly in these lines. Schools supported by public or private bodies were established along with mosques and many of them such as those of Gopāmau and Khairabad in Oudh or Jaunpur in the vicinity of Benares attracted students not only from all parts of India but also from Afghanistan and Bukhara.

The Indian system of teaching had, of course, its disadvantages. The pupil is unconditionally subjected to the teachers and thus a feeling of difference towards the authorities is developed which hampers

the free development of the students' own researches and retards the progress of science. A small story of the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad is characteristic of the Indian view. There it is described how Satyakāma Jābāla in the deep solitude of the forest acquired the knowledge of the Brahman. Poetically it is described as a revelation that came home to him through a bull, the glaring fire, a wild goose and a diving bird. He comes back to his teacher who divines from his beaming appearance that he has acquired the knowledge of the Brahman and asks him who has taught him. "Creatures other than men," is his answer, "but it is my desire that your honour should proclaim it to me for I have heard from people who are equal to your honour that learnt from the teacher the learning goes the straightest way." "Then," it is said, "the teacher taught him the same thing; there was nothing different in it." Here it is quite clear that only that learning which is taught by the teacher was recognized as such.

Moreover, it is not to be denied that in this system of teaching a sharp specialization soon made appearance. As the teacher was generally acquainted only with one branch of learning and taught that one alone the student was deprived of the fruitful influence of the allied disciplines. It is self-evident that there can be no question of an historical outlook and the modern philologico-critical methods.

On the other hand, however, it cannot be disputed, that the traditional learning of the Śāstris and pandits has such a depth as can never be attained by western learning which is necessarily of a broader nature. Whoever wishes to delve into the deep secrets of Indian philosophy or philology must even to-day go to these living sources in the shape of the learning of the Śāstris, for the indigenous Sanskrit culture is in no way extinct; in India I have met a number of its representatives and their achievements have filled me with wonder and admiration. But it has to struggle hard for its existence. It received the severest blow when in 1834 the government made English the basis of higher education. The decision was carried out not without remonstrances; the party of the orientlists wanted to develop higher education on the study of the classical languages of the East, but they succumbed to the eloquence of Lord Macaulay who was then member of the Council of Education.

The Indians now consider this system of education defective, which aims at imposing the western sciences on India by means of the English language. In my opinion, the English system of examinations, with the fixed number of lectures, the prescribed text-books and the exclusively written examinations, has not worked happily. Very naturally it often induces students to commit their text-books to memory without even understanding them and in India many fine stories are told about the result of such examinations. But we must not forget that in this way India has come to understand the spirit of western science and that in many departments of learning it was impossible to do anything except through English. In Sanskrit philology however for more than one generation no European influence could be traced. Only from the beginning of the seventies of the last century western methods and western views began to spread. In the Bombay Sanskrit Series founded by Bühler and

Kielhorn Shankar P. Pandit and Kaṣṭhānāth Trimbak Telang brought out the first critical editions of texts, and they were followed by R. G. Bhandarkar, who, equally honoured as a man and a savant, worked in the spirit of modern research and thus broke new ground in various branches of Indian philology.* The idea of "Research Work" has since then struck roots ever deeper and deeper. What Indian schools have performed and are still doing can now in no way be ignored in a history of the research works. On 6th July 1917 an Art Academy, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, was opened at Poona with the purpose of encouraging the study of Sanskrit in India in the new spirit under the auspicious name of the great Poona Sanskritist. As one of its earliest tasks the institute has taken up a critical edition of the gigantic epic of the Mahābhārata. The plan of such an edition was formed already about 30 years ago. It was to have been carried out by the International Association of Academies; but in Europe the plan was buried for ever with the outbreak of war and the consequent dissolution of the Association. India has now taken up the plan. By visiting the institute I am quite convinced that the organization of the undertaking has left nothing to be desired. The collation of manuscripts is carried on by pandits, who are doing the work mostly at Poona and partially also at Rabindranath Tagore's institution at Shantiniketan. Technical arrangements are such that the greatest amount of accuracy is guaranteed. The restoration of the text is left in the hands of my former pupil Dr. Sukthankar. The first fasciculi of the Ādiparvan have already appeared. During the Xmas days when I was in Poona I went over the text, line by line, with the editor and I can assert that his work answers to the strictest requirements of method and critical study. If this difficult edition can be carried out to the end according to the principles which have been followed here, it will prove that India is in a position to perform the greatest tasks in the field of philology.

The progress of Indian philology in historico-critical lines is now irresistible; but should on that account the traditional methods of learning be completely destroyed? At the oriental conference which took place at Simla Indian and English scholars in one voice pleaded for its preservation. But those resolutions have not led to any practical results. Now preparations are in progress to establish a college at Poona in the ancient Vishram Bag palace with the intention of producing modernized Sāstris. In a preparatory course of study for five years the student shall learn the rudiments of Sanskrit Grammar and also acquire a knowledge of English and the geography and history of India. Then begins the real six years' course of the study of the special Sāstra. It is a characteristic feature of this proposed institution that besides the ancient branches of learning such as grammar, logic, Vedic theology, law, astronomy, medicine, poetics, Vedānta philosophy with its four varieties, Advaita, Dvaita, Viśiṣṭādvaita and Suddhādvaita, also

Pali and Buddhism along with 'Ardhamāgadhī and Jainism are subjects of study that may be chosen. The study of a special branch shall moreover be supplemented by that of other two or three allied subjects and during the last two years the study of the history of Indian literature and religion is also to be taken into consideration. At the end of every two years an examination shall be held and through such examinations the titles of an Upādhyāya, Sāstrī and Ācārya may be won one after another. The plan is very fine, but I cannot repress a misgiving that the goal aimed at in this institution of enlivening the ancient traditional learning with the historico-critical methods will be reached only by few students with extraordinary gifts.

It is not only the conflict between the old and the new methods of the study of Sanskrit that awaits decision to-day, more and more voices are now being heard which would replace the Sanskrit by modern Indian languages. In the South in particular the Dravidian languages are raising their heads as rivals of Sanskrit: the Dravidian languages to some extent possess an ancient literature and therefore may claim to be regarded as classical languages. In South Indian high schools the Dravidian languages, above all Tamil, have been given an equal position in the system of education and often a peaceful struggle seems to have set in. In the well-regulated university of Chidambaram however when I congratulated the students that Sarasvatī has revealed her stores to them in two languages there was a unanimous acclamation. The study of Indian dialects from a scientific point of view should be most heartily welcome. Here a wide untrodden field is open to research which moreover may be cultivated successfully only by the Indian scholars. Almost everything yet remains to be done for the history of the languages on which again depends the knowledge of the oldest history of the country. The monumental Linguistic Survey of India undertaken by Sir George Grierson and now happily concluded gives us a glimpse of the treasures that lie hidden here. Indians at one time have done magnificent work in the sphere of the science of languages. By shrewd observations of the sounds in language they built up even in prehistoric times such a system of phonetics as commands our respect even at the present day. In grammar they excelled all that was ever achieved in ancient Greece. Pāṇini's grammar is a wonderful work not only because of its technical structure but also for its fine observations and exhaustiveness. In Europe the science of comparative philology of the Indo-European languages has been based on the Indian grammar and its methods are followed now in all linguistic researches. Comparative philology is also taught now in India, at least in the big universities. But here of course it is quite different from what we understand by it. The teacher, even when he possesses a comparatively wider knowledge, cannot teach his pupils comparative philology, who besides Sanskrit, understand only their own dialect and English and a little of an Iranian language at the best. Therefore, there can be no question here of anything but the most elementary principles of comparative philology, and the Indian who wants to study the modern Indian languages will have to go to the West for the necessary

* Prof. Lueders might also have mentioned the Bibliotheca Indica Series of Bengal and the pioneer work done in many departments by Rajendralala Mitra. *Tt.*

initial equipments. Younger Indian scholars have shown that they are prepared for the task and a work like that of Suniti Kumar Chatterji on the origin and development of the Bengali language awakes in us the best hopes for the future.

At the present day however the younger Indian scholars are more inclined towards historical studies than towards philological ones. It is said of ancient India that she had no sense for history. This is, of course, exaggeration. Materials for historical studies are in existence and they come from the same motives as in the West. When Kharavela of Kalinga had a full report of his administrative activities engraved on the rock of the Hathigumpha cave, arranged according to the years, it is with the purpose of keeping his achievements fresh in the memory of posterity. Even the father of Grecian history remarks in his foreword that he has composed his work so that the achievements of mankind may not fade away with the passage of time and the wonderful deeds both of the Greeks and the Barbarians may not lose their glory. When however Herodotus proceeds to say that he wishes also to record the causes of the wars between the Greeks and the barbarians, he rises to a point of universal history which was never reached by the Indians. The Indian eye has also failed to detect the distinction between history and fable. The historical work is an epic and the epic an historical work. Even to-day sharp brains are busy to discover the exact date of the Mahabharata war. The historian in India is, therefore, the poet. Even Kalhana the author of the Rajatarangini, the chronicle of the Kashmirian Kings, almost the only Indian historical work that deserves this name—even he feels himself to be a poet: "who else than the poet," says he in the introduction, "can recall the past before the eyes of men?" The Indian poet, however, is bound down by chains of conventions. His portraiture of the ruler, of whom he speaks, is of the type of the heroes of the epic and it is determined by the prescribed rules of artificial poetry. Nor should we forget that the poet depends on the king for his maintenance and is therefore compelled to glorify his patron when dealing with contemporary history. This relation of dependence is also responsible for the fact that so little of this literature has come down to us though at one time it was certainly very extensive. With the death of the ruler or on the extinction of his family the work which glorified him or his family lost all interest: it was never copied again and perished soon. Only accident or particular literary merit has preserved a few specimens of this literature. Thus we cannot get the political history of ancient India, which is also the basis of the history of literature, science and art, from literary sources. In India we must reconstruct the history mainly from inscriptions which are scattered over the land in thousands on stones and copper-plates. English civil and military officers, conjointly with the Indian scholars such as Bhau Daji and Bhagvanlal Indraji, have done the pioneer work in this sphere. Yet, however, epigraphy became a special branch of learning only by the labours of men like Kielhorn, Bühler, Fleet and Hultzsch.*

By their labour Indian epigraphy has reached such a degree of perfection that their achievements may compare favourably with those in the field of classical antiquities, though the difficulties of language and script is here much greater than in the case of Greek or Latin inscriptions. To-day the work on inscriptions lies mostly in the hands of Indian scholars and it must be admitted that the publications in the *Epigraphia Indica* have kept up the level to which they were raised, by the western scholars and that the official organization of Indian epigraphy is doing excellent work.

Archaeology is closely connected with epigraphy, specially for the older period. During the first century of the British rule in India the government had done almost nothing for the study and preservation of the ancient monuments. Only in 1860 the Archaeological Survey of Northern India was established to which local organizations in Bombay and Madras were attached. In 1871 General Sir Alexander Cunningham came to be the head of the Survey which was entrusted at that time only with the task of antiquarian researches and the description of the monuments, while the work of conservation was left to the local bodies which however were not always competent for the task. Only in 1880 the post of a conservator was created and assigned to Major Cole, but only for three years. Cunningham's enthusiastic devotion has enriched the science of Indology in various ways, but neither he nor his assistants had the special training necessary. The means were scanty and finally government lost all interest in it. In 1889 the post of the Director-General was abolished and Indian archaeology carried on a meagre existence. The impetus came about a decade later when Lord Curzon became the Viceroy of India, who with his characteristic energy and far-sight reorganized the Archaeological Survey. At its head now stood Sir John Marshall, who had prepared himself for the task by his study of classical archaeology and what the Archaeological Survey has achieved during the last 25 years is one of the greatest and the most impressive things that modern India can show to the stranger. It would take too long if I were to give here even a brief outline of the achievements. The work consists of excavations of the historical sites on the one hand and the reconstruction and conservation of the monuments scattered over the land on the other. It has been complained that too much is spent on the latter task and that it would be better rather to make the soil yield new treasures. I do not think that this complaint is justified. Whoever has seen the black temple of Kanarak, perhaps the most perfect of all Hindu buildings, the magnificent temple of Bhuvaneswar or Conjeeveram, the stupas of Sanchi and Sarnath, the cave temples of Western India and Orissa, restored to their ancient forms, will certainly admit that labour and money have not been wasted here. In the forts of Delhi, Agra and Lahore the ugly barracks of the last century are being levelled and the whole picture gives an impression of the magnificence of the ancient imperial palaces. The marble pavilions of Shah Jahan on the banks of the Anasagar in Ajmere have been rebuilt out of the débris. The mosques and the tombs of the Adil Shahs of Bijapur, mausoleums of Humayun, Akbar and Jahangir have been rescued from the

* Prof. Lueders has not mentioned his own stupendous work in this field—his *List of Brahmi inscriptions*. 7r.

threatening danger of accident. Jewels such as the grave of Itimad-ud-daula or the Chini-ka-Rauza of Afzal Khan are now to be seen in all their pristine glory.

And the excavations carried out are in no way negligible. The ancient Srāvastī, and the extensive surface of old Taxila have been discovered. The excavations at Sarnath and Bitha and at many other places have thrown valuable light on the history of India. The exhumation of the famous monastery of Nālandā is a magnificent achievement, and from scientific and technical standpoint it has filled me with wonder and admiration. In very recent times the excavations of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa have made undreamt-of revelations regarding prehistoric India up to 3000 B.C. and brought out proofs of cultural relation with the Euphrates civilization. Such brilliant results have not failed to induce emulation in the Native States; they too have partially created archaeological organizations and a visit to Ellora and Ajanta will convince everybody of the excellent work done by the Survey of Hyderabad. Through the archaeological investigation of the soil a large number of valuable finds have been collected in the museums of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Lahore, Peshawar, Lucknow and elsewhere. The arrangement, however, often leaves much to be desired, for often there is want of space and the edifices of the older period are little fitted to the purpose. In recent times however local museums have been established at the places of excavation, as in Muttra, Sanchi, Sarnath and Taxila. The most imposing of all is the museum opened a few months ago at Taxila, with its incomparable treasures. The splendid gold and silver finds, whose value in popular imagination will certainly rise to be fabulous, should however be kept in a safer place than that building in the frontier province infested by dacoits. The museums in Indian cities are also eagerly visited by the people. The museum of Lahore was visited at all hours by noisy crowds in multi-coloured clothes. Families, men, women and children loitered about in troops in the dusty halls of the museum. It appeared to me however that the magnificent Gandhara sculptures evoked in the iconoclastic Muhammedans and Sikhs rather a scoffing wonder than any respectful admiration.

In cultured society the study of Indian antiquities has found splendid response. The interest in the history of the land has been aroused and is in no way confined to the antiquarians. At my lectures on historical subjects a large portion of the audience consisted of jurists and higher executive officers and even when the theme was difficult to follow they did not fail in understanding or attention. Everywhere societies and unions have been established for researches about the history of the province. The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad of Calcutta which invited me to its beautiful hall adorned with the pictures of Bengali savants, is devoted to the research on the history and literature of Bengal in the widest sense of the word. It also possesses a fine museum and a rich collection of manuscripts and books and its extensive publica-

tions testify to its warm intellectual activity. In Patna the Bihar and Orissa Research Society has been established. The central figure in it is Mr. Jayaswal, an advocate of the High Court. It is characteristic of the spirit of modern India that this gentleman with multifarious duties devotes every minute of his free hours to historical studies. Untiringly, till deep into the night he explained to me his new readings of the Hathigumpha inscription on plaster of Paris casts, with which he covered the *salon* of my English host. The Greater India Society of Calcutta has devoted itself to the history of the relations between ancient India and foreign countries as well as the history of ancient Indian colonization. A large number of new journals has been started, chief of which is the Indian Historical Quarterly.

Undoubtedly this lively interest for the history of ancient India is closely connected with a heightened sense of national consciousness. The love for home, for the fatherland, induces men to investigate the past and in its turn patriotism gets new strength from it. Often bitter complaints are heard from the mouth of Indians how the glory in which the great Mother India once shone forth has now so completely faded away.

It is impossible to give a detailed picture of the present condition of the philologico-historical studies in India. I have tried to bring out some of the characteristic features and the distinction between the past and the present conditions. India is still in a transition period. Undoubtedly, she will still have to learn a great deal from western science. But it is equally certain that we too may derive infinite benefit by fathoming the depths of the indigenous learning. An institute on Indian soil would best serve to bring about this exchange of ideas. In the present condition of Germany the establishment of such an institution is out of the question. But it is still possible for us to send our Indologists, particularly the younger ones, to India for a few years, not only to gain a true picture of the land and the people and their culture—although this too is of the highest importance—but also to study for some time under the native Śāstrīs. Such an intensive study of Indian thought will carry rich rewards. India has preserved her features even to this day, and it is good. As in the society of individual men, so also in the chorus of nations, it is desirable—nay, necessary—to preserve one's individuality—the whole of it should never be subjected to fatal distortion. But that does not at all imply that one should not learn from another. The English poet might have been right when he said: Oh, East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet. But also the word of the great German poet who in his age flew to the east to gather new creative power there—the word of Goethe—is standing out more and more in all its truth:

Whoever himself and others knows,
Will also here perceive :
Orient and Occident
Are no longer to be distinguished.

What A Technical Student Going Abroad For Industrial Training Should Know

By PREM N. MATHUR

1. FOREIGN CONCEPTION OF EDUCATION

COLLEGE is not the place where one's memory is trained to carry a few dates in history, a few theories in religion, philosophy or economics, a few facts in mathematics, chemistry or physics, but where one's mind is trained to accomplish things. College renders its best service as an intellectual gymnasium, where mental muscles are developed and the student taught to do what he can. For some it is necessary to go to a college to acquire that training, while for others it is not. It is just like stones and woods, some can take a beautiful polish while the others cannot, but it is the texture which counts. The texture of a man is his courage, vitality, character, and his rock bottom brain power. The real education of a man starts when he comes in contact with men and materials, i. e., when he takes a hammer and an axe and gets out where he can sense life.

What a man can do to help and heal the world is his educational test. If a man can hold his own end, he counts for one, and if he can help many to hold their ends, he counts for more. Contrary to the Indian conception, in foreign countries a great man is he who gives bread and butter to the largest number of people. Mr. Ford is the greatest man living to-day, because he is supporting directly or indirectly about two million people.

One may be quite rusty on many things which inhabit the realm of books, but nevertheless he is a learned man just the same. When a man is master of his own sphere, he has won his degree and has entered the realm of wisdom. The best that education can do for a man is to put him in possession of his powers and teach him the control of the tools with which destiny has endowed him.

2. THE GREATEST VICTORY FOR A YOUNG MAN

The greatest victory which a student can attain in his life is to find out for himself

once for all the profession in which he is most interested, and for which he is most fitted. This is an age of specialization. There is no room for an average man. One must be above the average in order to do good to himself, his family, his country, and then the world at large.

3. DEFINITE INFORMATION

Next in importance is the necessity of having definite information pertaining to one's profession. The course of a ship at sea is determined through mathematical calculations which give definite location of the sun and the stars. There is no guess work about the process. The findings are precise and accurate. And upon the information obtained, the ship is steered with precision and the direct course is obtained to the next port of call. Without the charts, maps and other necessary instruments, the ship would wander aimlessly over the ocean, thus not only endangering herself but often becoming a menace to the progress of others. No matter how expert the navigation and the crew, there would be no certainty of a successful voyage if the right means of guiding the ship are absent.

In each and every profession and industry the conditions are exactly the same. In order to guide the destinies of any commercial enterprise, there should be a true and tried course to follow, which is known by experience to lead to success. Just as plainly as the light tower guides the way into the harbour, so there are sign-posts which point the way to commercial prosperity. These however do not shine like harbour lights and point the way even to a careless operator, but on the contrary they are invisible to the common gaze and are only seen to those who through close examination and study dig out the fundamental elements of their business.

4. WHAT IS INDIA ?

India is rightly called the continent of villages, since she harbours within her four

walls 700,000 villages. This fact in itself determines her industrial and commercial conditions. In India about 90 p.c. of the population resides in villages. Furthermore, statistics show that 90 p.c. of the inhabitants of every district were born in that district or its immediate neighbourhood. Indian village communities are small republics, having everything they want amongst themselves, and are almost independent of any foreign relation. Every village is self-contained and a self-sufficing whole. The fluctuation of demand and price in the market of the world does not affect them in the least. There is no intermigration of capital and labour amongst the different villages. This condition is aggravated by caste, climate, religion and social differences

5. ESTABLISHING AN INDUSTRY

Under the present circumstances, the cottage industrial system of old Europe and present Japan is the only solution of the industrial problem of India. The following are some of the simple cottage industries which can be established in the various parts of the country :—

- a. Poultry and Dairy Farms.
- b. Curing of Hides and Skins.
- c. Vegetable Oils and Mutton Fat.
- d. Perfumery.
- e. Mills for cotton, Linseed and Castor oil seeds.
- f. Flour Mills.
- g. Rice Mills.
- h. Coconut oil and Butter.
- i. Carpets and Shawls.
- j. Ivory and Brass Works.
- k. Nux Vomica.
- l. Peanut Butter.
- m. Soaps.
- n. Toys.

In urban India of over 5,000 inhabitants the small shop-type of industrial system can be adopted, where under one roof not more than 250 people should be employed. In connection with this system a co-operative but independent relationship between the ownership of diversified industries should be brought about. This co-operation should be extended to co-operative buying and selling, but should be independent in operation. Some of the small shop-type industries which can be established in the various parts of the country are as follows :—

- a. Cotton Yarn.
- b. Flour, Rice, Oil and Sugar-cane Mills.

- c. Tannery.
 - d. Soap Industry.
 - e. Cast Iron and Steel Foundries.
 - f. Sericulture.
 - g. Date Industry.
 - h. Wood Distillation, Paints and Varnishes.
 - i. Lac.
 - j. Cricket Bats and Rackets.
 - k. Pulp and Paper.
 - l. Pottery.
 - m. Preservation of Fruits.
 - n. Boots and Shoes.
 - o. Cement.
 - p. Ferro Alloys.
 - q. Tobacco.
 - r. Saw Mills.
 - s. Brushes.
 - t. Utilization of Horns, Bones and Bristles.
- The machine shop-type of industrial system should be organized in connection with the following :—
- a. Iron and Steel with Bye-Product Recovery Coke-Ovens.
 - b. Glass.
 - c. Hydro-Electric Power, generation and distribution.
 - d. Mining Operations of all kinds.
 - e. Railway and Transportation System.
 - f. Wireless, Telegraphy, and Telephone.
 - g. Cotton, Jute, Flex and Hemp Mills.
 - h. Pearl Fishing.
 - i. Manufacture of Electrical Goods, *viz.*, Motors, Generators, Batteries, Fans, and other appliances.
 - j. Ship-building.
 - k. Manufacture of Automobile Trucks and Tractors.
 - l. Petroleum.
 - m. Tea and Coffee Plantations.
 - n. Moving Picture Industry.
 - o. Mining and Marketing of Graphite, Manganese Ore, Chromium Ore, Cobalt, Bauxite and Mica.
 - p. Match, Watches and Clocks.

6. SOME OF THE FACTORS GOVERNING THE SUCCESS OF AN INDUSTRIAL UNDERTAKING IN INDIA.

(a) Marketing and not manufacturing is the main problem of the Indian industrialists. In India the failure of practically all the manufacturing concerns is not due so much to the inefficient manufacturing methods as to strong competition in marketing. The fact, however bitter it may be, is that the Indians still worship the foreign trade-marks. Government and Railway Stores in awarding

contracts to the Indian concerns have done more towards the industrial development of the country than any other factor.

(b) Goods and their prices : In India price conditions and not the sentiments are the predominating factors of trade. It is the cheapness and not the quality that counts. The number of articles purchased by the masses is a more important factor rather than how good a thing they can buy. In doing business with the upper and middle classes, it may be possible to secure a rather high margin of profit, but the sales must be comparatively few. In doing business with the large masses of the people the margin of profit may be extremely small, but the sales and the collective profit may be enormous. The above-mentioned fact holds good even in the United States of America. The success of Ford Motor Co. depends on one fact and one fact alone, i.e., they are building a car which is serving 95 per cent. of the people, is the easiest and most dependable to operate, and at the same time combines the cardinal mechanical virtues of durability, simplicity and inexpensiveness.

(c) Type of partners : In order to avoid the waste of time, unnecessary worry, and all foolish arguments, let your partners be only those men who are well acquainted with the mystery of your business. Never should in the life history of the company, the controlling interest be in the hands of a half-interested party. Have personal interviews with your customers, give credits and other privileges to the right ones and as far as possible make your consumers your shareholders.

(d) Advertising : Follow the example of the United States in the means and methods of advertising and set aside at least 10 per cent. of the annual profits for this purpose.

(e) Quantity production : Use ample specialized machinery, labour, insurance, transportation and time-saving devices. Let the production cycle as well as the cycle from the manufacturer to the consumer be as short as possible. Never lose sight of the necessity of having interchangeable parts for mass production.

(f) Production of department heads : As far as possible let all the departmental heads of your factory be the product of your own organization. Besides, see that the company should never have any of its departments as one man's department. There should be an assistant for each and every executive in the plant. Shop apprentice

course is the only system which has proved successful for this purpose.

(g) The control of primary necessities : Never lose sight of the fact that the more a company is independent of other concerns, whether in India or outside, not only as regards its raw materials, machinery etc., but even as regards power, heat and light used in the manufacture of the article it is engaged in, the longer it will last. Had the Ford Motor Company not followed this motto, she would have been out of business long ago.

(h) Eliminate middleman's profit by manufacturing finished articles : The study of the various industrial undertakings in this world clearly proves the fact that only those concerns made the most profit who manufactured and marketed the finished article. Take for example the annual profits of the U.S. Steel Corporation and those of the Ford Motor Co., the former did not make as much profit on her capital investment as the latter did.

(i) Experience and training on foreign capital : Get your practical experience and training in foreign countries and go into the manufacturing end of that article and that article alone in which you have thoroughly specialized. India at present is not in a position to accept failures as a means towards success. In India one failure generally causes a great discouragement and often a complete banishment of the prospective investors from that field.

7. GENERAL HINTS AND SUGGESTIONS

(a) Prior to leaving India it is advisable to secure introductory letters from missionaries, businessmen, salesmen and agents, who have social and business relations abroad.

(b) A comprehensive knowledge of India's social, religious and political problems is highly recommended, because one usually finds himself faced with such controversial questions by Europeans and Americans.

(c) Prior to leaving India, one should finally decide the profession he is going to follow, and if possible work in the various plants of India and study their problems.

(d) Ignore racial differences as they are the product of your own imagination rather than of European or American creation. However, on account of the Negro problem in America, men of low education often confuse the dark complexion of the Indians with that of the Negroes. Sometimes it is

very embarrassing to a newly arrived Indian. However, just a little tact on his part would relieve him of this difficulty.

(e) Spread out and live in foreign families rather than with your own people, otherwise you won't be able to study their manners, customs and habits, which have played so important a part in the industrial developments of their country.

(f) Adaptation to environment being the first sign of life, as far as possible when you are in Rome do as Romans do. A good mixer in foreign countries accomplishes more than a man of quiet habits.

(g) Be lively and peppy. Never miss the opportunity of mixing with big men, thereby getting the chance of advertising your own country and at the same time learning the characteristics and qualities of big businessmen. It often pays to learn how little a man knows and how big a job he is handling.

(h) In foreign countries it is natural for a man to pick up and study the dark side of a nation. This should be avoided. Devote yourself wholly and solely to the study of those factors which have made that nation so great. Forget religion and politics while in foreign countries.

(i) During your stay in foreign countries, organize yourselves into small groups or societies, all the members of which must have interests in the same or similar profession. All the organizations which are made up of members having interests in different lines and then put under the leadership or guidance of a student of political economy, philosophy or religion never succeed. This will also enable different individuals to select their own partners for doing business in India.

(j) Ambition, hard work irrespective of its nature, and sense of observation with open eyes, active ears, and mouth shut, form the key to one's success in foreign countries. Never boast of your wealth at home, or of achievements of your forefathers, because the Europeans and Americans honour the man for what he is, and not for what his ancestors are or had been.

(k) Immediately on your arrival get acquainted with all the sources of information viz. Educational Aid Societies, Information Bureaus and Government Publications, available in the country.

(l) In foreign countries the most important qualifications for success are, first, the possession and frequent use of that very uncommon thing, common-sense which is the most dynamic force on this planet, and secondly to get along with other men, work with other men and work through other men, for the accomplishment of your own ideals. To these things education, technical training and craftsmanship are secondary in importance.

8. TECHNICAL TRAINED STUDENTS ABROAD AND THEIR UTILIZATION IN INDIA

At present there are about 200 young Indians engaged in various capacities in different industrial pursuits in foreign countries. Financially as well as otherwise they are doing well and are pretty well satisfied with their lots. However, they have a natural desire to return home and apply the knowledge and practical experience which they have acquired in foreign countries for the benefit of the motherland. It is the duty of each and every true patriotic Indian capitalist to extend a helping hand to these young men.

Russian Peasants Before the Revolution

By GANAPATI PILLAY

A study of rural Russia must be interesting and instructive to those among us who believe that the salvation of India lies not in drawing up paper constitutions on the model of Western democracies, but in the uplift of the masses, the peasants

and the workers of India, the countless multitude, who grow all the food, yet go hungry from day to day, who live under the most miserable and debasing conditions from year to year. These toilers form the backbone of our social and economic life, but the

place they occupy in the controversies of the day is pitifully small.(1) Our heroic politicians whose genius seems peculiarly fitted to kill empires by eloquence, do not appear to have learnt any lessons from history, history which they are, vainly endeavouring to make in India. Their predilection for Western democratic institutions, that are fast becoming obsolete in the lands of their birth, and their promptness in drawing up a Swaraj Constitution on the Anglo-Saxon pattern, perhaps to meet the challenge of Lord Birkenhead, only shows their incapacity to march with the times and to interpret truly the trend of events. A study of contemporary Russia may serve as a corrective to this blind rush after the bubble of parliamentary Swaraj by helping them to view the Indian situation in its true perspective and to envisage a political system within whose framework the masses might attain real freedom. For Russia, like India, is Oriental. Like India, it was, and is predominantly an agricultural country, 80 per cent. of the population deriving their income from agricultural pursuits. Besides, pre-Revolutionary Russia presents many similarities with modern India in its social, political and economic life. The Russian struggle for liberty must, therefore, have important lessons not only for the Indian politician, but also for the Indian Government, whose interest it is to maintain the equilibrium of Indian national life. In that colossal, wonderful, epoch-making struggle, the Russian peasant played a prominent part. The story of Russian peasant life before the Revolution, has thus a deep significance for those who are working for the national regeneration of India.

(1) An Associated Press message from Allahabad, dated June 7, 1928, however, says: "The Committee appointed by the All Parties' Conference to draft the Swaraj Constitution met again under the Chairmanship of Pandit Motilal Nehru. It is understood the question of the declaration of rights of labour and peasantry are being discussed first."

The attitude of Mr. Joshi, labour leader, who according to an earlier message "has intimated that he is only interested in provisions relating to labour and will attend (the Nehru Committee) when the question comes up" shows how some of our leaders are still labouring under the delusion that workers should have nothing to do with political questions; whereas history has shown that it is only by the conquest of political power that the peasants and workers can come into their own.

The Russian peasant attained his political emancipation in 1861. By the law of February 19, of that year Alexander II abolished serfdom, i. e., the personal dependence of the cultivators on the landlords. The peasants ceased to be private property and became free citizens of the Russian Empire. But mere political freedom is illusory, unless coupled with economic independence. This fact has been unmistakably, tragically demonstrated in the history of the Russian peasants subsequent to the Act of Emancipation; and our Constitution-mongers on either side should do well to take note of it.

"Prior to 1861, the peasant communities had no lands of their own. Legally the land belonged to the landlord (2) of whom the peasants themselves were the private property. Each estate was divided into two unequal parts, one remaining in the hands of the owner as his private possession, the other being granted to the peasant community as the source of its sustenance. Both parts were tilled by the peasants, the assumption being that labour on the first part was an equivalent for the right of holding the second. The peasants were unfree; they could not leave their village or change their owner, or refuse to obey the orders of the landlord" (3).

The landlord could impose on the serfs any kind of labour and inflict corporal punishment on them for all offences. There is a farm in the North Caucasus called Plakseika which means "the place of weeping" in memory of scores of peasants who were killed by beating and exposure while they were digging a canal through a landlord's estate.(4)

With the Emancipation, the peasant's personal dependence on the landlord came to an end. The whilom serf became a full-fledged free citizen with all the rights and obligations that his new status implied. But his prospect in life was gloomier than ever. In the first place, part of the peasants' holdings under serfdom, had, under the

(2) In India, too, the cultivators do not possess any land which belongs either to the zemindar or the State. The other circumstances of serfdom are, however, legally non-existent.

(3) Olgin. *The Soul of the Russian Revolution*. p. 27.

4 See Karl Borders—*Village Life under the Soviets*, p. 5.

reformed scheme, to be returned to the landlords. The area cut off of course varied in different provinces, according to the nature and quality of the soil, but on an average the peasants lost 20 per cent. of their former holdings. What was worse sometimes the peasants lost their access to the forests and meadows and in many cases even to roads and rivers.(5)

They could only reach their fields or watering places through the master's land and often incurred punishment for "unlawful grazing".(6)

The balance which was in half the cases less than 5 dessiatines (1 dessiatine 2.7 acres) (7) was not sufficient for the maintenance of the peasants and their families.(8)

Secondly, the peasants had to pay exorbitant prices for the land remaining in their possession, the payment being spread over 49 years. This price known as "redemption" money, greatly exceeded the market value of the land, the popular presumption being that it included "a sum payable for the personal freedom of the peasants" from serfdom.(9)

The evils of curtailment and redemption were further aggravated by the peculiar system of landholding under which the individual peasant had no private property in land. The land belonged to the village community, and was distributed among the peasants by the village council (*mir*) quantitatively according to the numerical strength of their families and their fitness for work. Even so, the individual peasant did not get as his share one compact piece of land. For the village council was scrupulously just. It divided the land into various sections according to quality (fertility) and gave every household a share in each section, so that each peasant's holding consisted of several long and narrow strips of land situated in different sections far apart from each other.(10) The Council, further, reapportioned the land every 10 or 15 years according to increase or decrease in the family strength of individual peasants. As a result of this strictly equitable distribu-

tion of land, the individual peasant had, on the one hand, no incentive to improve his lands; at the next re-apportionment the land might pass from his hands to his neighbours; and on the other, could not, even when his means permitted, carry on intensive agriculture, having hopelessly narrow strips of land at his disposal, sometimes only a few yards in width.

There is a common belief that the Russian *mir*, like the Indian village community of old, was an excellent institution of village Self-Government, and that the future of the rural population lies in the revival or development of these institutions.(11) Communists saw in it the seed of the future Communistic State; and there are some who maintain that the *soviet* of to-day is the natural offspring of the *mir* of yesterday. These notions though widespread are, however, largely mistaken. In spite of its quasi-communistic ownership of land, the *mir* was never intended to be an instrument of rural autonomy or rural uplift. As a matter of fact, the *mir* was always the foremost weapon in the hands of the Government for assessment and punctual collection of taxes and for raising recruits for the army. It formed a part of the political and fiscal machinery of the Government.(12) Before the Emancipation the *mir* secured the payment of the feudal rent. After the Emancipation it was preserved as a guarantee for the collection of 'redemption' money as well as all dues payable to the landlord, the Zemstvo (something like our District Councils) and the State.(13) The peasants, ignorant and superstitious though

(11) In India, too, there is a section of people who would revive if possible, the good old village communities for the regeneration of the population. Even Dr. Clouston, Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India, thinks that the welfare of the rural population can be achieved by reviving the village communes. His evidence before the Linlithgow Commission has been thus reported: "On the question of welfare of the rural population the witness told the Chairman that he considered it advisable to strengthen village *panchayats*. It would be a very wise endeavour to resuscitate these indigenous village organizations."

(12) See Korff, *Autocracy and Revolution in Russia*, p. 39.

The Indian village *panchayats*, as they are, are largely concerned with the collection of Chaukidari or similar taxes for the primary object of the maintenance of the village police. The other activities of these bodies are very limited, the reasons being lack of adequate funds and lack of interest of the people.

(13) See Farberman, op. cit., p. 9.

(5) See Farberman, *Bolshevism in Retreat*, p. 5.

(6) K. Wiedenfeld—*The Remaking of Russia*, p. 4.

(7) The average size of a holding in the Ryotwari areas of India varies from 2.6 acres in the Punjab to 13.4 acres in Bombay—See Shah & Khambata, *Wealth & Taxable Capacity of India*, p. 303.

(8) See Olgin—Op. cit., p. 29; also Farberman, op. cit., p. 5.

(9) See Farberman, op. cit., p. 7.

(10) See Olgin, Op. cit., p. 31; also Karl Borders, Op. cit., p. 35.

they were, were shrewd enough to see the economic disadvantages of the government of the *mir*; and many of them would fain have given up their share of the land for good and leave the village in search of a more profitable occupation. But that again was not always possible for various reasons. In the first place, through the *mir* the whole community was made responsible for the redemption payments and other dues; so that landholding for the individual peasant became more a duty than a right. The individual peasant was not permitted to sell or mortgage his share of the land; and so was tied down to his village.⁽¹⁴⁾ In the second place, he was not free to leave his village, not even visit the nearest market without a 'passport' from the *mir*.⁽¹⁵⁾ Even if a peasant gave up agricultural occupations and were allowed to leave the village for an industrial centre, he still had to pay his annual share of land duties on pain of being refused a passport.⁽¹⁶⁾ Corporal punishment, once the prerogative of the landlord, was by no means abolished, but was now inflicted by the Zemstvo authorities.

The financial burden of the peasants consisted not only of the redemption payments, but also of various other direct and indirect taxes. The peasants formed the vast majority of the population, so that naturally the bulk of the indirect taxes fell upon their shoulders. Apart from that, they had to pay a poll-tax, known as "podushnay." In the matter of land tax they were assessed twice as heavily as any other class.⁽¹⁷⁾ To the Zemstvos⁽¹⁸⁾

in which the electoral law always secured a majority of the landlords over the peasants, they had to pay higher rates. The above burdens and disabilities would have been enough to degrade and impoverish the peasants. But during the forty years following the Emancipation, the peasant population increased 66.9 per cent. and peasant households 57.8 per cent. The increase in the area of the peasants' land during the time was only 9.5 per cent. This naturally led to splitting of the peasants' holdings.⁽¹⁹⁾ Whereas in 1861 a peasant's holding was 4.8 dessiatines, in 1886 it was 3.5 and in 1900 only 2.6.⁽²⁰⁾ Moreover, the agricultural implements and methods of the Russian peasants were still primitive. The peasants did not know the use of artificial manures; so that the soil deteriorated year after year, and brought them to the verge of destitution. Driven by hunger, they were compelled to rent more land from the landlords. Even then the rent was very high amounting in many provinces to 81.1 per cent. of the net receipts from the land.⁽²¹⁾ During the three last decades of the 19th century rent and taxes together consumed the whole of the produce in some parts of Russia. The peasants, if they were to keep body and soul together, could not pay the rent in money and were compelled to work off their obligations. This system, known as the "Otrabotochnaia system" was only serfdom in disguise. The peasants would work off the rent due to the landlord, the loan of grain taken from him, the fine for trespassing on the landlord's estate. Sometimes they would work only for a drink in order to retain the landlord's

(14) See Farberman, op. cit., p. 9; also Olgin, Op. cit., p. 31.

(15) See Farberman, op. cit., p. 10.

(16) See Olgin, op. cit., p. 32; also Wiedenfeld, op. cit. p. 10.

(17) See Farberman, op. cit., p. 11. Compare the Indian tax system which, says Prof. Shah, "is the perfection of inequity in the adjustment of burdens. While rich multi-millionaire zemindars escape taxation altogether—though this is perhaps the only instance of unearned income, fixed and regular and expanding utterly irrespective of any special talent or exertion on their part—the poor ryat, habitually living below the barest margin of necessities is taxed so as not even to allow him an exemption for the minimum of subsistence. And in this indictment we take no account of the other taxes usually borne by the ryat class, e.g., excise duties, stamp duties, railway and post office and forest charges, salt and customs charges, etc."—*Wealth and Taxable Capacity of India*, pp. 337-8.

(18) In Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina* the curious reader will find a description of a meeting of a Zemstvo Council.

(19) See Olgin, op. cit., p. 33.

(20) See Farberman, op. cit., p. 12. In India according to Dr. Mann, the average holding in the Deccan fell from forty acres in 1771 to seven acres in 1915 owing to sub-division of holdings. See R. Palme Dutt, *Modern India*, p. 95.

(21) See Olgin, op. cit., p. 33. In India, according to Dr. Mann, the average rent to a landlord in a Deccan village represented half the return a cultivator was able to make when owing his own land. In the case of land held on zamindari tenure the burden of rent is of course very much greater. In Bengal the estimated total rental is twelve million pounds against the Government assessment of three million pounds.—R. Palme Dutt, *Modern India*, p. 97.

"Because the Bengal cultivator was rack-rented, impoverished and oppressed, that the Government of India felt compelled to intervene on his behalf etc." (*Land Revenue Policy of the Government of India*, 1902).

favour. The usual form of "Otrabotki" was however, work done as payment for rent. For example, for every dessiatine of land rented by a peasant, he had to till $1\frac{1}{2}$ dessiatines of the landlord's land and to give him in addition ten eggs, one chicken, and one day of his wife's work as domestic servant. (22)

The following description of the life of the Russian peasant will strike a familiar note in all Indian ears: "It was a pitiful sight—the husbandry of the average peasant. Here he stood on his small lot, working hard, limiting his wants, and never able to make both ends meet. With a sigh of yearning he would remember the former times of plenty, when the year's crop was stored up in the granary and sufficed till the harvest of the next year, when the linen and the woollens for the clothes of the family were made in the household itself, when money was needed only for the purchase of salt and iron implements, and when life was secure. He was now producing for exchange—the poor little peasant. He needed money. He had to pay taxes, he had to make redemption payments, he had to buy cotton goods for himself and his family, he had to buy kerosene to light his cabin, he had sometimes to buy a horse or a cow, he had to buy wood for his fireplace. He could not store up his crop. He could not wait. He had to sell his rye and his wheat and his oats as soon as he reaped them. He had to sell at any price. The shrewd middleman was waiting for him as a beast of prey is lurking for its innocent victim. The shrewd middleman would even lend him money beforehand on account of his future crops. When the harvest is reaped, it is taken away at a very low price. Later in winter the peasant is compelled to buy rye and oats for his own family at a price far exceeding that of his sale. Towards spring he has no money, no seeds, no reserves. The only way out is to hire himself as a labourer on the landlord's estate. His piece of land he leaves in the hands of his wife and small children, who are not able to cultivate it in a proper way. The land deteriorates more and more. Poverty increases." (23)

Thus poverty was ever on the increase. The peculiar laws of the *mir*, far from preventing the pauperization and the proletarianization of the peasants, steadily helped on the process of impoverishment. In spite of the *mir's* policy of distributing the community lands equitably among the peasants, the poor gradually became poorer and the rich richer. For although the law forbade the individual peasant to sell his share of land, it permitted him to rent it to his neighbour. Driven by necessity, the poorer peasants rented their lands to their richer neighbours in ever increasing numbers, and became hired labourers. The census of 1897 showed that about 20,000,000 peasants had left the land for industrial centres or to work as village artisans. (24)

Still the *mujik* (peasant) hated to leave his land. He was in fact "in the grip of the land". He was inextricably bound to the earth. For him the earth was the real fosterer, the only source of joy and sorrow, happiness and misfortune, the subject of prayers and thanksgivings. The agricultural work, agricultural cares and interests formed the

after having pointed out the change that has taken place in the basis of agricultural operations in India, and which he calls "the commercialization of agriculture," says that this commercialization was due to certain circumstances. "These circumstances were the payment of Government assessments and the interest of the money-lender. For paying these two dues the cultivators had to rush into the markets just after harvest, and to sell a large part of their produce at whatever price it fetched. Most of the poorer cultivators had to buy back after about six months part of the crop they had sold away at harvest time. The prices at harvest time were very low. But in six months' time they had risen to heights which were absolutely ruinous to the cultivator who now came into the market. The cultivator who now came into the market sank deeper and deeper in debt and a few years of this process were enough to ruin him entirely." P. 178.

(24) See Farberman, op. cit., p. 12. See H. Sen, *Banglar Kriśaker Katha*, p. 97, where the author points out that the financial pressure of taxation is forcing an ever-increasing number of cultivators in India to abandon agriculture and become hired labourers. Their number rose from 18,673,206 in 1891 to 41,246,335 in 1911. Owing to lack of industrial development on an adequate scale the dispossessed cannot find sufficient outlet in industrial works. The total number of operatives in all the principal industrial establishments in India was about 1,560,000 only in 1923 (See Shah & Khambata, *Wealth and Taxable Capacity of India*, p. 166). The majority of the landless people are therefore still a charge on agriculture as the old indigenous crafts are all either extinct or in a moribund condition.

(22) See Farberman, op. cit., p. 8. Cf. the *begar* system prevailing in India.

(23) Olgin, op. cit. p. 34. The situation in India is very similar. See Gadgil, *Industrial Evolution of India*, Chapter XI, where the author

entire substance of his mental world to the exclusion of any other thought. (25) The craving for the earth was therefore the most fundamental trait in the *mujik's* character. "The land drew him like a magnet. It was something primordial. It was overwhelming. The land was God's and the people's. This was his creed. This was his most cherished thought." (26)

He did not understand the system of rotation of crops. He did not understand co-operative production or sale. He could not look into the future nor understand abstract political theories. One thing only he understood. The land was the people's. And he wanted more land. But whence could the land come? The *mujik* was in constant expectation of some miracle. He had not the slightest notion of the economic problems. Some day he expected someone to appear and liberate him from poverty—give him as much land as he needed. Who would this liberator be? Perhaps the Czar, or would it be a saint or even God himself? The peasant had no clear conception; but mysterious messages always crept through the villages and stirred his imagination. The Czar had issued a manifesto giving all the land to the people but it was suppressed by the wicked noblemen. The Czar wished the people to rise and assert their rights.

Poverty and land-hunger coupled with the belief that the land in reality belonged to the people who had a natural right to expropriate the usurpers, the landlords, were the cause of the frequent mutinies of the peasants that occurred all over Russia. Since the seventies of the last century, the peasants rose in revolt, looted the landlords' estate, set their houses on fire, cut their wood, and carried away grains and foodstuffs. These uprisings were no doubt all brutally and ruthlessly suppressed by the authorities, and the offenders flogged or sent to the Siberian steppes; but with all their cruelty the Government could not prevent their recurrence. In 1881 the Government reduced the redemption payments and two years later, abolished the poll-tax. But these measures did not ease the situation as the land tax and the indirect taxes were increased. The interested reader may find in Nekrassov's epic "Who can be happy and Free in Russia"

a faithful and vivid picture of Russian peasant life at this period. The names of men and places in the opening stanza are suggestive of their wretched condition. (27)

Heavy taxes, ignorance of improved methods of cultivation, uneconomic holdings, absence of individual ownership resulting in lack of credit—all this against the background of a cynical and intolerably cruel bureaucracy inevitably led to disasters.

"The unstable equilibrium of village life," says Olgin, "was perpetually at the point of collapse. The catastrophe came in the form of famines (28) which at regular intervals afflicted large areas of the country. Famine meant hunger, disease and starvation in the literal sense of the words. Men, women, children lay under the low roof of their cabins slowly dying. Their fields remained untilled, their horses or cows were sold (29) for a trifle, their households were falling to ruin owing to their lack of physical strength to do work and owing also to the lack of seeds. Very little was needed to arouse the dissatisfaction of the starving millions. They certainly had nothing to lose."

"It was sheer necessity," says Olgin, "the elementary hunger of the unreasoning savage, that threw the peasants upon the rich estates. Here they saw foodstuffs in abundance. Here they could appease their hunger. In 1902, no less than 69 estates were looted, set on fire and partly destroyed by the revolting peasants in two provinces alone. It must be noted, however, that in all these acts the peasants were swayed by the belief that what they did was perfectly right. The gentlefolk had enjoyed the good things of life long enough.

- (27) Seven good peasants
Once met on a high road.
From Province "Hard-battered"
From District "Most-wretched"
From "Destitute" Parish
From neighbouring hamlets—
"Patched" "Barefoot" and "Shabby"
"Bleak" "Burnt-out" and "Hungry"
From "Harvestless" also
They met

(Oxf. University Press—World's Classics)

(28) For a list of "Official" famines in India—see Shah—*Sixty Years of Indian Finance*, 1st edition, p. 150. As many as twelve such famines occurred during the period 1860-1918. In one of them the area affected was 475,000 sq. miles and the population 80,000,000. Besides the above there are frequent "un-official" famines such as the one raging before our eyes at present in several districts of Bengal."

(29) In Bengal, hungry people are reported to have sold their children for Rs. 5 only.

(25) See Olgin, op. cit., p. 243.

(26) See Olgin, op. cit., p. 38.

It was time for them to move away and make room for the hungry peasants. Besides, was it not the will of His Majesty the Czar that the land should be divided among the people? It was the wicked landowners alone who thwarted the good intentions of the Czar and kept the peasants away from their lawful rights.

The Government became afraid. They felt the necessity of doing something. So a commission was appointed "to investigate the needs of the agricultural industry." (30) The labours of the Commission however produced no tangible results. In 1903, the joint responsibility of the peasants for the payment of redemption money was abolished but that was only "a shadow of a reform." A few months later, the Government stationed a mounted constabulary with unlimited powers in the villages "to safeguard decency, peace and order." The situation grew threatening and ominous. In 1903-4 peasant revolts occurred in seven provinces. The labour movement was at the same time rapidly developing. Political strikes became the order of the day. The revolutionary press was working feverishly. The air was charged with electricity.

Then came the Russo-Japanese war. The news of defeat after defeat, the fall of Port Arthur, the annihilation of the Russian fleet—all these served to expose the utter corruption and imbecility of the whole administration. Meanwhile events were moving at a tremendous speed. In March 1904 was started the "Gathering of Industrial workmen of the City of Petersburg." The subsequent progress of the gathering and the tragic events of January 9, 1905 do not strictly fall within the scope of this article as the gathering was directly concerned with the city workers. One fact, however, should be noted. Industrial unrest in the cities soon infected the districts. In the cities the new spirit of rebellion manifested itself in strikes which spread like an epidemic from one trade to another. In rural Russia the spirit of unrest showed itself in the looting at the landlords' mansions and robbing of their stores of foodstuffs by the peasants. This was the real beginning of the

revolution. The demands of the revolutionists were both political and economic. They demanded political freedom. But they also demanded confiscation of the big estates and equitable distribution of land among the peasants. This demand was particularly put forward by the Peasant Unions formed in the summer of 1905. The Government became panic-stricken and yielded. In August it published the methods of election to the Imperial Duma, a representative body to be created and vested with the powers of discussing bills but not to vote on them. Simultaneously autonomy was granted to the Universities. But the concessions of the Government were always belated. The proposed Duma satisfied nobody. Freedom of speech assemblage and the press was not conceded. Discontent grew. The Universities, now autonomous became "the headquarters of the revolution." Meetings of students, professors, workers were of daily occurrence within the walls of the Universities, where tactics were decided upon and programmes elaborated. (31) Shortly after, in October the general strike was declared. It started in Moscow in the presses but soon spread into all departments of labour including the railways, post office, and telegraph. The Government frightened beyond their wits, yielded again. On the 17th October the Emperor issued the famous manifesto granting freedom of conscience, speech, association, and assemblage to the people. The manifesto further declared as "an unshakable rule that no law can become binding without the consent of the Imperial Duma and that the representatives of the people must be guaranteed a real participation in the control over the lawfulness of the authorities appointed by us." (32)

The Government, however, had no intention to fulfil the manifesto faithfully, and shooting on assemblies of working men and peasants continued unabated. But the outrages served to inflame the people more and more. Labour was feverishly organizing. Political clubs sprung up everywhere. In some places the revolutionists opened the gates of jails and freed their imprisoned comrades. Unrest

(30) See Olgin, p. 91. In India, the Royal Agricultural Commission which has finished its labours was by its terms of reference specifically barred from enquiring into the vital questions of landownership tenancy or assessment of land revenue and irrigation charges but was asked "to examine and report on the present conditions of agriculture and rural economy."

(31) See Olgin, p. 134.

(32) See Olgin, p. 137. Compare the Morley-Minto and Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms in India. As with the October manifesto in Russia, so with the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms in India, absolutism legally came to an end, although not in point of fact.

among the peasants was also taking a serious turn. During the fall of 1905, 2,000 landed estates were looted and destroyed. Even the peasants were showing signs of concerted action. Government yielded again. In November 1905, they abolished the remainder of the redemption payments. Meanwhile emboldened by the success of the October strike the Workmen's Council of Petersburg had declared a second general strike to begin from November 2. This strike, too, was at first partially successful. But for want of solidarity among the workers the secession of the liberals who were thoroughly satisfied with the October manifesto and of the industrialists and even the middle-class supporters of the revolution, the strike had to be called off after five days. The Government became courageous. Slowly they recovered their balance. "After a short intermission, arrests, house-searchings, attacks on peaceful meetings began with renewed zeal all over Russia. After a peasant convention, the Executive Committee of the Peasants' Union were arrested. Many officials of the post and telegraph Clerks' Union were put into prison. Martial law was introduced in many regions." (33) The number of persons imprisoned or sent to Siberia during the seven months from October 1905 to April 1906, in the majority of cases without any trial amounted to 70,000. (34) But more outrageous than the martial law were the punitive expeditions. Whole army units were despatched under a general to punish the population of a district or province where peasant revolts or other revolutionary activities had taken place. Here is a sample:

"Half a mile from the station Perovo, the soldier-train met on the side tracks a large number of peasants who were unloading what remained of the contents of a freight car. They paid little attention to the approaching train. True, they had been warned by the Perovo inhabitants that the Cossacks were expected, but they did not believe it. Of what use could the Cossacks be now? The goods were nearly all removed; nobody had interfered from the beginning. Why should they care now when nothing remained? The peasants had come from a distance of a hundred versts.

"Their good humour was dispelled by volleys from the windows of the slowly approaching train. The horses and many men fell, blood-stained, on the snow.

"The shooting was furious; the soldiers sprang out of the cars and scattered over the tracks, firing upon the fleeing peasants. A group of peasants rushed to the left of them, through an open space, hoping to reach the near by woods. Their hope was vain. The bullets were quicker, and many remained on the spot. Only a few reached the woods and escaped death. The number of the dead was 53-57." (35) The soldiers were usually stationed in the houses of the peasants who were compelled to accommodate them. The violation of women was a common feature of the punitive expeditions. (36) Cases are on record where "little girls and feeble old women, pregnant and paralytic women were outraged."

The first Duma opened on April 27, 1906. Out of about 400 deputies 116 were the representatives of the peasantry. In their address in reply to the speech from the Throne, the Duma unanimously proposed that the peasants should be given more land by expropriation of the Crown and Church Lands and the big private estates. The address was not even received by the Czar. None of the bills, some of which related to agrarian reform, passed by the Duma, received the approval of the Government. Then the Duma was suddenly dissolved on the 9th July. The deputies went to Vyborg (in Finland) and issued an appeal to the people "to pay no taxes and give no recruits to the autocratic administration." After the dissolution of the first Duma the Government acted in a more and more outrageous manner. The notorious Stolypin was now the Minister of Home affairs. He established a veritable reign of terror in the cities. He set up gallows in every district for the execution of agitators and in the next five years 15,000 people were hanged; whereupon the gallows came to be known as "Stolypin's neckties." (37) But Stolypin perceived the necessity of placating the peasants and introduced several agrarian reforms, the most fundamental of which was the abolition of the communal ownership of land (Nov. 6, 1906) That is to say, every

(33) See Olgin, p. 148.

(34) Obninski—*Half a year of Russian Revolution*, p. 132, quoted in Olgin, op. cit. p. 162.

(35) See Olgin, op. cit. p. 163.

(36) Reminds one of Charmanair some years ago.

(37) Ballard—*Russia in Rule and Misrule*, p. 140.

member of the village community was granted freedom to declare himself independent of the *mir* and to own and dispose of his share of the village land as his private property. This reform, however necessary it might be for the development of agriculture, was in reality a political move on Stolypin's part.

By it he wanted to weaken or destroy the solidarity of the peasants, whom the communal ownership of land had so long bound together. The new measure was immediately put into operation so that before the second Duma met private ownership might become an accomplished fact. The result was the creation of a class of well-to-do farmers, called the *kulaks*, at one extreme and another class of propertyless proletarians at the other extreme of village life. The new law however did not become effective on a large scale. The bulk of the peasantry still stuck to the land, and could not make both ends meet. Famines came with a startling regularity. Millions starved. In 1911-12, twenty provinces were affected. Misery, and discontent, the handmaid of misery, waxed greater and greater. The Government paid no heed until the final crash came. And when it came the revolutionary leaders found in the peasants their strongest supporters.

One of the earliest acts of the Bolsheviks was to abolish private ownership in land. At the fifth All-Russian Congress of Soviets held in July 1918 it was decreed that "in order to establish the socialization of land, private ownership of land is abolished; all the land is declared national property and is handed over to the workers without compensation, on the basis of an equitable division carrying with it the right of use only." (38) The Bolshevik idea undoubtedly was to promote collective agriculture. But the peasants who were generally supposed to have developed a communist mentality on account of the long tradition of communal ownership under the *mir* proved to be the

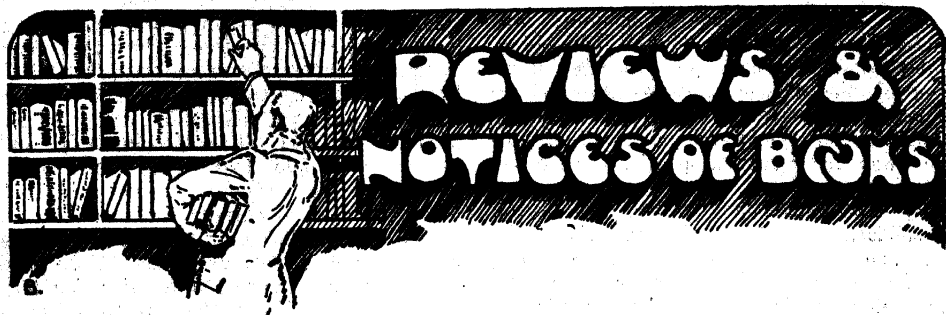
staunchest advocates of private property in land. Besides they were violently opposed to the system of food requisitions established by the Bolshevik Government under which peasants had to deliver all their surplus produce to the State keeping only such quantity as would suffice for their barest necessities. The peasants at first submitted; but soon began to curtail the area of cultivation down to the limit of their minimum needs. Great distress prevailed in the cities. The measures became so unpopular that there were actual uprisings of the peasants in several places. Lenin realized the rising temper of the peasants clearly and hastened to modify the land policy. The new policy known as the New Economic Policy was promulgated in March 1921. It did not recognize private ownership of land but it did recognize the absolute right of the peasant to the fruits of his toil. Requisition was replaced by a tax on agricultural produce rated at ten per cent. of the produce as against the average of thirty per cent. levied under the Czars. The peasant "is allowed to exploit his land as he pleases, to separate his holding from the community, to increase it, within limits, and to hold it in perpetuity." (39)

The present condition of the peasants may be judged from the fact that all the large estates have been distributed among the peasantry who "now holds ninety-six per cent. of the land, the remaining four per cent. being occupied by State Farms, factory land etc. There is a single agricultural tax, payable to the State, from which the poorer sections of the peasantry constituting thirty-five per cent. of the total number are entirely exempt, while the scale for those subject to the tax is a graduated one which bears very lightly on the less well-to-do peasants." (40)

(39) Report of the British Trade Union Delegation to Russia 1924, p. 65.

(40) Report of the British Workers' Delegation 1927, p. 171.

(38) A. Rothstein—*The Soviet Constitution*, p. 12.



[Books in the following languages will be noticed : Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotation, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating there to answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

INDIA IN THE CRUCIBLE : By C. S. Ranga Iyer.
Price 7s. 6d. Published by Selwyn and Blount.

The author is to be congratulated on the promptness with which he has written this book. It has been a timely publication and the Simon Seven who have been appointed to find the fitness or otherwise of Indians for further reforms and forge a constitution accordingly will be well advised to read the book. This is an appeal to the liberal politicians of England to save India for England and the Empire at this critical stage through which she has been passing at the present moment, by granting her the reforms due to her just as "at three other critical periods of India's chequered history liberal statesmen like Ripon, Morley and Montague saved her for England and the Empire." Play the game, Simon, and remain true to the traditions of the Party to which you belong—is the message the author gives in the part I of the book under the caption "The Simon Commission."

Part II deals with "The Reforms at Work" in which he shows that Dyarchy has failed not because of the lack of co-operation on the part of Indians or from the unfitness of Indian Ministers but owing to the inherent defects of the constitution itself. However well-intentioned Montague was in framing the dyarchical safeguards, he could never for the moment anticipate that Bureaucratic Governors should act against the spirit of 'true responsible government' so far as the transferred subjects were concerned; for, in spite of the fact that the liberals as a party consisting of men of high intellectual capacity, practical common-sense and unflinching patriotism made up their minds to work the reforms for what they were worth and in several provinces the liberal ministers carried the legislatures with them, they had to resign not because they happened to disagree with the legislatures but because they disagreed with the Governors! The author quotes the sad experience of a minister in Madras where the Reforms were most sincerely sought to be worked.

"One of the serious anomalies in the scheme of the Reforms is that the Governor of the province is more absolute in the administration of the transferred subjects, though the joint report and the committee on the Functions intended otherwise. Under the provisions of Sec. 52, the Governor is held to be in charge of the department of administration transferred to the ministers. Ministers hold office during his pleasure. He overrules them when he dissents from them even though they may be backed by the legislature."

"The object of Dyarchy was to set up Parliamentary Government in the transferred subjects and yet the ministers in charge of them must resign not when the legislature disagreed with him but when he disagreed with the Governor. The Ministers are in reality in office however large their majority in the House, but not in power. Such a ministry cannot work. The legislature under these conditions cannot develop a responsible Opposition. Parliamentary Opposition criticizes every Government measure in the constructive spirit, suggesting an alternative scheme which it would carry out when returned to power. But such power is wholly denied even in the limited field of transferred subjects" and the reader can imagine the power exercised by the Legislature over the reserved subjects!

What is the remedy? The author quotes from the reports of the U. P. Government on the working of the Reforms, 1929 :

"Dyarchy should go and the Government in future should consist of ministers only. All departments should be transferred with the exception of the Political department which may be left in the hands of the Governors themselves with power to entrust to any member of his Cabinet."

In the last part (Part III) the author pleads for "complete and genuine" provincial autonomy accompanied by partial responsibility in the Central Government which he says the Moderates can be trusted to accept and work. If complete Self-Government is granted it will "wean many brilliant sons of India from the barren business of ploughing the sands of agitation."

The book is heavily documented from official reports and extracts from the speeches and writings of political leaders of both countries, and as such is likely to carry weight with English readers for whom the book appears to be primarily intended. For the Indian reader, specially the informed reader of Indian constitutional and political history under British rule, there is hardly anything that informs his mind, attracts his attention or dominates his thought. Although the style throughout is lucid and racy, the tone is characterized by an ultra-moderate, even timid presentation of India's case for self-government to the bar of world's opinion. The book betrays the voice of the truant Swarajist rather than the whilom staunch nationalist.

TOWARDS SWARAJ : *By S. K. Sarma, B. A., B. L. Published by M. K. Srinivas Iyengar, Law Publisher, Triplicane. Price Rupees Five.*

This is an ably written presentation of India's case for Swaraj. The author has shown that by granting Swaraj to India, England has nothing to lose, but much to gain. "A peaceful and contented people working their own destinies according to the light in them will be a tower of strength to the dominant partner ; but a restive, discontented people, offering passive resistance at every turn, is the heaviest mill-stone round its neck." India is at the parting of the ways—it is for England to decide whether she wants a strong, self-reliant and loyal partner for the Empire like South Africa and Ireland (which were bitter enemies before but loyal partners now), or whether she wants the gates flung open to let in the surge of non-co-operation or passive resistance to deluge the country. The author strikes a note of warning in his inimitable language : "The movement (of passive resistance) is yet in an incipient stage and the combatants are only reconnoitring. A little imagination should however show to what it may all lead. It is easy to suggest that frightful methods might succeed for long. And so did the little Kaiser flatter himself. He evolved out of his kultur a kind of frightfulness to terrorize the universe, but the universe consistently refused to be terrorized. *** Frightfulness is no substitute for political impotency. You can raze a town or village to the ground ; throw bombs on ignorant villagers from your aeroplanes and decimate a country by a few shrapnels emitted from fourteen pounds howitzers. But you cannot quell a people determined to suffer. Neither bombs nor bayonets can conquer the soul struggling to be free. To them stone walls do not a prison make, nor iron bars a cage."

The author however has a robust confidence in the goodness of the English people. The heart of England is sound : "How long will a high-minded people continue their frightfulness ? *** We have unbounded faith in British character, in the Englishman's passion for orderly liberty, his innate sense of justice and sound unerring judgment. Enjoying as he does the full measure of responsible government, he is not known to be averse to let others share in the glory." The alternative before England to-day is either dominion status or passive resistance and there is no doubt "as to which way the path of wisdom lies."

There is throughout in the book a ring of sincerity and the author deserves thanks of the public for the collection of a mass of useful informa-

tion underlying the interesting and strong presentation of the case for Indian Swaraj.

N. N. GHOSH

FEDERAL FINANCE IN INDIA : *By K. T. Shah, Professor of Economics, Bombay University (Demy 8vo. Pp. 334+vi+vi. D. B. Taraporevala and Sons, Bombay, 1929) Rs. 6.*

Prof. Shah is a well-known writer on Indian Economics whose Benaili Readership lectures at the Patna University on Federal Finance in India will be read with great interest at the present time when the constitution of India is in the melting pot. It purports to be "a careful and exhaustive study of the Financial Relations between the Central and Provincial Governments in British India as well as with Indian States." But one feels somewhat disappointed after going through the entire course of six lectures with all the attention which a learned professor of Mr. Shah's standing must necessarily command.

The chief defect of the book is its long digressions on issues, which, although not wholly irrelevant, should have been more concisely discussed. On the contrary, federal finance, both in its theoretical and practical aspects, should have received greater attention. The conception of the whole of India divided into self-contained fiscal units, entitled to the revenues arising in them, subject to a clear allocation of federal revenues to the federal budget, is no doubt very fascinating, but the practical difficulties are so great that they should be rigorously analyzed to yield acceptable solutions.

Prof. Shah has suggested that British India should be regrouped into homogeneous provinces of approximately equal importance, while the smaller Indian States should form federations comparable in size, wealth and population to these new British provinces, the larger States remaining the same as now. He proposes a Federal Council composed of the prime minister of each unit, and a second representative chosen as follows :—the Governor or the President from each British province, an elected Prince from each Federation and the Ruling Prince of each larger State. Says he :

"The Federal Council so formed would be a distinct asset in the better administration of this country, than has been the case ever before in the annals of British rule, since its members would be experienced and responsible administrators, and its functions either confined to federal questions proper, or to revising and scrutinizing and holding up definite proposals for change, whether put forward by the executive government or by the Legislative Assembly, until at any rate the country has fully considered them and definitely pronounced upon them. The Council may even act with advantage as an arbitration Board on inter-statal, inter-provincial, or federal questions, since its members would be more trusted and trustworthy." As regards allocation of resources, he proposes "to assign all the proceeds of indirect taxation to the Central Federal Government, and those of the ordinary, existing direct taxation to constituent States and Provinces."

That is to say, Excise would be a Central head of revenue and Income Tax, a Provincial item. He

recognizes the present disparity between the two, and admits that the Central budget will be benefited at the expense of the Provincial budgets. But he points out that, sooner or later, prohibition will wipe out the Excise Duty, whereas Income Tax is an expanding source.

His main contention, however, is that the present revenues and expenditures are arbitrary and unscientific,—a view he has expressed with his usual vigour in his previous works. For the Central expenditure, he would allow forty crores for Defence, fifty crores for Interest and twenty crores for General Administration,—110 crores in all, an immediate economy of twenty crores, for which any Finance Member will be grateful, whether under the bureaucratic or *Swaraj* government. On the revenue side he states that at least fifty crores should be forthcoming under Income Tax, but he is content for the present with thirty crores (ten for the Central budget and twenty crores for the Provinces),—a trifling increase of nearly ninety per cent. over the 1926-27 figure of less than 16 crores. Death duties should yield twenty crores. A new excise on country tobacco should give to the Provinces $7\frac{1}{2}$ crores, while the tax on Road traffic is expected to give them another $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores, the form of this taxation not being specified. Insurance of the lives and properties of railway travellers is suggested as a new source of income for the Central budget, but it is not explained why passengers do not avail themselves of the existing facilities. He also states that better administration of railways, post office etc. and development of state enterprises should yield quite substantial revenues. At the lowest computation, there should be available according to him, 145 crores for the Central budget and eighty-five crores for all the Provinces taken together from the federal heads of revenue.

With these resources, he has no difficulty in ensuring for the Provinces "that indispensable and irreducible minimum of civic rights which the Indian Government have so far failed to afford"—in the matter of education, sanitation and insurance against unemployment and other evils. He is no less oblivious of the claims of the Indian States for a share in the Customs duty, Salt and Opium revenue, Gold Standard Reserve and other federal items, whether recurring or permanent.

He makes no secret of the fact that these figures are "tentative,—and, at that, very rough estimates." But a professor of his eminence should have given some basis of his calculations, not certainly in his lectures, but in the present printed volume, which, he assured the hearers of his very first lecture, would contain "additional complications of detailed statistics." His assumptions about possible economies in administration and more efficient management of the finances of the country afford a very fascinating prospect, if only by reason of their radiant mistiness. But there may be hard-headed matter-of-fact people who will demur at the figures quoted by him.

The style of the book is delightfully trenchant. But there are quite a large number of printing mistakes.

A HAND-BOOK OF INDIAN PRACTICAL BANKING :
By O. S. Krishnamoorthy. Pp. 137+vi. Published
by the author from Bombay P. O. Box No.
173. Re. 1 net.

This is designed to describe "the day to day working of a modern Indian Joint Stock Bank." The author displays acquaintance with the practical details of Indian banking, but his treatment is scrappy and in places inaccurate. On p. 19 in connection with local cheques on clearing bankers he states that "slips relating to cheques are posted in the ledger accounts only when cheques are realized." Again on p. 23 there is the statement, "if a dividend warrant is payable to X, Y, Z, the paying banker can pay the dividend on the strength of the signature of any one of the payees."

The book shows signs of haste and want of care. The procedure adopted for treating cheques received too late for clearing is described at two places, on p. 19 and again on p. 37. The impropriety of advances against fixed deposit receipts is discussed on p. 40 and p. 69. The description of the 1928 loan on p. 77 is clearly out of place. There are similar instances practically throughout the book.

A thorough revision and rejection of irrelevant matters will enhance the value of the book and fulfil the author's purpose in writing it.

H. S.

SENSE IN SEX : By A. S. P. Ayyar, M. A.
(Oxon.), I. C. S. D. B. Turaporewala Sons and Co.
Bombay.

The book is an emblem of morality, though the title might mislead the intending reader. Twelve stories with a moral each. Those who want 'art' in stories may be disappointed, for they expose the horrors of society in a straightforward manner. The characters do not play a mystic game as in novels, but merciless exposure is clearly made of child marriage, the husband's brutality, the mock baby welfare exhibition, the fate of the child wife.

Mr. Ayyar is a philanthropist in the garb of a story-teller. His humour is of a high order, since he manages to maintain it in depicting heart-rending facts. Every Hindu should read this book and bless Mr. Ayyar. He is a patriot of no common type, since he feels so much for downtrodden womankind and the helpless victims of society.

The type is attractively large : interest is maintained for the reader throughout the 288 pages : Mr. Ayyar's style is interesting beyond compare, but some blemishes of the language offend the reader's eye. It would be useless defence to say that some European writers commit the same blunders. Thousands do not commit them. It is every writer's duty to polish up his English by studying grammar. We mention a few defects :

"Doubt as to whether" (doubt whether) : "with a view to test her" (testing) : "I was wedded without consulting my wishes" (wrongly attached participle : see Bain on Participles : so omit 'consulting') : "need for secrecy" (though common, better use of : Bain : Fowler : Oxford) : "heaven, compared to such as you" (with) : "Slit" (slipped : Webster, Oxford, Nesfield) : "as if a death has taken place" ('had' : Bain : "as if" clauses require past tense) : "epilepsy was the result of the child coming so late" (Latinism : the English gerund requires a possessive subject : write *child's*) : "Ganga became due to the" (owing to : 'due to' is no preposition : Oxford English

Dictionary, or any Grammar); "the only respect" (inadmissible); supremest (inadmissible: Bain); "more ideal" (ideal, supreme, royal, etc. do not admit of degrees of comparison: Bain, Fowler, Oxford); "She sobbed rather than spoke" (a grammatical blunder: write 'speak'); "What I have done?" (a grammatical error); "to thoroughly scrutinize" (the infinitive is a single notion, like 'scrutinizing': no adverb can split it: write "to scrutinize it thoroughly." Bain on Syntax); "whatever can be the matter?" (vulgar speech of England: of no use in a Madras story); "there is no use talking" (wrong idiom: write 'it is': Concise Oxford: Webster.); "the problem of how to find" (omit 'of': problem, question, reason etc. take 'how' why: whether without the parasite 'of.'): "eking out a living" (it is improper to make the word 'eke' mean 'earn', but proper to use it in the sense 'add to with some difficulty.' See Oxford Dictionary); "has departed long ago" (only the past tense is legitimate with 'ago': departed long ago, or has long departed. Webster is wrong in showing 'gone long ago' which is questionable English or colloquial); "one gets his chance" (one's: the possessive of 'one' the indefinite pronoun is one's: the possessive of 'one' the numeral pronoun is his.—"I saw one of the men throw away his stick".)

SILHOUETTES: By V. N. Bhusan; Published by Youth of Asia Society: Mushpatam.

Since Phenleon, Archbishop of Canterbury, set the example, rhythmic or metrical prose, rhymeless poetry, free verse etc. have been copiously produced in England and India. The Times Literary Supplement has to review such productions every now and then. They are popular in England and on the Continent. Mr. Bhusan is to be congratulated on his attempt. There are many who would gladly read what new mysticism has been written.

Mr. Bhusan writes, "I wait under the rainbow's coloured span with folded hands to greet you." If Byron's "On a star-beam I have ridden" is famous poetry, then this rainbow business ought to become famous too. The matter-of-fact reader has a limited taste, and he does not fully understand the beauty of the rainbow, the star-beam, or the other. A high Meteorological Officer of Simla once said to a poet who presented him with his *Odes to the Clouds, the Wind, the Dust-storm, the Monsoon*:—"Why do you trespass into my domain? What do you understand of these things? A right understanding of them requires years of technical training in England or Germany." But if any of us does not understand what standing under the rainbow means, the right sort of people are there and they will no doubt appreciate the pose under this "Bow of God." to quote Campbell. The presentation of weird things sometimes results in great fame. We wish Mr. Bhusan success and fame.

CRITIC

AT AJANTA: By Kanaiyalal H. Vakil, B.A., LL.B. Foreword by W. E. Gladstone Solomon, I.E.S. With 38 illustrations. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. Bombay. Price Rs. 3.

This brochure of 82 pages of letter-press and 33 plates is neatly printed on art paper. It gives all the information about routes and travelling and other expenses which travellers ordinarily require. Students of art and that undefinable person, the general reader, will also find the book useful and interesting. It gives descriptions of the caves and the paintings, sculpture and architecture thereof. In his foreword Captain W. E. G. Solomon, Principal of the Bombay School of Art, hopes that the reader of this book will find it to be a judicial "summing up" of the case for the celebrated Ajanta caves. "The author has placed conveniently before his readers, in brief, the views and opinions of most of those who have written upon the subject of this perennially interesting Shrine of Art. It is a handbook of Ajanta Lore, replete with suggestive references."

THE MARATHA RAJAS OF TANJORE: By K. R. Subramanian, (Author, Madras, 1928). Pp. 108+ viii.

This little book is the fruit of the patriotic pride of the author in his native district (Tanjore), which played a very important part in Indian history down to the middle of the 18th century. We respect the author's motive, but are bound to say that his execution falls far short of the requirements of the case. He has not made an exhaustive use of the French sources, such as the Jesuit letters in *La Mission du Madure* and Kaoppelin's *Francois Martin*, and he is ignorant of the language of the records of the King whose history he has attempted. He accepts the very modern Vrihadishwar temple rock inscription (dated 1803) without any suspicion as to its spurious history. The literary development of the district is not traced in detail; we are merely given brief lists of names. The extant sources have not been critically sifted in writing the narrative, nor the dates settled authoritatively (in several cases). Otherwise, the book marks an advance on our Gazetteer knowledge.

MANGALORE: A HISTORICAL SKETCH: By G. M. Moraes, with a preface by Father H. Heras, S. J. (Mangalore, 1927), pp. xviii+95 and one plan.

Prof. Heras of the St. Xavier's College, Bombay, has founded a small Institute for research in Indian History, which is doing excellent work under his capable guidance. This monograph on the once-famous city of Mangalore is the work of one of his pupils and bears the hallmark of the master's accuracy and erudition. We are glad that the Portuguese fonts, so important for Southern India in the later Muhammadan period, are being increasingly utilized by competent local scholars. The Indo-Lusitanians had a glorious past, why should they be oblivious of it to-day?

BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJEE

GUJARATI

ZARNAN, TADHAN AND UNHAN: By Prof. Jayendraraj B. Durkal, M. A. Printed at the Shankar Printing Press, Surat. Thick paper cover. Pp. 144. Price Re. 1-4-0 (1928).

Prof. Durkal has already won his spurs in the

field of literature. This book with a characteristic title, *Springs, Cold and Hot*, consists of verses, on various subjects such as patriotism, *shringar*, nature, &c. and contains a long poem called, *Sneha Sarita*, a feeling composition, narrating sad family bereavements.

VADALI: *By Vallabh, printed at the Gurjar Prabhat Printing Press, Calcutta. Paper cover, pp. 30. Price Re 0-6-0 (1928).*

This is a *Khand Kavya*. Its title is "Cloud," and it is an echo of Kalidas's *Meghaduta*.

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH: *By Monial C. Parekh, printed at the Irish Mission Press, Surat. Cloth bound, pp. 400. Price Rs 1-8-0 (1927)*

Mr. Manilal has found wonderful spiritual treasures in Jesus Christ and his teachings. He wants an affiliation of the spiritual consciousness of the Hindu race to the spirit of Christ. With this view he has studied both the systems of religion and in the course of those studies read the works of Fisher and Walker on the History of the Christian Church. His present book is based on these histories and presents a picture of the movement, complete in every aspect. Till now one or two such works had appeared in our language. But they were written by Christian Missionaries, none by an Indian and a Gujarati. This book, therefore, written as it is by a native of Gujarat, whose mother-tongue is Gujarati, and who himself is a cultured gentleman, with great sympathy for the teachings of Christ, should be welcomed by all students of the different religious systems of the world.

SHUBHA SANGRAHA (PART III), *Published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature and printed at its own Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound, pp. 415. Price Rs 1-8-0 (1928)*

A most interesting collection of 198 useful extracts from periodicals and newspapers relating to all useful subjects. Its variety is its chief recommendation.

(1) VENI NAN FUL, (2) IN THE RUINS OF SAURASHTRA: *By Jhaver Chand Meghani, printed respectively at the Saraswati Printing Press, Bhavanagar and the Saurashtra Press, Ranpur. Paper Covers. Pp. 69: 78. Price Re 0-4-0: 0-3-0 (1928).*

Veni is a semi-circler of flowers tied to the hair knot of women. The perfume of the flower is therefore never absent from the women who put on this ornament. The first book accordingly consists of little songs sung by women and girls, breathing the perfume or rather the delight of life. As usual there is an interesting and analytical preface on the subject from Mr. Meghani's pen. The second book is a description of the peregrinations of the writer, on foot, on camel-back, in carts and other old world vehicles, into the interior of Kathiawar, which contains many romantic and historical places.

K. M. J

HINDI

PARICHAYA—*Compiled by Mr. Santipriya Dwivedi. Published by the Sahitya-Sadan, Chirgaon, Jhansi.*

The new and momentous experiment in recent Hindi poetry, the so-called "chhayavada," or mysticism—which truly speaking, is nothing but lyrical and neo-romantic intone—has divided the critics into two opposite camps. Those advocating the *brajabhasha* and the old world themes are clearly opposed to the new movement which uses the *khadiboli* and the new verse-forms better suited to the new themes. The urge of a new life under the changed circumstances of to-day is responsible for the new matter and manner of literary self-expression. Bengali literature improved wonderfully by similar experiments and Hindi may do likewise.

The compiler has really done a service both to the poets and the public by focussing our attention on the new school. Representative poems and songs are gathered from 14 authors. On the whole, the selection is happy and amply shows the charm and power of the new school.

AFRICA-YATRA: *By Mangalananda Puri, Sanmyasi. Published by the author from 138, Atarsua, Allahabad. Pp. lvi—675.*

The author who travelled most extensively deserves our best thanks for presenting in this volume the story of the natives of East and Central Africa together with that of the Indian colonies of those countries. Naturally the latter occupies a greater part of the book. The account of the social, economic and political condition of the territories occupied by the British, Germans and Portuguese are indeed a very interesting study. An article by Pundit Benarsidas Chaturvedi, the editor, *Vishal Bharat* is a part of the Introduction. The book will be appreciated by those who seek to know about the affairs of the Indians outside India. There are several portraits and pictures.

AFLATUN KI SAMAJIK VYAVASTHA: *By Gopal Damodar Tamaskar, M.A., L.T. Published by the Kashi Vidyapith, Benares.*

This book belongs to the Jnanmandal series instituted by the well-known public man, Babu Shivprasad Gupta of Benares, and discusses the social theories and problems including those of politics as expounded by the ancient philosopher Plato.

VIDHAVA-VIVAHA: *By Mahatma Gandhi. Published by the Tarun Sahitya Mandir, 19 Sreegopal Mallik Lane, Calcutta.*

The various writings of the Mahatma on widow remarriage have been collected in Hindi by Mr. Vinoy Krishna Sen.

VIDYAPITH: *Edited by Messrs Bhagavan Das and Navendra Dev. Published by the Kashi Vidyapith, Benares.*

The Vidyapith has been well-advertised in publishing this high-class quarterly on humanistic studies. This number contains useful and instructive articles on Politics, Economics and History.

BHIKHARI SE BHAGAVAN: *Translated by Thakur Babunandan Singh. Published by the Ganga-pustakmala Office, Lucknow 2nd Edition. Pp. 170.*

Translation of James Allen's "From Poverty to Power," a collection of prose and poetical pieces,

aiming at the attainment of peace and success in life.

DAKSHIN AFRICA KE MERE ANUBHAV : By *Pundit Bhavanidayal Sannyasi*. Published by the "Chand" Office, Allahabad. Pp. 414.

The social and political condition of the Indians and specially the romantic story of their movement of passive resistance are graphically described in this work.

GAU-VANI : By *Mr. Rishabhcharan*, Delhi. Pp. 126.

This book deals with some fundamental spiritual principles which lead to prove the irrationality of cow sacrifice.

MANORAMA KE PATRA : By *Pundit Krishna Kanta Malaviya*. Published by *Pundit Padmakanta Malaviya*, Abhyudaya Press, Allahabad. Pp. cxii+363.

This book on what a young husband ought to know is intended to show how a man can attain happiness even after matrimony. The author who has taken upon himself the task of disseminating this branch of knowledge has already published useful and important works in Hindi. In the book under notice he has amassed a good deal of materials from the works of both eastern and western writers on the subject and has most ably presented them in the form of letters. The work is well-conceived and well-executed too. The quotations from the Sanskrit texts are a striking feature.

MERI FIJI-YATRA : By the late *Pundit Gobindasanyaya Sarma*. Pp. xvi+61.

The travels of the late Pundit in Fiji are narrated in the form of letters. Pundit Benarsidas Chaturvedi, editor, *Vihār Bharat*, has translated and published this tract in Hindi.

BIDA : By *Mr. Pratapnarain Srivastava*, B. A. Published by the *Ganga-pustakmala Office*, Lucknow. Pp. 418.

The author depicts modern society in this novel which is his first attempt in this line. His style of writing and delineation of character are commendable and full of promise. There are some illustrations.

MITRATA : By *Pratapmal Nohia*. Published by the author from 7-1 Pyarimohan Pal Lane, Calcutta.

A book of essays on friendship.

BHAVUK : By *Rai Krishnadas*. Published by the *Bharati Bhandar*, Benares City.

A small book of poems and songs with notation.

BHAGAWAN MAHABIR AUR MAHATMA BUDDHA : By *Mr. Kamtaprasad Jain*, M. R. A. S. Published by *M. K. Kapadiya*, *Khapatiya Chikla*, Surat. Pp. xvi+271.

The lives of the founders of the two important faiths of India, viz., Buddhism and Jainism, are described and compared from the Jaina standpoint.

AROGYA MANDIR : Compiled by *Mr. Prabashilal Varma*. Published by the *Mahasakti Sahitya Mandir*, Bulanaka, Benares City.

We congratulate the compiler for bringing together articles by a number of writers on the important subjects of hygiene and medicine. This book will easily find its way into the homes of the Hindi speaking people. No praise is too high for this laudable attempt.

SAMANVAYA : By *Mr. Bhagavandas*. Published by the *Bharati Bhandar*, Benares. Pp. 407.

We often mark the paucity of thoughtful and philosophical literature in Hindi. It is a welcome sign that Mr. Bhagavandas, who is well known as a thinker, has come forward with this book embodying his addresses and writings. This is a book of which Hindi may be proud, and which raises the standard of Hindi literature in this particular branch. The attention of the thinking section of the people of other provinces may be specially drawn to this important work in Hindi.

RIGVEDALOHANA : By *Pundit Naradev, Vedatirtha (Jwalapur)*. Published by *Mr. Satyavrata Sarma*, Santi Press, Agra.

The outstanding features of Vedic thinking are here grouped under various heads. They show us into the vigorous and mystic sides of the strenuous people of ancient India. This book is sure to interest us in the affairs of the Vedic Aryans.

ARYA PATHIK GRANTHAVALI : By *Pundit Lakhnan*. Translated by *Mr. Premsaran Pranata*. Published by the *Arya Publishing Depot*, *Prem Pustakalaya*, Agra. Pp. xi+848.

The aim of this rather bulky production is to acquaint us with the life and thought of the Vedic Aryans, but is written in a way which does not generally appeal to a modern educated person. So, it defeats the very purpose for which it is published.

RAMES BASU

MARATHI

ASHOKA-CHARITRA or Life of Ashoka by *V. G. Apte*, Editor 'Anand'. Publisher—*Anand Karyalaya*, Poona. Pages 232. Price Re. 1-8.

Mr. Apte has done a good service to Marathi readers by writing this life of Asoka. Asoka's rule and personality are a great event in the world history. This writer has dealt with all the aspects of his life, his government, and religion. The readers also get a picture of the times which were unique in the history of India. Though he says on page 77 that he is not giving many details and that he is not writing a book for research students, he has touched all the points and controversies about Asoka's life and has stated his considered opinion about them. He has made the book very useful by giving full information about and large quotations from the rock edicts and other inscriptions which are the valuable bases of our evidence about Asoka's life and achievements. He has utilized the latest books and researches in writing the book. He does not accept the incorrect view that Asoka was not a Buddhist. There seem, however, to be at one or two places evident mistakes. On page 61 his reference to Huen-Tsang

in the 5th century is evidently a slip. On page 160 his statement that Nalanda Mahavidyalaya or university existed during Asoka's time is very hazardous. A chronology of events and edicts would have been useful. This is the only book of its kind on Asoka in Marathi and is well written.

S. V. PUNTAHBREKAR

"LAGNACHA BAZAR" OR THE MARRIAGE MESS.

This social novel, written by Mrs. Shanta Nashikkar, B. A., is the second publication of the "Mahilavijaya-Granthamala" which series has been started with the manifest intention of enlightening and enlarging the vision of the society—particularly the fairer part of it—and concentrating its attention of some of the crying needs of the day. That the intention of the series was no mere worldly one is amply proved by the tremendous success of its first novel "Vidhava-Kumari" (Widow-Virgin) which swept the whole of the reading public of Maharashtra off their feet.

"Lagnacha Bazar" has maintained the tradition created by its predecessor. Mrs. Shanta Nashikkar has used her pen with no uncertain motive and dash, slashing outright the various baneful customs obtaining at present in the Hindu society. It was hence inevitable that the novel should embrace all sorts of questions which are facing, nay menacing the Hindu society at present. There is a ring of sincerity about all she has to say, and this by itself takes the reader headlong with the story as it develops.

The main theme of the "LAGNACHA BAZAR" is Hunda (dowry), to use the Marathi word. But the authoress has not confined herself to the theme, which would have made the novel rather dull. The form of marriage prevalent in Hindu society at present, particularly 'dowry' and 'match-making', meet with the most acute penning. Two 'creatures' unknown to each other are married off without the least regard for their liking or future prospects. It is rather an accident that some of the people 'thus' married attain any degree of 'conjugal felicity.' The person who suffers most—and for all that has to bear her part meekly—is the 'little wife' whose very vitality is 'ground' in the end. The havoc which the system of dowry plays is too notorious. The life of Snehalata Devi is a standing example.

This is not the place to give the summary or story of the novel. Doing so would be criminal to those who intend to read the novel by themselves. All we can do, considering the high merits of this novel, is to recommend it to our readers. The book is not only interesting—it is something more. It is, to say the least, thought-provoking. Every page contains some pithy sentence or other, which can be developed into volumes and volumes. Chapter XVII should particularly be read by everyone. Every word of this chapter deserves to be pondered over and over.

Written by a lady, the novel truly and adequately portrays the heart of the woman.

The get-up of the book demands a few lines. This book has created an *epoch* in Maharashtra. Its get-up can safely be said to be as good and as attractive as that of any of the best foreign period-

icals. The paper and printing are quite delightful, and the wrapper quite artistic. For the price of Rs. 2 only, the book appears to be rather cheap, subscribers getting it at 25 p. c. less. Those who are also the subscribers of the 'Griha-Laxmee' magazine get it at half the original price.

The "Mahilavijaya-Granthamala" is a quarterly publication. With Mr. Vasant Marathe as its Managing Editor who is also the Managing Editor of the popular magazine the "Griha-Laxmee" the series promises to soon become the most widely circulated publications.

R. M. K.

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Farming Opportunities in Tanganyika Territory (East Africa)

By M. HUSSAIN, M.R.A.S.

THE Tanganyika Territory is roughly speaking a block of Africa between the Great Lakes of the Continent and its eastern side washed by the Indian Ocean; it is the only country in the world whose boundary on two of its sides consists largely of a fresh water coast. It is the former colony of German East Africa which is now being administered under a mandate by His Britannic Majesty. The Territory extends from the Umba river on the north to the Rovuma river on the south, the coast-line being about 500 miles in length. The total area is about 365,000 square miles, about three times the area of the Punjab.

Arabia and India traded with the East Coast of Africa at least twenty centuries ago; but there is nothing to indicate that any colonization was begun until about the eighth century, when it was probably brought about by the spread of Islam. From the beginning of the 19th century some of the European powers began to cast a greedy eye on East Africa. Germany and Britain had begun running a race to snatch parts of the territory of the Sultan of Zanzibar who held sway over the islands of Zanzibar, Pemba etc. and the whole of what is now the coast of Tanganyika and Kenya. By 1873 the British influence was paramount in the island. In 1884 Dr. Karl Peters and other German explorers penetrated to the mountainous area south of Kilosa called Usagara and made with the local chiefs treaties granting extensive rights to the German Colonization Society. By means of subsequent expeditions this area of influence was extended both northerly and southerly; and although the Sultan of Zanzibar rightly protested against what amounted to an invasion of his territory, he was forced to yield owing to a threat made by the sending of German warships to Zanzibar. Great Britain maintained a passive attitude, merely watching to ensure that the grounds of her intentions received no trespass and her interests no harm. But there was speedily an end to this passivity even, and in 1886, 1890 and 1907 agreements were

made with Germany by which any claim of the Sultan of Zanzibar to the interior ceased to be recognized, and his rights were limited and reduced by cession to those possessed by him at the present time, namely, the rule over Zanzibar and Pemba under a British Protectorate. It was now that the obtaining of coastal concessions from the Sultan by Great Britain and Germany led to the development of activity in their respective spheres of influence that had come into being prior to the Great War. Owing to the natural opposition of the Coast peoples, the Arabs and Swahilis, deprived of their rights without being consulted, the Germans found themselves forced to take refuge in Bagamoyo and Dar-es-Salem, where they lurked protected by a German squadron. This inefficiency of the Colonization Society caused the Administration to be taken over by the German Government in 1889, and by the end of the next year German rule was established, although further often very severe fighting in the next few years was necessary before the Germans could make their penetration effective. Then fifteen years later, in 1905, came the sudden, unexpected and well-concerted outbreak of the southern tribes, beginning in July in the Matumbi hills behind and between modern Kilwa and Mohoro on the chief southern mouth of the river Rufiji. This rising spread to the middle of the Territory and took two years of hard fighting in which naval and military forces co-operated, together with guerilla warfare, to reduce the tribes to submission, which, it is admitted, was only given after 75,000 of their people had perished and a yielding which was followed by a punishment involving the deaths of 120,000 persons through starvation following the purposeful destruction of their crops and stock. With the outbreak of the Great War hostilities between British and German forces commenced on the northern frontier and in 1916 Tanganyika Territory passed from German predators to the British.

Along the Coast lies a plain, varying in

width from ten to forty miles, behind which the country rises gradually to a plateau constituting the greater part of the hinterland. In Tanganyika the regions that are always humid are few and scattered ; but on mountains at heights varying from 1,500 to nearly 5,000 feet, especially on the eastern sides wetted by the winds from the sea, we find one of the characteristic features of such regions : the tropical rain forest, with its huge trees standing in thick underwood and engaged in an eternal struggle with the giant creepers that encircle and fastoon them. Dark, almost impenetrable and difficult to clear these areas afford fertile soil responding readily to cultivation. Above them beyond 6,000 feet, the same conditions produce the mountain forest, still with huge, ever-green trees but competing with fewer creepers. But we do not always find the mountain forest where it once was, for the interference of man, with his helper and enemy Fire, has destroyed the massive cover that existed ; and its place is taken by the high meadow lands where cattle, crops and fruits can be raised. Rain forests near the banks of rivers also afford a soil suitable for cultivation.

The country is populated by negroes of the Bantu race. The non-native population includes the Europeans employed in commerce and as planters, prospectors, officials, soldiers and missionaries ; British Indians in commerce, planting and as small shop-keepers ; and plantation-holding Arabs. According to the census of 1921 the total number of Europeans in the Territory is 2,447, Asiatics 10,950 (including 9,411 British Indians) and Natives 4,107,000. By now the population of foreigners must have increased considerably as large numbers of Europeans and Indians are going to the Territory and settling there.

Agriculture, including cattle farming, is the principal wealth of the country ; and far exceeds in importance any other industry, such as mining. The native is the greatest producer of agricultural wealth ; although the non-native producer from the very fact that he is a planter of commodities for sale and not a direct provider of his own needs, makes his weight most felt in the exports of the country. The native cultivator does not go beyond the use of the hoe ; and this is still usually found in the hands of his wives rather than in his own : even in heavy soils such as those of the Rutiji valley, stiff when wet and hard when dry, it is observed that the women perform the arduous work

of preparing the land, whilst the men will permit themselves to go as far as sowing the seed. Cultivation on non-native plantations is mostly done by labourers with hoes ; but there is an increasing tendency toward the employment of mechanical tillage, the nature of the chief crops grown (sisal, coffee, cotton) making it impossible however to extend the principle to the use of mechanical harvesting. Of non-native cultivators besides Europeans although he is most usually a trader, the Arab is the best : he pays intensive attention to a small area of mixed cultivation and his date-palm gardens are in the dry season man-made oases in a thirsty land.

The crops that are of chief general distribution throughout the Territory are as follows : 1. The different kinds of beans. 2. The various grains including sorghum, millet, rice, maize, bajri etc. 3. Oil-seeds of which the chief are ground-nut and castor plant. 4. Sweet potatoes, potatoes, cassava etc. 5. Cotton and hemp. 6. Onions, chillies, tomato, egg-plant, tobacco etc. etc. 7. Fruit plants such as banana and plantain, pine-apple, mango, coconut etc.

Once sown, sugarcane lasts for eight years, *gur* fetches a good price. Average yield of maize is one ton per acre and two crops can be raised in a year.

The chief means of irrigation is rainfall. The annual rainfall ranges from eighty inches in some districts to thirty-five inches in others. Huge areas of cultivable land are lying unoccupied and Government grants land on lease of thirty-three, fifty and ninety-nine years without any restriction of caste, creed or colour. One has to select a piece of any land and apply for it. Then it is put to auction. Whether the applicant is European or Indian, no other European would like to stand for competition but some Indians do and thus enhance the rent value. However, it can be managed and the lease does not go higher than the Government upset rent which varies for different localities from fifty cents to two shillings per acre. No other revenue, rates or taxes to bother. No Patwaris, Zilladars, Tehsildars and Chaprasis to worry. Life is peaceful. District officers behave like public servants. Transport by railway and motor lorries is common. It must be noted, however, that the occupier has to undertake obligations as to cultivation, fencing or development according to the use to be made of the land. The Government does not

intend to alienate further areas of land in the district of Tanga, in the districts of Usambara and Pangani north of the Pangani river, in the cultivated areas of Moshi and Arusha districts round Kilimanjaro and Meru, or in the area which is reserved for the use of the Masai tribe.

Agricultural assistance is afforded by and through the Department of Agriculture. The representations of the planting community to Government for assistance or for dealing with condition that may be considered adverse to development are usually made through the Department of Agriculture. Important assistance is afforded to planters in that no Customs duty is charged on imports of agricultural and irrigation machinery and

appliances, traction engines and cart wheels, planting material, manures etc. etc. There is no colour question in Tanganyika and young, educated and adventurous Indians with small or big capital are sure to make a headway as farmers. It is just the time for them to go. Europeans are pouring in in numbers and if interested Indians hesitate, it may be too late for them.

Any further information may be obtained direct from Mr. Dev Raj Singh, P. O. Box No. 90, Dar-es-Salem (East Africa). Mr. Dev Raj Singh is a graduate in Agriculture of the Punjab University and will be only too pleased to give first-hand information to those who require it.

Echo

By MISS VINODINI R. NILKANTH, B. A.

In childhood I had heard that "Dharma has gone away from Aryavarta!" But where could he have gone?

Could he be sitting like an image of Despair in the white sands near some river murmuring in its flow-wearing tattered garments with his left hand on his head and his right buried aimlessly in the sands? Or could he be wandering alone in a desolate forest where all the leaves have fallen off from the trees because of autumn?

Poor Dharma! Sighing like the hot breeze of summer, thou art perchance sitting in a dilapidated hut on the border of a dry lake!

Perhaps in the dense darkness of the night, thou art going forth carrying thy broken *Ektara* (a one-stringed musical instrument) through the deserted streets of some city!

Perchance sitting on the shore of yonder vast and boundless ocean thou art watching the conjunction of the stream of tears from

thy deeply sunken eyes with the salt waters of the sea.

Innumerable such fancies arose in my mind, when suddenly I beheld thee at an unexpected place!

It was a beautiful spring morning. The whole forest was mad with the advent of spring. Only my foolish heart was grieving alone for thee.

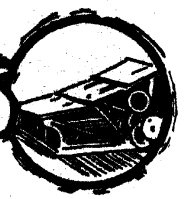
I had thought that when thou wouldst meet me, tears would come into my eyes at the sight of thy saffron robe. But what did I see? In what words of what language can I give a description of thy form, thy brilliance, thy joyous image! Ashamed and confused as though seeking to be engulfed in the earth, I stood speechless looking at thy feet.

Only then did it flash on me that the various fanciful forms of "Dharma" about which I had made conjectures were only the echoes of a heart void of religion.

*Translated from Gujarati by
Gaganrihari L. Mehta, M. A.*



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Mahatma Gandhi as a Gujarati Man of Letters

Those who are acquainted with Gandhiji's English articles and speeches know his easy, simple, graceful style, instinct with life and force and delicacy as the occasion demands. They will find nothing 'surprising' in the estimate in *The Triveni* (March-April), by Bijoy Gopal Reddi, of Gandhiji's contribution to his mother-tongue; but it is interesting to see how literary fame follows a man who aspires for nothing of the kind, and how literary form is discovered and fixed by a man who presumes to experiment not with style or word but with truth.

In India, as elsewhere, social reformers and leaders of liberal thought have also been pioneers of literary Renaissance. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Veeresalingam Pantulu, Narbada Sanker, Tolstoy, Bernard Shaw, Okakura, Kakuzo and a host of others have been savants as well as builders of society. Gandhiji also is one of such reformer-litterateurs.

The comparison should not be stressed too much. However, as for Gujarati literature we are told:

Before Gandhiji's advent, there was no dominant personality to set the standard and hold aloft an ideal. Each writer was a law unto himself. No intelligible method was followed as regards the spelling of words; no uniformity in their very shape. Disorderliness was in evidence with regard to the usage of words and idioms. Several words not meaning the same thing were used as synonymous. Little shades of difference in meaning were sometimes neglected, and at other times given undue importance. Display of erudition and an exaggerated use of sonorous and alliterative terms were regarded as qualities of high-class literature. Circumlocution in expression was constantly adopted. Obsolete words and unintelligible colloquialisms were freely used. The Northern Kathiawaris and the Southern Suratis employed their respective slangs, and the Ahmedabadis in the middle could understand neither of them. There was thus no standard Gujarati.

At this hour Gandhiji's 'Hind Swaraj' and articles in Gujarati in South-African papers drew all eyes on him.

In the palmy days of Non-Co-operation, 'Navajivan', Mahatmaji's Gujarati weekly, had to its credit nearly twenty-five thousand subscribers. No cultured Gujarati home was without it. Reading 'Navajivan' and wearing khaddar were looked upon as the outer signs of an inner patriotism. 'Navajivan' is just a broad-casting agency. Mahat-

maji steals—though he is opposed to any sort of stealing—a quarter of an hour from his pressing engagements, writes off an article and sends it to the 'Navajivan' press. The next day, the whole of Gujarat, from Bombay to Kathiawar, reads it, hears it, and ponders over it. It carries the fire of patriotism and the glow of Truth with it. Even in the remotest villages of the interior, people used to throng at the post offices to get their copies of 'Navajivan'. Scores of illiterate peasants sat round a person while reading 'Navajivan' and listened patiently and seriously to the contents of the paper from end to end. And as they left the place, a tear of expiation, sympathy or emotion, would glitter in their eyes. Week after week, the people of Gujarat heard the language of Mahatmaji and got accustomed to it. They realized that his direct and simple style appealed to them more than any other. They refused to admire other styles of expression, which formerly used to exact their reluctant appreciation. This was the beginning of a reformation in the language. Mahatmaji's style was taken as the standard by which to measure the worth of other writings. This was how he was called 'the father of neo-Gujarati prose', though there was Ambalal Sankarlal Desai who had previously employed an equally effective and simple style. Desai could be compared to John the Baptist of the New Testament, paving the way for the coming Son of God. Thus, quietly and unobtrusively, and without sermonizing on the need for new ways of expression, Mahatmaji introduced the people to a simple, effective and beautiful prose style.

He dealt with all the great topics of the day. His scholarly articles on religion, 'Varnashrama Dharma', 'Brahmacharya,' and 'Ahimsa' and his soul-stirring expositions of Satyagraha, Non-Co-operation, dietetics and economic problems, indicate that he possesses a versatile genius, a profound knowledge of men and things, and a perfect and racy expression, that go to make him one of the greatest and noblest of Indian writers. He speaks with intuition and intelligence, and out of the abundance of his knowledge. Anyone who has followed his 'Atma Katha' or autobiography closely can discern that he has a powerful yet a generous perception. He visualizes all the great forces that pulsate beneath the common crises of our daily life and describes them in their beauty and their strength.

His is a very natural style. He never wants to produce literature nor does he wish to be worshipped by future generations as an eminent literary personage. He never labours at a style. He does not pause to cull a more effective or sonorous word. This does not mean that his writings are not characterized by beautiful diction. In fact, his diction is extraordinarily virile, sensitive and illuminating, and he never selects a difficult or obsolete word in preference to a simpler and more current one. As one who spent much of his time in other parts of India, he introduced

words and constructions from other Indian languages. Hindi is his main source. He uses also many Kathiawadi words and phrases, which have thus become popular and current.

"Sometimes it (diction) is marvellous. His descriptions of natural scenery, occurring in some of his political writings, are really classical. *e. g.* the one of Sindhu, when he first went there during his All-India tour. The other is the one he wrote when he was sailing in a boat on the river Padma in Bengal in the same year. Really I sometimes fail to understand how he can choose his words so correctly."

In his writings, Gandhiji does not employ far-fetched similes and hyperboles that make the sentence gaudy and ornate; but in his mild and picturesque way, he adds delicacy and grace to the sentence. He is parsimonious, economical rather, in his use of words.

Gandhiji also took some practical steps to improve the vocabulary. For some years now, he has been demanding from the 'Puratatva Mandir' (Research Society) of the Gujarat Vidya Peetha, a spelling book which should include all the current and obsolete words in the language. His idea is that the anarchy prevailing in the spelling of Gujarati should be put an end to by the compilation of an authoritative spelling-dictionary. The dictionary is now nearly ready. It includes about 60,000 words. The Vidya Peetha is also preparing standard Gujarati Dictionary at his instance.

Gandhiji is a very quick writer. He writes his articles to 'Navajivan' and 'Young India' in running trains or in the midst of numerous and crowded engagements. He does not care to prune and polish his writings in order to create an impression.

'The Style is the Man'—and it is equally true of Gandhiji's English and Gujarati.

Science and Religion

In one of those distinctive and illuminating articles the editor of the *Prabuddha Bharata* undertakes to answer the great question 'Will the Twain Meet.' With his rare insight and sharp incisive intellect the editor hastens to probe into the problem of 'scientific religion', which he interprets to mean.

Science has been accumulating facts about reality through tireless research, which cannot be gainsaid. Science has taught a new kind of attitude towards life and reality. It has evolved a new outlook. And as a result the inherited moral and religious ideas are being given up one by one. New ideas of life and its fulfilment are cropping up. This new passion and new outlook—can they be made into a religion? Or can religion be reconciled with them?

Scientific demonstration with dead and faithful instruments can be truly appraised, it is agreed, by a properly trained intellect. Religious demonstration, to apply the analogy, demands equally a properly trained mind

to comprehend it. Thus, scientific truth and spiritual truth stand on the same foundation—a carefully prepared mind. Science and science-ridden world is not, however, ready to undergo the preparatory training demanded by religion; and, hence, religion is put at a disadvantage with odds against it in its work of demonstrating its own truth. "The crux of the problem is that science has bred an anti-religious mentality."

It was unfortunate that modern science was born in a hostile atmosphere. In fact, science was a protest against the theological and religious view that then existed in Europe; and it had to make its progress through tremendous opposition of religion. One whose upbringing is unhappy can scarcely evince a generous pleasantness in after-life. The bitterness of early days tinges even the affluence of later days.

The scientific attitude does not subsume all the ways and aspirations of human life and personality. The ways in which life progresses and fulfils itself are not logical or scientific,—they are allogical. Human personality also is not so definite or rational as the scientific attitude implies. Science represents only a fraction of the nature and workings of the human mind. What did science do with the remaining parts? Science did not accommodate itself to them. On the other hand, it insisted on those parts being adjusted according to its own attitude. That was, however, against nature. Man is three-fourths, if not more, irrational and one-fourth rational. He fulfils himself as much through error as through truth. The Truth towards which man is progressing through the experiences of countless lives, does not fall within the category of what is called scientific truth. The universe is a mixture of lights and shades. And life is benefited as much by light as by shade. Take, for instance, art. Art does not bother about the scientific verity of the subjects it deals with. The passing fancies, the flimsiest shadows, the airy nothings are enough for it. Yet its outlook and standard of evaluation is such that it reveals great spiritual truths and cause great satisfaction to the soul. Art, therefore, comes nearer to life than science. Science did not and does not recognize this fact. It was and is too aggressive.

Necessarily, scientific attitude in the West is arrogant, and leaves out of its inquiry subjective elements, all that is not material or tangible, that which cannot be manipulated by instruments. "All spiritual aspirations are negated at one stroke", and so are our ethical or conventional values of the objects of common experience, of universe and of life.

A great part of our knowledge of things consists of the emotional reactions that we make to them. These are mainly, if not entirely, subjective. Science does not and cannot take these subjective elements into account. The universe that emerges from the scientist's laboratory is extremely unlike the universe as we know it. Most of our idealism is based on the apparent universe. The scientific

knowledge of the universe, therefore, automatically kills all idealism. Social values have to change, so also moral values. Our conception of our life and duties have to undergo corresponding changes. The relationships between man and man can no longer subsist on conventional emotional regards. Where is the basis? The social, economical and political ideas have to change automatically. And all these changes have indeed come about. The economic life is changed beyond recognition. Social life has also similarly changed. Human relations have not been spared. The Westerners no longer look upon life and duties in the way they did before. Their visualization of the future is also from the standpoint of the tangible and the material. The picture that rises before them of their future is not of their inner life, but of external changes consequent on the discovery of nature's secrets and their application to the sensuous purposes of men.

Its origin, as the writer observes, implies out that it could not be otherwise. In the crumbling ruin of our social, economic, moral and spiritual structures, it need not be forgotten that after all the outlook of a people, determined beforehand by the nature and perfection of the knowledge it came by, cannot be diverted by the simple accumulation of knowledge about some actualities or of the method of handling these.

The different antecedents of the different civilizations will mean a necessary difference in the influence of science. The fact is, God, soul and other spiritual facts are not vague to us Indians. They are so vivid and so real to us that no onslaughts of science can shake our faith in them. Men are not guided by reason. What things we shall live by depends much on what have impressed our life and mind most. If religion had impressed the Western mind in the way it has the Indian mind, science would not have, in spite of its miraculous achievements and its extreme scepticism, created the havoc it has done in the Western life. *To admit the truth of spiritual realities, is to see science at once in a different light.* Change of attitude means a great change in the evaluation of facts.

The twain therefore meet in our life. But how can they meet in the life of the West? The writer considers several prospects and at last opines that only Vedanta can fulfil the opposing requirements of the two. He considers the several Prospects :

(1) Utter materialism of a very dangerous character will prevail. (2) But there are clear and significant indications that a mystic vagueness is being eagerly sought after. But that way lies the stultification of science, which will certainly be regrettable. (3) If this dissatisfaction with science and its results grows, it may be that in several centuries all enthusiasm for science will disappear. (4) Religion may be so placed before mankind that there will be a strong rational appeal. This way science and religion may be happily reconciled. (5) But rationality is not the only element in the scientific attitude. Science has created a special attitude towards life,

which is intensely realistic. The sense of power is a special characteristic of it. Therefore if there is any religion which can transform this attitude by a gradual fulfilment (and not denial), then that religion is the religion for the future, and that religion alone can be truly united with science and redeem it. We believe Vedanta can do it. The conception of man that has gradually evolved in the West through the vicissitudes of scientific influence has two elements in it, individual integrity and infinite powerfulness. And the conception of life and world that has emerged is that of one vast being teeming with potentialities, giving infinite scope to the individual to revel in. We do not know of any other philosophy or religion than Advaita Vedanta, that can easily transform and fulfil these conceptions.

Jainism—its Influence on Indian Religions

In *The Calcutta Review* for May, Professor von Glasenapp draws the attention of all thoughtful men and students of religion and ethics to the history, literature, art and philosophy of Jainism, which deserve and demand their close study and careful research. The Professor refers to the resemblance and difference between Buddhism and Jainism, and their influence on each other, and points to the Jain traces in the various sects of Hinduism.

The great expansion, which the principle of the "Ahimsa" in its opposition to bloody sacrifices and in the upholding of vegetarianism won, especially in Vaishnavism, is certainly for a great part due to Jainism as well as to Buddhism. The influence of Jainism is apparent in Vishnuism also in other respects. The "Jina" is regarded as an Avatara of Vishnu. In the Padma-Tantra 1, 1.44 etc., it is taught that Vishnu has proclaimed the Arhata-Shastra as Rishabha. In the Bhagavata-Purana V. 3, etc., and XI, 2 and in other holy works of the Vaishnavas, Rishabha is called an incarnation of Vishnu. What is narrated of the life of Rishabha only partly agrees with the Jain legends, but the fact that Rishabha plays such a great part in a Vishnuitic work is in itself remarkable. Of the philosophical systems of the Vaishnavas the Brahma-sampradaya of Madhva (1199-1278 a. c.) above all shows unmistakable traces of Jain influence, a circumstance which is easily accounted for, if one considers that Madhva lived in South Kanara, in a territory in which the Jain belief had been the dominant religion for many centuries. As I have shown in my "Madhvas Philosophie des Vishnu-Glaubens," pp. 27 and 31, it is not improbable that Madhva's doctrine of predestination of the order of ranks of the gods and so on were evolved in connection with the teaching of the Jainas.

Jainism has also exercised influence on Shaiva systems. G. U. Pope conjectures that the doctrine of the Shaiva-Siddhanta of the three fetters (Pasha) or impurities (Mala), which alienate the soul from its real nature correspond to Jain conceptions. If what this scholar brings forward to support his theory cannot be accepted because of his imperfect

knowledge of Jainism, the possibility of a connection of the doctrine of the Anava, Karma, and Mayamala with the Karma doctrine of the Jainas cannot be totally rejected. The problem must be further investigated. The same may perhaps be said of the Alakhgirs in Rajputana, of whose founder, Lal Gir, Sir George Grierson says that his doctrine has much in common with that of the Jainas.

Undoubtedly, every great religion in India influenced and was influenced by Jainism, and even Islam, more exclusive and aggressive than others, was not, we are shown, an exception.

Mahometanism, which lived in close touch with Jainism for centuries, has had a great cultural influence on the latter. Many Persian-Arabian words have invaded the language of the Jainas, as of all Indians, especially in the North and the West.

In one respect Mahometanism seems to have influenced Jainism to some degree: perhaps the reprisal of the movement against images of Lonka Sha has been indirectly caused by it, as it has also caused the founding of sects in Vishnuism, which opposed the cult of images. On the other hand, Jainism has probably influenced the Indian Mahometans, especially those who have been converted from Indian religions to that of the Prophet but had retained many Indian customs and ideas, that have become current there. Above all, however, the art of the Jainas, especially architecture and painting, have been largely influenced by Mahometan prototypes, not always for the advantage unfortunately. Jaina architecture has also influenced that of the Mahometans on its part, but often not in the way of an organic adaptation but of an actual taking possession. Parts of the destroyed Jaina temples were used for the building of mosques or Jaina holy buildings were transformed by architectural changes into Mahometan places of worship.

Baron Kremer has told us in an exhaustive essay on the Arabian poet and philosopher, Abu-l-'Ala (973-1058), generally called after his native town of Ma'arrat an Numan Abu-l-'Ala al Ma'arri. He has evolved his peculiar ethical teaching perhaps under Jaina influence. The strange, quite un-Mahometan way of life of this man is described by Kremer as follows: "Abu-l-'Ala only lived on a vegetable diet and he also refused milk, because he regarded it as sinful to take away their mother's milk from young animals; he would have gone without nourishment altogether, if he could have done it; even honey he would not eat because he thought it wrong to rob the bees of their honey, which they had collected so busily and industriously. For the same reason he avoided eggs. In food and clothing he lived as true world-despiser. 'My garments are of (undyed) wool, neither green nor yellow, nor reddish brown.' Only wooden shoes he wears, for those made of leather are acquired by bad practices, because it is a sin to kill animals to use their skins. In another place he recommends total nakedness when he says: 'Summer gives you a complete garment.' How strictly he followed the law of the ahimsa is made clear by his saying: 'It is better to let a flea live than to give a beggar a dirhem.'

This predilection for nakedness, the forbearance towards vermin, the vegetarianism, above all the warning against the eating of honey, show the influence of Jainism, especially of the Digambaras. That a great commercial centre like Bagdad, where Abu-l-'Ala spent most of his life, was visited by Jaina merchants is easily credible, and that the poet came into touch with them. It is seen from his writings that Abu-l-'Ala had knowledge of many Indian customs. He mentions the habit of Indian ascetics not to cut their nails. He commends the custom of burning the dead, when he says: 'Behold, how the Indian burn their dead; that is better than long torments. If I am burned, then one needs not trouble about the hyenas, that crawl at night towards the corpse, and is safe from maltreatment and desecration. Fire is better than camphor, with which we bestrew the dead and better takes away the evil smells.' The saying of Abu-l-'Ala's that he would like to forgo all nourishment, if he could, lets us suppose that he had knowledge also of the 'Samlekha', but was too weak to follow it. According to all I have said it is possible that Abu-l-'Ala has been in touch with Jainas and has partly adopted their ethical ideas.

Forced Labour and India

The International Labour Conference in its session of 1929 will consider the recommendations recently made by its Committee of Experts appointed in 1926 to treat the question of 'Forced Labour.' The opinion of the experts that 'all forced labour should cease at the earliest possible moment' requires harmonizing with the mandate of the Slavery Convention of 1926 which permitted forced labour in "essential public works and services," a more or less vague qualifying phrase. Mr. P. P. Pillai of I. L. O., New Delhi, surveys the question of 'Forced Labour' as considered by the League of Nations, its disastrous effect on the 'natives' in South Africa and Congo, and observes in *The Indian Journal of Economics* for May:

In any international action that may be taken for the abolition of forced labour, adequate consideration will be given to prevent overhasty development of primitive areas without regard to the labour possibilities of the area. But even with the utmost care in this direction, a residuum of forced labour may be inevitable at least for the present. But here again, it is reasonable to assume, that in all cases of future recourse to forced labour, steps will be taken to ensure (1) that the work to be done or the service to be rendered is in the direct interest of the community called upon to do the work or the service; (2) that the work or service is of actual imminent necessity; (3) that it has been found impossible to obtain voluntary labour for the work by the offer of the rates of wages ruling in the area concerned for similar work or service and (4) that the work or service under consideration will not lay upon the present

population concerned too heavy a burden, having regard to the labour available and its capacity to undertake the work.

Before closing, it remains to be seen, how far the problem of forced labour concerns India. Fortunately, the inquiry conducted by the I. L. O. reveals that the evil has not assumed any serious proportions in British India, though it is not exactly unknown. In Bihar and Orissa, for instance, compulsory work is exacted by the Government in certain aboriginal areas in connection with the upkeep of public roads and minor public buildings in the vicinity of the village community from which the labour is levied. Again in parts of the Santal Parganas and district of Singhbhum, the Government, instead of imposing local taxation, require village communities but little advanced from the primitive stage to maintain their own share of the public roads running through their settlements. Forced labour for private purposes is however strictly forbidden in India, with the exception of the labour dues which are exacted in many parts of India, under ancient custom, by landholders from tenants and agricultural labourers. In most, if not in all, of such cases, the labour obligation of the tenants carry with it a feeble measure of corresponding rights, and hence the asperities of the system may be said to be mitigated by a show of equity. Section 374 of the Indian Penal Code provides that any person who unlawfully compels a person to labour against the will of that person may be punished with imprisonment with or without hard labour for a period not exceeding one year or with a fine, or with both. The situation in Indian States, however, is not so clear. From time to time, one comes across hair-raising accounts of the *begar* system or forced labour as practised in some of the more backward Indian States, but in the absence of a proper inquiry and definite information it is difficult to assess these newspaper accounts at their proper value, and to sift the grains of truth from the exaggerations of the free-lance journalist. That the evil, in some measure or other, still persists in some at least of the Indian States seems to be clear from a resolution passed at the first session of the Rajputana States' Peoples' Conference held at Ajmere on the 23rd and 24th August, 1928. This resolution asserts that the system of compulsory labour prevails in some of the Indian States, particularly in Rajputana, and calls upon the authorities to abolish it without delay.

Making of Western Civilization

In his thoughtful review of the origin and development of Western Civilization in course of a lecture at the Indian Students' Union at Gower Street, London, published in the *Young Man of India* (May) Dr. G. P. Gooch finds three great factors operative in the early making of the Civilization—Rome, the law-giver, the Teutons who brought independence of spirit, and the Church which in its organization carried on the traditions of the exhausted Roman empire and in its spiritual influence brought a harmonized culture formed

of Greek thought and Hebraic faith. These three with monarchy that stood for centralization and order and feudalism that made way for decentralization and social liberty continued to struggle through the middle ages. The modern world is a creation of other forces which had been fighting into life since 1500 A. D., and in Dr. Gooch's opinion they are :

The first is, what I call in the famous phrase of Lecky, "the secularization of thought". Secularization did not come all at once, but we trace the origins of non-theological and non-authoritarian thought to this great watershed 400 years ago. I will mention three forms which the secularization of thought has taken. The first is the extension of the knowledge of the globe on which we live.

The voyage of Columbus to America and the voyage of Vasco da Gama round the Cape of Good Hope showed their contemporaries that the world was a very big world, there were vast continents inhabited by people who were not even Christians. The extension of our knowledge of the world led to a broadening of mental horizons. More and more men ceased to think merely in terms of the Catholic Church and began to think in terms of the human family spread about all over our planet.

Almost at the same time came an extension of our knowledge of the universe. The name of Copernicus stands for one of the greatest revolutions not only in the history of astronomy but in the history of the human spirit. Copernicus was the contemporary of Machiavelli and of Luther. Just 400 years ago he proved that the earth went round the sun, and on the foundations laid by him modern astronomy was built up by Tycho Brahe, Kepler, Galileo and Newton. In a little over a hundred years we learned that of our earth, it was only a minor planet revolving round one of the smaller stars. It has taken us centuries to realize the implication of modern physics.

The third factor in the secularization of thought was the increase in our knowledge of the history of man. During the last four centuries we have learned that the history of man goes back a very long way. The world was not created in 6 days in 4004 B. C. It did not begin with the Greeks and religion did not begin with the Jews. We are gradually changing our perspective, and forming a juster view of the relation of modern civilization to such factors as Rome, Greece and the Jews. The secularization of thought means, negatively, the decline of authority, and, positively the pursuit of truth wherever it leads you.

The second great characteristics is the growth of nationalism.

Nationalism is the child of the west. The ancient world knew nothing of it. The Greeks knew nothing of it. Greece was never a nation—Greece was merely a name for a number of little States. Rome knew nothing of it. Rome stood for Empire. The middle ages knew nothing of it, for they stood for Universalism, the levelling down of political frontiers, the standardizing of thought and practice for the whole Christendom. With the diminution of the power of the Roman Church, with the rise of Protestantism, with the increasing orderliness of the great States like England, France and Spain, you

have the development of political particularism. Nationalism is the political self-consciousness and political self-sufficiency of large organized communities. The bible of modern nationalism was "The Prince" of Machiavelli which coolly opened the door, drove out theology and ethics, and proceeded to build up political theory on the basis of self-interest.

The third characteristic is the emergence of city life.

The great revolution in the west of Europe from the point of view of social organization comes not in the 16th century which was the century of religious change or in the 17th which in England was the century of political change, but in the 18th which was the century of social change. The invention of the industrial system was as important an historical fact in the life of Western Europe as the Reformation, or the French Revolution. It transferred England from an agricultural into an industrial community. It substituted a complex for a relatively simple organization. It increased the population. It created in its modern form what we call the social question. It taught men who lived and worked together to discuss institutions and to think more about the social and political order in which they lived than they had ever done before.

Last is the emergence of common man.

You know that the common man counted for nothing in the Empires of the ancient world. He counted for nothing even in Athens. The common man counted for nothing in Rome. But it is with the modern world and with the Reformation that he began to emerge. It began on the spiritual plane. Luther and Calvin claimed and exercised the right to their own belief but they were very unwilling to concede a similar right to other people either in the sphere of religious belief or political self-determination. It was the Puritans of Western Europe who claimed for themselves spiritual liberty—the right to think, to believe and to worship as they liked. It was they who began the emancipation of the common man even at the risk and loss of their lives. Every student knows that the driving force behind the constitutional struggle in England in the 17th century was Puritanism. The Puritans claimed religious self-determination, and when they could not get it, they claimed political self-determination. With the conception that the ordinary citizen had the right to shape his own thoughts and the institutions and policy of the community in which he lived, he begins to count for more than he had ever done in the history of the world. When he began to claim and obtain first religious liberty and then political liberty, he was bound to go further and claim a certain amount of economic liberty. The Revolutions of England, America and France were made by the middle classes. But the process which had been begun by the middle classes was continued by what the French used to call the fourth estate. The Tiers Etat was the middle class and when they had broken down the barriers of the old regime, the fourth estate—the manual worker—pushed forward and you have the birth of modern socialism. The nineteenth century is just as much the story of emancipation in the field of economics as in the field of politics.

Concludes Dr. Gooch with the solemn warning :

I leave it with you to reflect on the two greatest dangers—war abroad, and class strife at home. If civilization is to be maintained and developed, we need peace between the nations abroad and peace within our community at home.

Women's Secondary and Higher Education

Writing in the *Stri Dharma* for May Prof. D. K. Karve concludes :

Any attempts towards reforming the present system so as to make it suit the majority of Indian women will have to introduce a good many changes. The aim of general knowledge, enough to enable women to take an intelligent interest in the affairs of the world and in the affairs of the country, must be kept in view. The mother-tongue of the student should be the medium of instruction and examination and sufficient attention must be paid to the study of the literature of the mother-tongue. The importance of the English language must not be lost sight of. It is now a world language and it is this language which has given us a united India. Even in the Women's University in Japan they have made study of the English language a compulsory subject. In India we must study English with greater attention. But to study a language and know it well enough is one thing while to study everything through that language and to submit oneself to examinations in that language through that medium is quite another thing. Mathematics is found to be a great stumbling block in the progress of studies of men and women. Mathematics, beyond simple Arithmetic and the rudiments of Algebra and Geometry, should be made optional. Domestic Science and Hygiene and also Fine Arts must find a place in the new system.

We Indians have lost our originality and power of initiative. We move painfully slowly. We are conservative to a fault, not only in our social customs but even in educational matters that affect us vitally. Certificates and degrees given by the Women's University or other institutions of that type are regarded to be inferior to those of other Universities and institutions of established repute. This is inevitable but it must not hinder us in our efforts. I hope women graduates of recognized universities will pay serious attention to this vital question of their sex and try to spread secondary and higher education on new lines among their sisters far and wide throughout the country.

Unemployed B. A.

The unemployed B. A. is the discontented B. A., and *The Educational Review* (March) criticizes *The Pioneer* for the meaningful Anglo-Indian cry 'far too many graduates are produced each year.'

We should like to hear from the Editor of the *Pioneer* whether the Universities in England regulate the number of their graduates in accordance with the needs of the Government offices. Does he suggest that when young men come to

Universities for higher education the authorities should turn out some of them on the ground that they cannot find employment after taking their degrees? We confess that there is much room for the improvement of standards and conditions of education in Indian Universities, but we have no hesitation in saying that much of this talk about the so-called inferiority of standards in India is due to snobbishness. May we give the Editor the names of hundreds of England-returned Indians who had no difficulty in passing examinations in British Universities though they had been despairing of in India? If there is unemployment, it is not the Universities in India which are to blame, but a combination of circumstances one of the most important of which is the presence of a foreign government which is more anxious to find employment for its own men from across the seas than for the children of the soil. The problem of unemployment of the educated middle classes in India will find satisfactory solution if there is sufficient statesmanship at the head-quarters of the Government of India and Indian interests are not always to be subordinated to those of England. Don't treat the superior services as a close preserve for the British, open the ranks of the Army and the Navy to Indians in the most unrestricted manner, advance Industry and Commerce, let educational qualifications and not racial distinctions be the sole criterion for the appointment on the Railway and in such services as the Telegraph and other departments—there will be no more unemployed B. A.'s, struggling against a wall of political subjection and humiliations of various kinds.

Conserving Historical Manuscripts

Prof. V. Rangacharya pleads in *The South Indian Teacher* (April) for the formation of a committee for conserving historical manuscripts :

A glaring contrast between Indian indifference and British earnestness in this respect is afforded by the endeavours made in Britain to safeguard and acquire historical records, though the efforts made in the past in the latter country are phenomenal when compared with the efforts made in the former. The British Institute of Historical Research appointed in 1927 a committee to inquire into the best methods of registering the sale, and tracing the migrations, of important printed books or manuscripts of an early date. The Committee recommended the establishment of a fund, just like that of "the National Arts Collections," for acquiring important manuscripts for the nation. Many private people who own historical manuscripts are at times compelled by circumstances to sell them, and a national fund of the type would enable the sellers to part with them without loss to the nation. It is proposed to form the fund out of annual subscriptions of, say, a guinea, very costly documents being purchased by special funds raised *ad hoc*. The Committee controlling the fund is to be in touch with the local, historical and similar societies, so that it can obtain information about the movement of documentary material and also to induce the book-sellers, who happen to dispose of any manuscripts, volume or collection of papers

or even single documents of value, to communicate a circular to the purchasers requesting the latter, for the sake of information, to communicate to the Institute of Historical Research, the fact of their possession of the document or documents in question. A similar organization is absolutely needed in India; but before the organization on such lines, a stringent legislation against the exportation of historical documents to foreign purchasers shall be passed.

Postal Employees in the Himalayas

The following is an interesting account as supplied by *Labour* for April, of the conditions under which some postal employees serve the State.

There are four Post Offices in Tibet under British occupation, viz. *Gnatong, Yatung, Phari Jong* and *Gyantse*, all of which are combined offices. The postal staff employed in these Post Offices live an isolated life completely cut off from the civilized world. The cold is intense and the altitude is so high that there is no tree or vegetation. The landscape is dull, dreary and monotonous. Phari Jong, situated at an altitude of about 17,000 ft. is the highest Post Office in the world. Not a staple of corn grows in these parts and there is no game, so that they manage somehow to live on supplies of food obtained from distant places at exorbitant cost. In the absence of wood the only available fuel is *Yak-dung* which as it burns emits smoke giving out odious and nauseating smell. Imagine the hardship of this valiant band of postal workers who undaunted by these trying conditions toil on from day to day, far away from their hearth and home. In consideration of the extreme dearth of foodstuff and high cost of living they get a compensatory allowance of 60 per cent of their pay. In consideration of the extreme hardship attending their life of exile no postal official can be detained there for over two years against their will. But life is so trying there that very seldom does an official volunteer to stay on after expiry of two years. The grave problem with which the administration is confronted is how long it will be possible to get volunteers to work in those Tibetan Post Offices.

The tremendous feat which the runners on these lines have to perform every day will be conceived to a certain extent when we state that the narrow mountain roads along which the runners have to travel are situated on altitudes varying from 13,000 ft. to 17,000 ft. The air on such high altitudes is so rarified and thin that respiration becomes more and more and blood pressure increases as one ascends higher and higher. There are instances of able-bodied young men having collapsed from exhaustion and died of heart-failure. The way is very rugged and the ascents are in many places very steep and abrupt. Nor should it be imagined that these are the only troubles, for due to the eccentricity of the weather the traveller cannot be sure as to when he may be badly caught in a snow blizzard on the way and risk his life. "It will be remembered that in 1903-04 Sir Ranard Macdonald led a large force of troops accompanying General Younghusband's mission over these lofty passes and on to Lhasa," writes Lieut-Col. W. J. Buchanon in his *Notes on Tours in*

Darjeeling and Sikkim, "a military feat which has put in the shade the historic crossings of the Alps by Hannibal and by Napoleon." The names of Sir Ranard Macdonald and General Younghusband as well as their gallant troops are recorded in letters of gold but the brave runners who have to perform equally, if not more heroic feats every day in carrying His Majesty's mails along the same route are unknown, unrewarded and completely neglected.

The runners can, therefore, reasonably complain that twenty-one rupees per month is no worthy consideration for the duty—politically of essential importance as it is,—they fulfil.

Social Welfare Work

Social welfare work is arresting the attention of workers, and we would wish some of our women in Bengal—for we know they readily lead even workers on strike—would follow the simple experiment at welfare work at Bombay, of which an account is furnished, in *The Indian Ladies' Magazine* for April, by Srimati Anandibai Joshi. We learn :

Tardeo is the name of one of the districts of Bombay. It is a mill area and has amongst its mills the largest cotton mill of the city. Many of the workers travel daily to their work from a distance, though numbers of them live in chawls in the immediate vicinity. The population consists of Hindus of various castes, Moslems, Parsis and Mahars. The last mentioned are 'untouchables,' and live in huts built of palm leaves or disused kerosene oil tins and the like. The need and opportunity for work amongst all these is equally great. At first the work consisted of visiting one of the chawls occupied by Hindu mill-workers. After a few weeks of persistent visiting the ice was gradually broken and it became a common thing for us to be invited to sit down and talk, while the women cleaned their rice or prepared to have the use of an empty room in these chawls. Our opening ceremony took the form of a tea party. We soon arrived at a stage when we were able to hold regular weekly classes. Many women learned to sew, and occasionally stories were told and health talks were given with the aid of pictures. At times, they were entertained with songs and music. We discovered that an occasional outing, particularly if some kind friend loaned us a car for the occasion, was much appreciated. Though a municipal primary school existed in Tardeo, very few of the chawl children attended it. At this stage we opened a small school for them in our little chawl room. It was only intended to be a temporary measure, for our hope was to develop a school-going habit. We have been successful, and a large number of our children are now regular scholars in the municipal school. The time came when we felt the need of large premises for other branches of work. Our idea was to form

a women's settlement. We made a beginning in renting some rooms in a house belonging to a mill near by. Then, by means of gifts in kind from generous friends, the rooms were equipped and our work began in real earnest on April 2nd, 1928.

A nursery school was started for children of a pre-school age and so the school-going habit is being fostered even amongst the tiny-tots ; as they pass out from our nursery school they now proceed to a primary school without question and as a matter of course. We also opened a class for young girls. Most of them have been married early and we endeavour to provide a curriculum for them which is strictly in relation to their home conditions and life needs. A lady doctor offered us her voluntary services one afternoon a week, and we were able to open a medical clinic which again brought women and children around us.

Our next development was a play-centre for girls and one for boys. We are at present endeavouring to make a further development in establishing a circle, where the women who work in the mills can leave their babies during the day.

India and the League of Nations

Writing in *Welfare*, May 4, on the question of India's cessation from the League of Nations, R. C., an unsparing critic of the League as he is, observes :

Our visit to Geneva in 1926 on the invitation of the League of Nations enabled us to acquire some first-hand knowledge of the League. We were convinced and observed in writing and speech repeatedly that, though of all the States Members of the League India's contribution is higher than that of any which do not sit permanently on the Council of the League, the League does little for India which may be considered as any appreciable return for the money she pays. We have also said repeatedly that the League is busy entirely or almost entirely with European problems and with strengthening European interests but does little that is of use or value particularly to Asia. Now that Lord Lytton has in effect said the same thing in a speech included in the Final Report of the Delegates of India to the Ninth Session of the League (1928), these views have received more attention than before. But we do not share the conclusion drawn therefrom by some of our Indian contemporaries. We think, India should continue to be a Member of the League, even though she has to lose a few lakhs thereby every year. She is compelled to waste so many crores annually in other directions that a few lakhs more need not matter much. Theoretically, India has in the League a position equal to that of independent nations and internally autonomous peoples. Let us strive to make that position real, let us continue to urge on the League the duty on its part to do something substantial for India. The first thing to do is to secure an Indian leader for the so-called Indian delegation and to see that he and his colleagues are either elected by the Legislative Assembly or chosen by the Government from a panel elected by it.



Trend of Modern German Thought

The Times Literary Supplement devotes a special number to recent German literature, in which the whole intellectual and artistic life of post-war Germany is summarized for the benefit of those readers who have not had either the time or the means to follow the remarkable development systematically. The first two articles attempt to indicate the lines along which the social, political, and intellectual life of modern Germany is developing and to appreciate the forces that are giving shape to it. The most surprising thing to note is how small a part things of the mind are playing in contemporary German life as compared with the place that they held in the life of pre-war or 19th century Germany. As a writer in this number observes :

The hunger and destitution that accompanied and followed the War, and were aggravated by the policy of currency inflation and by its collapse, have turned German contemporary thought towards winning of bread and the acquisition of wealth by the "rationalization" and development of industry. Germany has not, indeed, given up her old ambition to be foremost in the investigation of the intellectual and moral problems of modern life. But the problems themselves have changed ; and, even before the War, primacy was already passing from the professional study to the offices of great industrialists, from the university to technical schools and factories.

So we find that :

The problems of the day, so far as we can judge, do not lend themselves to poetical, to philosophical, to imaginative handling. We see no sign of any great new interpretation in art or literature. There are, of course, individual writers such as Spengler or Keyserling, who write large books and propound a new reading of history and life ; but they remain purely individual ; their books are read, commented on, praised or censured, then put aside and forgotten. They create no school, they do not direct or inspire the workers or the nation. And then we have the *Jugendbewegung*, kaleidoscopic in its forms, now religious, and Christian, now frankly pagan and hedonistic ; in both cases the expression of revolt from old and outworn conventions ; the eternal reaction of the young against the aged, of the new against the old, stimulated by the relief felt by all when the strain of war was removed, when amid all the

hardships of the moment it was once more possible for the young to hope that they would have their own life to live and that they would not be numbered among the countless offerings of the battle.

Inspired by the unquenchable watchwords of freedom and nature it has given to them no new creative expression ; and we must look for its product not in books, in paintings, or in music but in vigorous life of the playing field, on the road and the mountains, for the new Germany is as full as ever of the Wonderlust which in the past has inspired so much of the most characteristic German poetry.

There has probably never been a time when what we are too apt to regard exclusively as things of the mind have played so small a part in German life. This is not necessarily indolence or materialism ; but first of all life itself has to be made possible, and this not easy. Man does not live by bread alone, but he cannot live without bread ; and in the complex scheme of modern life bread is not won merely by industry and the daily discharge of routine duty. In the organization of industry—and without organization there can no industry—in the problems of finance, brain, thought, imagination are required. It is men like Rathenau, more perhaps in his life than his writings, who express the new Germany. For he faced the problem of society freed from the incubus of the Marxian theory, which for so long held half the nation in its grip, and attempted a new approach to the old problems.

It is with these matters (problems of industrial life) that the mind and intellect of the nation are occupied. Rationalization and the technique of production, the relations of workman to employer, the true function of trade unions, the organization of trusts and cartels, the relations of banking to industry : these are all problems which call for intellectual and moral qualities as high as any ; and at the moment, compared with them, the older occupations, the philosophy of idealism, the literature of romanticism, may easily appear unreal. But it is the ambition of Germany that she shall take the lead in these matters too, and that her new developments shall not be a mere adoption of American methods. For she still hopes to bring to them minds disciplined in the traditional culture. And in the same way she aspires to a leading part in the new political organization of mankind. German writers are inclined to suggest that the weaknesses of the League of Nations are due to the fact that she was not present at the birth ; they would make their own, and give new currency to the ideals of which President Wilson was the

spokesman, and which, as they suggest, have been falsified by the Allies.

Winston Churchill

With the general election in England over, interest naturally centres round the great political personalities who are to shoulder the responsibilities of government and opposition for the next five years. Mr. Winston Churchill is the most outstanding figure in English politics to-day, and the *Living Age* devotes a special article to sketch his career and personality. Referring to his desertion of the Liberal Party the writer says:

No ordinary man could change his coat so frequently as Winston Churchill has changed his party. And yet that charge of treachery, so easily made against him, is absurd, for of him this is the truest thing that can be said: that he has never been disloyal to that one party to which he owes his first allegiance and which is known to the world as Winston Churchill. For treachery the world is much too small a place; one may practise it once or twice, or even three times, but after that one is avoided; one has the town 'sewed up.' As to Mr. Churchill, the astonishing truth seems to be that he moves above the rules of party politics. There was something amazing in the readiness with which the Conservative Party made friends with him again in 1924; something which is at once a tribute to his ability and a proof that for all that has been said of his 'instability,' he was never a common traitor. 'With consistency,' said Emerson, 'a great soul has simply nothing to do,' and Mr. Churchill is the exemplar of that comforting observation.

It is interesting because it is symbolical that although he has been for four years now the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he has never joined again the Tory organization. England to-day is governed by a coalition—an alliance of the Parliamentary Conservative Party and Mr. Winston Churchill. Turn, if you will, to Whitaker's Almanack for 1928 or to the official Hansard. After the names of the majority members of the House you will see in brackets the letter, 'C,' which signifies Conservative; but after the name of Winston Churchill appears the bracketed abbreviation, 'Constit,' which stands for Constitutionalist. It is the name he chose with which to describe his policy when, having cut loose from the Liberal Party, he stood for election in the autumn of 1924 on his promise to engage the Socialist menace in mortal combat and, if possible, to destroy it utterly.

The author of eleven books, the veteran of Khartoum and of twelve battles of the South-African War, Mr. Churchill is now in his fifty-fourth year—a short man, rather plump, with hair that once was fiery red; with a somewhat freckled face, keen blue eyes, and a self-satisfied smile that trembles between a grin and a pout. He is Napoleonic no less in manner than achievement, and he has the knack of inspiring in one the last degree of devotion or dislike. But between the millions of his worshippers and the other millions who distrust and cordially detest him, he stands

almost without a friend—the loneliest and, in this respect, most pitiful figure of modern politics. As nearly as it is in him to like anyone, he likes Lord Birkenhead—and he rather liked Michael Collins. But he seems incapable of treating the general run of men with aught but arrogance. So he treated Bonar Law—and paid a bitter penalty.

The Churchill mind has that rare, deceptive quality of being so lucid, so crystal-clear, as to appear shallow—and believing it shallow indeed many an adversary, hopeful of chastising this *enfant terrible* of British politics, has ended only by finding himself suddenly beyond his depth and begging, panic-stricken and appalled, for mercy.

About him, too, Mr. Churchill has a fine combativeness, and his adventurous, flamboyant spirit is all of a piece with Raleigh's, Hawkins's, and Drake's. He sees life as a struggle and rejoices that it is so. He suffers from the foul, corrupting influence of quietude and peace—when quietude and peace are inescapable—and he knows and loves the fierce joy of a fight. His energy is fiendish and for industrious application few living men outshine him; possibly no one, save that incredible creature, Col. Lawrence of Arabia, of whom his biographer has said with apparent seriousness that during his life at Oxford he read from cover to cover an average of twenty-two books a day seven days a week for six years.

In debate, Mr. Churchill brings the whole wide range of his abilities into play—preparation so thorough as to include a sure grasp of all that has been or may be said of the subject; a fighting instinct that is satisfied with nothing short of a decisive victory, extravagant resources of physical and mental energy that leave him in full fight when all the rest are laid low by sheer exhaustion; a splendid power of imagery, a good command of words, a subtle knowledge of the hearts of men, that makes them powerless to resist him.

If his wisdom had been equal to his force, he would have been the towering figure of the War, that gentle critic, A. G. Gardiner, has written of Mr. Churchill. But still Mr. Gardiner confesses that although his 'ardour... exercises a maniacal and perilous spell,' Mr. Churchill's 'inspiration... sometimes have a touch of genius.' What he proposes in effect is that Mr. Churchill should be carefully listened to and then bound and gagged while wiser men decide upon his suggestions, in view of which it may be pertinent to recall that while they are all agreed as to his lack of 'wisdom,' Mr. Churchill's less friendly critics are in the peculiar position of being unable to point with any degree of unanimity to particular instances of failure.

It seems hardly possible that Winston Churchill will in the near future become the Prime Minister of England. Yet even within the Conservative Party there are forces at work whose aim is to bring about precisely that result. Nor are these forces limited to the followers of Lord Beaverbrook whose dissatisfaction with Mr. Baldwin's administration is well known. The influence of Lord Beaverbrook and of his two principal newspapers, the *Daily Express* and the *Evening Standard*, is very slight, though it is not unlikely that his Lordship's *Politicians and the War* will have some effect in revealing Mr. Churchill as the most competent English Minister of State in office during

the fateful summer of 1914. But Mr. Churchill's main source of strength in his fight for the premiership will be found, rather, in very different quarters. It lies in the reputation he is now earning as one of the great Chancellors of English history. It lies in Mr. Baldwin's earnest desire to be free of the responsibility of high office, to which he has never taken kindly. It lies again in the absence of any serious competitor for the succession, Leopold Amery and Sir William Joynson-Hicks having effectively resigned their claims to widespread popular support when lately they raised again the spectre of Protectionism.

Civil War in Afghanistan

The civil war in Afghanistan is not over, but the curtain rings down at the end of a crucial Act with the exit of King Amanullah from the scene. King Amanullah no doubt cherishes the hope of returning to his country if an opportunity should offer but it is very unlikely that he would. Meanwhile, the causes that led to his fall and the civil war remain obscure. F. Raskolnikov, the former Soviet representative in Afghanistan, who had made himself particularly objectionable to the British Government by his propagandist activities there, contributes an article on the troubles in Afghanistan to the *Labour Monthly*, a Socialist organ of the extreme left, which in spite of its obvious bias against capitalism and the British, natural in a Soviet official, is the clearest account yet published of the Afghan affairs. We reproduce a part of the article from the *Living Age*:

In the course of the past ten years, the Young Afghans under Amanullah's leadership effected some great reforms, which covered various fields of activity: (1) creation of a native state industry (arsenals for the supply of the army, cement works, etc.); (2) enhancement of the cultural level of the country (development of the school system, delegation of teachers to study abroad, institution of female schools, etc.); (3) re-organization of the army; and (4) emancipation of women (abolition of *yashmaks*, creation of women's organizations, etc.).

These reforms were of progressive significance for Afghanistan, guiding the country in the direction of bourgeois development. The tragedy of Amanullah's case lay in the fact that he undertook bourgeois reforms without the existence of any national bourgeoisie in the country.

By his crusade against the feudal system and his exclusion of the clergy from political power, Amanullah naturally incited these classes against his reforms. The difficulty lay in the fact that he needed a firm class basis for his fight against feudalism and the Islamic clergy.

The organic fault of all the reforms of Amanullah lay in the fact that they were devoid of an economic basis. These reforms, in themselves highly progressive, were extremely superficial and entailed no real advantages to the Afghan peasants.

But at the same time the reforms occasioned a tremendous outlay. The peasants, who had already plenty of taxes to pay, had to part with their last rupees to pay for these expensive reforms. Taxation increased. Thus the tax due on asses rose by 400 per cent in the course of ten years. Amanullah's chief mistake lay in the circumstance that he opposed feudalism without effecting any comprehensive land reform.

Amanullah could easily have had the entire peasant population behind him if he had taken the land from the feudal lords and given it to the peasants or if he had decreased the tax pressure on the peasantry by increasing that on the land-owners.

Under the given circumstances the increased tax pressure caused the greatest dissatisfaction among the peasants, a fact the reactionary elements immediately turned to account.

The oppositional tendencies developing by reason of this pauperization were exploited by the Afghan reactionaries for their own ends. Naturally it was not the entire peasantry that opposed Amanullah. The bulk of the peasant population observed an expectant neutrality; a section thereof rallied round the King. The fact remains, however, that the peasants of Kugistan and the Shinwari tribe rose in arms against Amanullah.

The complicated national conditions in Afghanistan added to the complexity of the class struggle. There are in the country numerous tribes which are constantly at variance, as the tribes of Shinwari and Mangal, which have had a feud between them for centuries. Such differences have often been exploited by the government.

The feeling of state citizenship is not very pronounced in Afghanistan. Each citizen is in the first place a member of a tribe and only in the second place an Afghan. Amanullah's policy of centralization aroused resistance on the part not only of the feudal landowners but also of entire tribes. His propaganda for national independence was highly comprehensible to the young Afghan officers and students of the Kabul Academy, but failed to awaken an echo in the minds of the nomad tribes.

Finally, the policy of the British imperialists played a great role. The British Government could never get over its failure to subdue Afghanistan, which remained the sore point in British world hegemony. All the intrigues of British diplomats, from Lord Curzon to Sir Francis Humphrys, the Minister at Kabul were directed toward bringing about a rupture of diplomatic relations between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. Threats and promises, secret notes and open ultimatums, terrorist attempts and reactionary risings—in a word, the entire arsenal of an experienced bourgeois diplomacy was employed to this end.

The British need a dummy in Afghanistan after the pattern of King Fud of Egypt or of King Feisal of Mesopotamia. Amanullah is naturally not to be used in such a way. By the time the British diplomats had recognized this fact, they had already decided to get rid of him.

The Early Life of Thomas Hardy

The publication of the biography of Thomas

Hardy by his wife, furnishes a writer in the *London Mercury* with an occasion to review the life of a literary figure of unusual interest and eminence:

The *Early Life of Thomas Hardy*, faithfully prepared by his widow from notes left by him and other matter, has an interest beyond that which is proper to mere incident and mere fact. The book covers the first fifty years of his life, which were scarcely more uneventful than the rest. It records neither exultations nor agonies, at the worst a vexation at the touch of a reviewer's fang when the *Spectator* dealt with *Desperate Remedies* far more harshly than justly. Failure did not overwhelm him, misgivings did not torture him, death did not divide him from affection, hopeless love did not madden him, and that sharpest of serpents, ambition, did not poison his nights. Yet in this copious story of early achievements and great designs there is a singular stimulation. Reading it, we must revise our easy notion of genius as being always scorned, art always betrayed, and the world always oppressive; for in the life of Thomas Hardy we find a man meeting the world on its own terms, living by his wits without privation and certainly without complaint, pursuing prose when he could not live by verse, and then, after steadily plodding on to eminence as a novelist and finding himself at length able to live without writing at all, returning to verse and making a higher claim to immortality.

It is an odd, practical commentary upon a philosophy of disillusion. Hardy started life, I suppose, with the same illusions as most of us have prized, but he never permitted himself to be illuded through perversity; he bowed to what he found inevitable. Rebuffed here, he would try there and there, until Fate, so often capable of amusement and inclined to indulgence, gave way and let him alone. That philosophy which has been termed *sombré*, that spirit, as we have thought it, of nescience, was not the sum of circumstance but the expression of character. He was a happy man with a sad philosophy—sad for others, he was happy in himself. He had to think about the universe in order to be sad, and it was only when he saw something physically dreadful—disease, poverty, agony—that his emotion surged with unhappiness.

Seldom, in fact has the life of an imaginative writer showed more tranquillity. As an artist, he claims no indulgence for his own passions, perhaps because he hardly ever regards himself as an artist and perhaps because he hardly ever shows passion. When he went to a ballet at the Alhambra in the early nineties, at the time when Mr. Arthur Symonds was persuading us that the ballet was a mystical and exalting ceremonial, he saw it as merely mechanical, but at the same time dangerous to the performers: their morality could not be judged by the same standard as that of people leading slower lives and so they should be forgiven as irresponsible. He felt himself to be in no such danger; he was affectionate, his emotions were quickly touched, but he was self-possessed.

In another man than a poet we should say simply that common sense saved him from emotional extravagance, and that his mind was clear of cant; but a poet, I suppose, must not be

credited with common sense if a philosophy can be attributed to him instead. And yet is it not the very honesty underlying common sense that makes the portrait of Thomas Hardy so attractive? I do not mean merely his portrait as drawn in this admirable volume, though chiefly this, but also his portrait as we discover it for ourselves in years of growing familiarity with the whole map of his being. He does not falsify, he does not lie, and gradually you become more and more interested in the man who is writing, as well as in what he has written; for the man himself, the whole man, is expressed in his work, in the whole work.

America "Vassalizing" Europe

The *Literary Digest* has an interesting article on the expansion of American economic influence in European industry and manufacture. The occasion is furnished by the purchase by General Motors Company of America of the Opel factories, the greatest German manufacturing organization of motor cars:

Repeated attempts to arouse Europeans in all stations of life to the growing menace of America's gigantic industrial invasion seem to be met with so little concern that some European editors begin to despair. They are especially pessimistic, they confess, when a great American encroachment in the European field takes place almost unnoticed, and the particular enterprise they have in mind is the purchase by the General Motors Company of the great German factories in which Opel automobiles are made. American control of the greatest German manufacturing organization of automobiles, which was obtained by the outlay of 120,000,000 marks, or about \$28,800,000 is a sensational indication to the Paris *Progres Civique* that Europe is on the way to become "vassalized" by American industry. But if the French press are disturbed by the purchase of the Opel organization, in Germany the editorial reaction is a mixture of alarm at an event "far more political than financial or commercial," with a certain contempt for the "Opel family," because the millions offered by the Americans proved irresistible to them. That Germany is being converted into a "vassalized" American province is the statement given out in France and in Germany, but as expressed in Germany it is underlined with hopelessness. The American diplomat, the American financier, the American businessman, and the American missionary, all profess to act in complete independence of each other, but as the Berlin *Vossische Zeitung* sees into the future darkly—

"Through a peculiarity of American political diplomacy, the balance of world politics in the immediate future will not be set forth in the political pages of the newspapers. It will have to be sought in the pages devoted to commercial and financial news, and in the smaller paragraphs at that. The greatest and best organized German automobile plant has, in consequence of a deal with the Americans, passed into the hands of General Motors."

While in the ordinary day's work there may not be much journalistic sympathy wasted in Germany for the French, or in France for the Germans, in the Opel automobile matter there is evident a decided concord of feeling, as may be gathered from the Paris *Caussons*, which is surprised that anybody should question the immediate interest of the average Frenchman in the commercial transaction. What he should worry about, according to this weekly, is the fact that :

"The American market is completely saturated with automobiles. One in five Americans, it may be said, has a car. For this to happen it was necessary that automobile industry in the United States should have been enormously developed. For ten years the demand exceeded the supply. Then as is natural, the demand began to slow down. So a crisis threatens American makers, and in order to soften the blow there is only one thing to be done, namely, to shift the surplus of their production into foreign lands."

"Instead of obstinately trying to compete with European makes of cars in their own market, the Americans simply and solely decided to buy these very makes. When one has at disposal so mighty a lever as the dollar, this is a thing relatively easy to do. The proof of this statement lies in the purchase of the Opel factories by General Motors. Thanks to this transaction the Americans have got one foot into the automobile industry, and if they are not watched they will soon have their whole body there."

"But what difference will it make, some say, whether European factories are under the direction of Americans or not. They will still be in Europe and will still be employing European workers. So nothing untoward is to be feared. On the contrary, the Yankees, who are shrewder than our manufacturers, will find a way to give the automobile industry of this old continent such a development as will soon make it possible, as it is in the United States, that every family has its automobile."

"This is true, of course, but the profits will cross the Atlantic to add to the already colossal fortune of the mighty American Republic. And after the automobile industry some other industry will fall under the control of Uncle Sam. And then another, and another, until the day comes when the United States, already master of the finance of the world, will be master also of world industry and of commerce. When that day comes, we shall perhaps be still politically independent. But not a single Prime Minister in Europe could lift his little finger without the authorization of the tenant of the White House. Now wouldn't that be funny?"

The Reparations Crisis

Mr. J. M. Keynes, the well-known English economist contributes an article to *The New Republic* on the Reparations crisis, in course of which he says :

The latest news from Paris makes it unlikely that an agreement will be reached, though one still hopes that there may emerge at least the appearance of a resettlement. If, however, there is a final breakdown, this will be in accordance

with the most reasonable expectations. For the truth is that the conference has been held too soon. It would have been better to have jugged on for a year or two more under the Dawes scheme without talking. This was always the view of responsible British opinion. The conference is the fruit of Mr. Parker Gilbert's over-optimism and his excusable impatience to get rid of the existing complicated machinery.

The dilemma which has faced the conference is easily explained. The object of the conference was to reduce the annuities due from Germany and to fix the period over which they are payable.

The difficulty has been that, Germany having paid hitherto by means of borrowed money, we really have no more evidence as to her capacity to pay than we had when the Dawes Committee met five years ago. Thus it is hard to find compelling reasons to induce the Allies to make large concessions unless Germany on her side can offer something in return.

Now, there is only one important concession left which it is open to Germany to make, namely to forego the transfer protection afforded her by the Dawes scheme. The transfer protection means that the duty of the German government is limited to making payments in German marks. It is the responsibility of the Allies to change these marks into foreign currencies, and to cease exchanging them as soon as to do so endangers the mark exchange. This protection is of such tremendous advantage to Germany that she is most unlikely to give it up except in return for a reduction of the annuities to a much lower figure than the Allies can be expected to concede without more compelling evidence than exists at present as to Germany's capacity to pay. So long, therefore, as Germany is asked to give up the transfer protection, there is certain to be a wide gap between the Allied minimum terms and the German maximum offer.

The latest news from Paris indicates that Dr. Schacht's price for giving up even a small part of the transfer protection is, first, a reduction of the annuities by about one-third ; second, a limitation of the period over which they are paid to thirty-seven years ; and third, some vaguely outlined concessions relating to raw materials which are certain to be refused. This brings the dilemma to a head. Dr. Schacht would certainly be foolish to offer a substantial unprotected annuity, and on the other hand, it is too much to expect the Allies to come down to his figure until it is proved that they cannot get more. Doubtless, Dr. Schacht would be prepared to improve his offer, provided that transfer protection remained ; but in that case, he would be getting something for nothing as compared with the Dawes scheme.

I take rather a grave view of possible developments in the near future. For five years, Germany has been more than paying her way by borrowing with the result that six months ago she had built up quite a comfortable reserve of gold and foreign currency. Partly on account of the position in Wall Street, her ability to borrow large sums has come to an end. As a result of this, her reserves have been melting away—the published figures of Reichsbank showing a loss of \$132,000,000 since January 1. of which she lost no less than \$40,000,000 last week. At this rate, the surplus reserves will disappear entirely in a few months, or even weeks.

The breakdown of the Paris conference is likely to accelerate this process. At the beginning of this year, it was calculated that foreign financiers had deposited something like \$1,000,000,000 in Berlin, recallable at short notice. A withdrawal of 10 per cent of this sum would be very inconvenient.

I am disposed, therefore, to predict that the transfer protection of this Dawes scheme will come into operation very shortly, and that Germany will cease for the time being to make any reparation payments at all.

Political Violence in Japan

The recent murder of a proletarian member of the Japanese Diet has brought into limelight certain unpleasant features of Japanese political life. Dr. Yoshino, a noted Japanese writer, deals at length with the murder of Yamamoto Senji in the *Chuo Koron*. His conclusions are summarized as follows in *The Japan Chronicle*:

The real theme of Dr. Yoshino's discourse is that the Government and the officials themselves encourage violence, though they ought to do everything to discourage it. If anybody can be blamed for the murder of the proletarian Diet member, it is the Government, he says, which, instructing the ruffians whose support, it enlists, exaggerates the evils of Communism, brands Communists as dangerous, and teaches bigots to hate them. From generalities Dr. Yoshino goes on to particulars, and discusses the actions of the *Ingaidan*. These men are not necessarily ruffians, but are members and supporters of the various political parties. Dr. Yoshino is only giving form to what is a matter of common knowledge when he says that the *ingaidan* include a number of black-guards the use of whom, for the purpose of committing cowardly assaults on political opponents, is a political method not unknown even to Ministers and Vice-Ministers. He does not ascribe all such crimes to the direct instructions of Ministers but expresses some sympathy with exalted personages who find themselves under the necessity of screening too zealous friends from the proper consequences of their actions. In connection with what has gone before, about the Government being responsible for the murder of Mr. Yamamoto, this can only mean that the murderer Kuroda is one of those who will have to be shielded, disagreeable as the task may be; and it will be interesting to see whether he will, in fact, be treated in the same way as Amakasu, Yoneimura, and others whose patriotism has carried them away! To put the matter as Dr. Yoshino has done is a challenge to the Government and the judicial authorities such as must make them extremely uncomfortable.

To give the authorities their due, fewer complaints have been heard of late concerning the activities of hired ruffians and patriotic bullies. The Yamamoto murder is, of course, a lurid piece of work; and the patriotic society to which the murderer Kuroda belongs has come into undeserved prominence but not, it is to be feared, into the reprobation that it deserves. Less, however, is heard than used to be of the gangs of *soshi* who

used to abound, and of such ebullitions of reactionary patriotism as the *Kokusaikai*.

According to Dr. Yoshino, however, the system of governing by hired ruffianism is as strong as ever, and he makes a strong plea for letting the light of day into these highly objectionable methods of conducting a political system. Yet the two specific cases that he cites—the Osugi murders and the murder of Chang Tsao-lin—have been the subject of prohibitions in the press. We may suppose that Dr. Yoshino is correct enough in ascribing such incidents to excessive zeal rather than to direct orders; but there can be no doubt in the world about the protection that is extended to such zeal. This protection is not such as gratifies even such enemies of violence as Dr. Yoshino, for it is obvious that it provokes radicals to violence of thought if not to violence of action. Nothing, indeed, can promote the determination to end a system more than this method of trying to preserve it; nor can a Government which professes to promote justice more thoroughly belie its own words than by encouraging or protecting the ruffians who are always ready (so long as their own safety is not jeopardized) to break the laws by assaulting persons of whose opinions the Government disapproves. General Tanaka the head of the present Government, is one of the most reactionary of men; he has been denouncing "thought" for many years now. On the other hand, he has plenty of courage, and is too good a soldier to have any use for the common *soshi*. But he cannot impart his own courage to his subordinates, and their methods of giving expression to their chief's political beliefs are those of espionage, delation, and vicarious violence—all of which promote the thoughts which they are intended to suppress.

Apes and Men

The views of Professor Osborne and some other competent American scientists that man was not directly related to apes caused a good deal of jubilation in anti-evolutionist circles. Close upon their publication comes Professor W. K. Gregory's article reiterating the intimate relationship between men and apes in the Bicentenary number of *American Philosophical Society's Proceedings* reproduced in *Evolution*. Professor W. K. Gregory who is one of the foremost zoologists of America and has earned world-wide recognition by his researches into Zoology of the Primates says:

What then is the testimony of these comparative sciences? From the labours of Koehler, Kohts and Yerkes it may be asserted that, although far below man in mental ability, the apes are unquestionably much nearer to man than are any of the lower animals of which the mentality has been carefully tested. Indeed, Yerkes, a most cautious and conscientious investigator, finds in the apes more than the rudiments of human thinking. And on the side of the "Dawn Men," Dubois, Elliot Smith, Hunter, Tilney, McGregor, point out the distinctly inferior

development of the *Pithecanthropus* (Java man) brain as compared with the brain of modern man, in respect to the filling out of the critical areas which, from clinical research and other lines of evidence are believed to be the seat of the higher mental faculties. The *Pithecanthropus* mentality then, while coming within the limits of the human family, was so far as the brain cast indicates by no means lacking in lowly traits.

Opponents of the Darwinian view should never refer to the comparison of the brains of apes and man, for there is nothing that so fully testifies to the relatively close kinship of man to the gorilla and chimpanzee, as the field of comparative neurology. The utmost efforts of anti-evolutionists have only brought into clearer relief the basic correspondence in all parts, not only of the brain surface, but of the brain stem of gorilla and man. The ape brain, according to the well-seasoned conclusions of Elliot Smith and Tilney, carries the line of evolution from the lower primates to a definitely sub-human stage. Doubtless the orang is a side specialization in some features, but the gorilla brain stands specially near to the primitive human brain.

All this is in full accord with the evidence from other sources, that the human stock derived a rich heritage from tree-dwelling ancestors, which while fully erect in posture, avoided the extreme specializations of the existing apes and abandoned the trees before the thumb was greatly reduced or before the body was as heavy as that of the gorilla.

If man is not derived from the primitive ape stock, and yet is to be classed in the order Primates from what other group did he spring? The tailed monkeys of the Old World are sharply distinguished from the apes and man by their cheek teeth, which definitely place them as a specialized side line. They also retain the primitive condition of the hind feet, in which the main axis of weight passes through the third toe, whereas in the apes and man it has been shifted to the inner side of the foot. Professor Boule has suggested that perhaps man separated from the Old World monkey stock before the lengthening of the arms and the shortening of the legs in the modern ape group; but in view of the profound agreement of man with the apes in brain characters, blood tests and foetal development, a definitely pre-ape derivation of man lacks substantial evidence. The principal objection of deriving man from a point far down the primate tree is precisely the lack at that early stage of the very numerous characters which connect the human stock with that of the apes.

If the numerous converging lines of evidence for Darwin's view carry conviction to our minds, the next question is, when and where did the separation take place? As to the time when, the separation must plainly have been before Mid-Pliocene times. The preceding millions of years, during which the apes were branching out would seem to allow sufficient time for the accelerated evolution when a marked change in food habits, consequent upon the invasion of the plains, caused a higher instability in the ductless gland system. If man is so derived, there is added reason to search for his early representatives in some region of open plains, not too far removed from the ancestral forests of the conservative apes.

Thus, as to place where the human stock began to separate from the primitive chimpanzee-gorilla group, we can reasonably expect to find it somewhere within the known range of the ape group in the Miocene and Pliocene periods, that is somewhere between Western Europe and Eastern Asia. Here we may refer to the excellent analysis of this question by Grabau and Black, who indicate the region of the Tarim desert in Turkestan as the most likely place in which to renew the search.

Stalin's Designs on America

Though it is crude to put too great a faith in the anti-Russians news in the newspapers of capitalist countries, increasing rumours about the difficulties of Stalin, the present dictator of Russia, seem to point to a really unstable equilibrium within the Communist Party of the Soviet Republic. Anti-Soviet papers note that the days of Stalin's iron despotism are numbered and that the political party known as the right opposition is getting him into a tight corner at a season when the country at large is suffering from hard times. The only hope for Stalin lies, says *The Literary Digest*, in getting the diplomatic recognition of the United States:

A life-saver for Stalin, the menaced strong man of Soviet Russia, can be found only through a political or economic success that he may contrive outside Russia, we are told, because political conditions inside her boundaries are full of explosives for him. He must succeed in shutting off opposition to him whether it comes from the Right or the Left and he must get a new hold on Kalinin and Rykov, declares Serge de Chessin, Stockholm correspondent of the *Echo de Paris* who goes on to say that the greatest good fortune Stalin could have would be the recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States, because this would be not only a diplomatic victory, but also an excellent financial stroke. One of his aids in attaining his objective, it seems, is Maxime Litvinov, who is described as having a very supple backbone and a well-domesticated soul. So he suits Stalin perfectly as the successor of Foreign Minister Chicherin, who, though said to be suffering from diabetes, is chiefly afflicted, according to this Stockholm correspondent with the ailment known as "diplomatic illness." Chicherin has been condemned to "honorable exile," it is averred, and as long as he is resigned to the state of being "a wandering Jew from one mineral resort to another, and as long as he is willing to hop from one sanitarium to another," his disgrace will take on no official character. The fate of Trotzky, it is humorously hinted, will only befall him "in case he stops taking care of his health." Of Mr. Litvinov, Chicherin's successor in the foreign confidence of Stalin, we read:

"All Litvinov's recent activities have been confined to methodical preparations for an accord between Moscow and Washington, and they range

from the privileges granted American concessionaires to the protocol signed with States on the borders of Soviet Russia for the purpose of hastening the putting into effect of the Kellogg Pact. One is bound to admit that this last manoeuvre is a master-stroke of the old fox. Yet did it fool the United States? Will the States let themselves be caught in the snares of Scheinman, Financial Ambassador of the Soviet Government at New York, who exploits the 'pacifism' of the Kremlin in order to reap fruitful recognition in credits?

"If Russia's dozen years of stubborn efforts should at least win American recognition, America would merely solidify the dictatorship of Stalin. Never did a graver responsibility lie upon the diplomacy of any country. Never did the cause of civilization and of order so greatly depend on the signature of an American President. It may be said that the fate of Bolshevism rests in the hands of the United States."

Turkey's Spiritual Revolution

The Literary Digest draws attention to an article by Rev. Charles T. Riggs, of Constantinople in *The Missionary Review of the World*, and proceeds to state that:

Almost overnight, as our readers will remember, Turkey has gone modern by abolishing the Califate and the Sultan with one blow, accepting the Western method of reckoning time, adopting Western dress and throwing the fez in the ashean, and accepting the Latin alphabet in place of the Arabic. Further and as drastic changes are in contemplation. In fact, all Turkey is going to school—compulsory school, for Mustafa Kemal Pasha has not waited for custom to change by slow evolution, but has revolutionised it by law. The "Sick Man of Europe" is convalescing rapidly, and there are signs, too, that the spiritual dissatisfaction which is stirring the Turk may eventuate into a religious change for the better.

It goes on to quote Mr. Riggs, according to whom there are other and equally important reforms in the air:

The new session of the Grand National Assembly began November 1; and we are assured that at an early date the proposition to change the weekly day of compulsory rest from Friday to Sunday will be introduced in the form of a bill. Furthermore, we have the assurance that this measure has already in advance the approval of the Cabinet. It is being pushed by the Constantinople Deputies, not for any religious motive whatever, but because of the difficulties banks have in trying to do business with the European banking system, when Europe's banks are closed on Sundays and open on Fridays. The compulsory Friday holiday, introduced since 1923, is not really a religious measure at all; for Islam knows no day of rest, such as is indicated in the Judæa-Christian system, but merely a cessation of other occupations at the noon hour on a Friday so as to facilitate faithful attendance at the mosque devotions on the 'day of assembly'—which is the meaning of the Moslem name for that day—*Jum'a*. So we may shortly have the seeming anomaly of a Mohammedan government compelling Christian and Moslem alike to close up their shops all day Sunday.

Which way does the wind blow in Turkey to-day? There are other and subtler signs of a great, deep, pervading spiritual dissatisfaction and a looking around for something better. For the Turkish heart is profoundly religious by nature, and will not be content with merely throwing away what is outgrown; it must have satisfaction.

"And many of their thinkers are now studying the various religious systems of the world, and especially of Europe, to see what they can recommend to their countrymen. We must hope they will not be satisfied with any cut-and-dried system, but will work out for themselves what will best suit their own genius, providing its centre and core is the only Saviour of the world."

Arnold Sommerfeld : His Life, Work and an Impression of his Recent Visit to India

By DR. B. DASANNACHARYA, M.A., (Madras); PH. D. (Munich); F. Inst. P. (London)

ARNOLD Sommerfeld, Professor for Theoretical Physics at the University of Munich in Germany, is one of the world's leading physicists. Though in his 60th year, he is strong, healthy and intensely active. Nearly all the Universities in India extended to him invitations to lecture on problems of physics which engage the

attention of physicists to-day all the world over and in which, as is well-known, Prof. Sommerfeld himself has played, directly or indirectly, a prominent part. Directly, by his own works and discoveries, and indirectly, by the efforts of the pupils whom his brilliant personality and genial temperament had attracted and inspired to

work. To name only a few, Prof. Kratzer (Munster), Prof. Epstein (California), Prof. Ewald (Stuttgart), Prof. Herzfeld (Baltimore), Prof. Pauli and Prof. Wentzel at Zurich, Prof. Werner Heisenberg, the illustrious originator of the Matrix Mechanics (Leipzig) and Prof. P. Debye (Leipzig).

We are interested in Prof. Sommerfeld's impressions of what he has seen in India, and we are interested in Prof. Sommerfeld himself and his achievements not merely because they add to the importance and value of his impressions but because they may well serve as a model, for any whose ambition it may be to serve humanity in the field of scientific pursuits. For the following brief sketch of Sommerfeld's life and works, I am indebted to Prof. Ewald of the Technische Hochschule at Stuttgart.

Sommerfeld was born on the 5th of December 1868 in Koenigsberg (also the birth-place of Kant) East Prussia. Attended school there and began to study Mathematics and Physics at the University of Koenigsberg. After taking the degree of Doctor of Philosophy there (Thesis:—On the development of a given function into a series of arbitrary functions, especially Bessel-Functions) he was for several years assistant to the famous Mathematician, the late Felix Klein in Gottingen. Here he wrote together with Klein the standard work on the theory of tops, a work comprising in its four volumes a variety of subjects of Mathematical, mechanical, astronomical and technical interest.

After a short a period of Professorship in Mathematics at the mining school at Clausthal, he was appointed Professor of Technical Mathematics at the Technische Hochschule at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle) in 1903. His vivid interest in technical problems, together with his great mathematical ability, resulted in a number of technical papers, on lubrication, on proper foundation for a motor and on effects of mechanical resonance which are still highly estimated by the engineer. At its centenary in 1924, the Technische Hochschule conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Engineering.

In 1906, Sommerfeld was appointed to the chair of Mathematical Physics at the University of Munich to succeed L. Boltzman of the Kinetic Theory fame. Prof. W. C. Roentgen, the well-known discoverer of the X-rays (now designated Roentgen Rays), was

his colleague for Experimental Physics. In Munich Sommerfeld established a flourishing school of theoretical physics of ever-increasing renown. Physicists from all parts of Germany and of the world go there to get a profound training in physics and the mathematical methods of attacking the problems. The variety of subjects treated by Sommerfeld and his scholars cover nearly the whole range of physics except perhaps thermodynamics. A number of papers deal with the fundamental question of hydro-dynamics, namely how the turbulent motion of the fluids originates; others with the question of wireless telegraphy: the bending of waves round the earth and the efficiency of Marconi's horizontal antennae for producing directed telegraphy. The skin effects of alternating currents in casts and the propagation of waves are some of the electrical problems. Sommerfeld was in Gottingen days, the first to give an exact theory of diffraction of light by a straight edge, Fresnell's and Kirchhoff's method being only approximate. The application of the new method was taken up by Sommerfeld in a number of papers when he came over to Munich; one of them resulted in the evaluation for the first time, in a reliable way, of the wave length of Roentgen Rays from the faint diffraction bands produced by a slit (1911). Another optical problem was the determination of the double diffraction bands produced by the allotropic arrangement of the atoms in a crystal. The two last-mentioned papers were the source for the famous discovery of the diffraction of Roentgen Rays by crystals made by Von Laue, Friedrich and Knipping, in 1912 in the laboratory of Sommerfeld. This was followed by a large number of experimental and theoretical papers on the same subject. When in 1905, Einstein proposed the principle of relativity Sommerfeld eagerly took it up both in his lectures and in a number of papers.

All papers mentioned above pertain to classical physics. The rising problems of quantum physics did not fail to attract Sommerfeld. His great achievement in this field dates from 1915 when he expanded Bohr's theory of atomic orbits to include several degrees of freedom and by this explained the so-called fine-structure of the hydrogen spectrum. His other great results may be briefly enumerated by mentioning his theory of the Zeeman effect, the systematics of Roentgen line-spectra and especially the development of modern systematic nomenclature of

complicated optical line-spectra. This latter has enabled his pupils to disentangle such complicated spectra as those of iron or manganese with their many thousands of lines.

The fruit of this most active period of Sommerfeld's life, and this notwithstanding the War, was collected in Sommerfeld's famous book, *Atombau und Spectrallinien*, of which four German, one English and one French edition have already appeared, and to which Sommerfeld has just added an appendix in the form of a booklet, covering the latest development, namely wave and quantum mechanics.

The latest published achievement of Sommerfeld is his theory of electrical conductivity in metals which is based on new quantum statistics of the Italian physicist Fermi. By this theory one of the outstanding problems of the physical properties of matter has been brought to a satisfactory and unexpected solution.

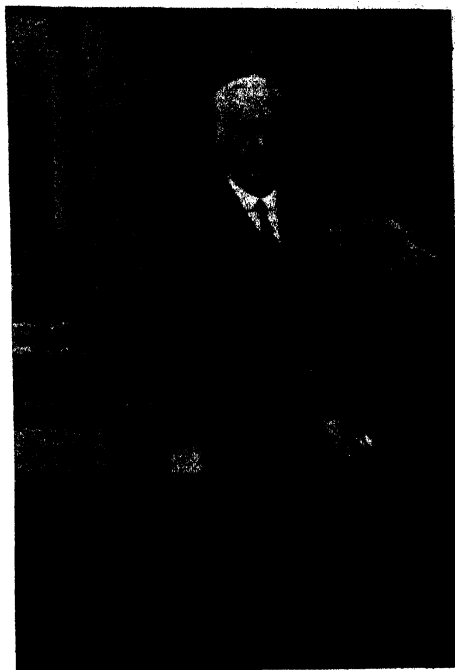
During his voyage from India to America, in January of this year, and at the moment of writing in the press, Sommerfeld achieved what has till now been considered impossible, namely, a successful explanation of the production of Roentgen Rays from considerations of wave theory.

And now to the impressions which his Indian tour has produced on him.

In an article of 3,500 words in a German periodical called "Zeitwende" (to appear in its March or April issue, at the moment of writing available in proof only) Sommerfeld says in his opening paragraph :—

"That wonderland India, rising to phantastic heights with its buildings, its religious and philosophic systems, draws any westerner with irresistible force. Me it enticed all the more, since in that primeval land of culture powerful shoots of modern physics have grown in the years just gone by, by which the Indian investigations enter suddenly into the same meritorious competition side by side with her European and American sisters. No physical discovery of the last few years caused so much sensation and brought forth such admirable collaboration in the whole world, as the spectroscopic effect found by Prof. C. V. Raman in Calcutta, and worked out by him and Dr. Krishnan in a very exemplary manner; and no discovery in the field of astrophysics has proved itself so fruitful in the understanding of the constitution of the stars as the theory established by Meghnad Saha, now professor in Allahabad."

He describes his journey *via* Colombo, Madura, Trichinopoly, at each of which he broke his journey to see round the famous places. At Trichinopoly he notes down the first indication of the political storm raging round the Simon Commission which was touring round there. Everywhere on the walls and gateway of Trichinopoly he found posters marked "Go Home Simon."



Professor Arnold Sommerfeld

He lectured at Madras and Bangalore. At Bangalore he speaks of his reception by the Diwan, "a highly intelligent Muhammadan." The question of the Diwan, whether investigations on the structure of matter would help to solve the problem of the soul, seems to the professor to be characteristic of the Oriental mind and he contrasts it with what an American would have asked, namely, whether they would help him to make money or to improve the living of mankind. This well-meant observation, which, perhaps is a gentle criticism as well, should be helpful and should not be misunderstood.

At Calcutta he delivered several lectures at the University including a public lecture. "After every lecture of mine in Calcutta

there was lively discussion; Raman and his students stand quite at the height of modern science."

In Benares he meets "the founder and Vice-Chancellor of the University, a highly intelligent orthodox Brahmin, Malaviya, a friend of Gandhi. He made with me the famous Ganges trip. The Vice-Chancellor spoke during the trip of Goethe, Nietzsche and Haeckel. According to him and the opinion of the Brahmanas, there must be, in every corn of matter, a corn of Brahma, *i.e.*, intelligence (Geist)."

Sarnath near Benares reminds the Professor of Wittenberg near Rome. While passing among the ruins of Sarnath his thoughts take him to the ruins of Pompei. In the Museum there he sees "hundreds of Buddha statues, with faces of most of them destroyed by Muhammadan fanaticism, 'thou shalt not make for thee picture nor semblance.' To the fury of Muhammadan destruction fell in North India not only human and divine figures, not only the ancient Hindu temples, but also the heads of statues of animals. The Muhammadan art confined itself to virtuous reproduction of bodiless lines and plant models of the 'arabesque'."

The religion of Buddha seems to have made a great impression on the Professor. "Buddha enjoined a return to nature and to simple teachings, what amounted to a real reformation. He preached pure ethics, not merely general love of humanity without any distinction, but also love to animals and to all nature. One offers to Buddha flowers, particularly the strong scented ones which here they call jasmin. On the other hand one offers to Durga goats so that the blood runs in a stream; even human sacrifices are believed to take place even to-day in secrecy. There is no personal God according to Buddha's teaching. Buddha himself in innumerable statues of his in Asia, is venerated as the ideal for a loving and meditating humanity."

After visiting Prof. Saha at Allahabad, the Professor goes to Agra "to the oriental fairyland. Here dominates the figure of the great Moghul, Akbar the Great. His ancestors had conquered the gold-land India with fire and sword but he wooed India. His whole-hearted striving was to fuse the culture of India, Persia, and Arabia into one. Ignorant of reading and writing he arranged, when his time was not engaged in politics or war, to have read before him, by

the learned men and poets of the palace, the wisdom of the Orient and the Occident. His tolerance is reminiscent of that of Frederick the Great or of that of the earlier Frederick who was buried in Palermo. Before his throne Arabic and Indian scholars, even Christian had to debate. His tastes were responsible for the toning down of the Muhammadan fanaticism which was kept in check by his strong hand. The fifty years' rule of Akbar is a bright light in the Indian tragedy of the last 1,000 years. The beautiful fort of Akbar at Agra and his palaces at Fatehpur Sikri, with its grand reception halls, conference halls, library, and poets' villa receive great attention. Akbar's tomb in Sikandra is impressive."

"The most famous structure of Agra, nay in the whole of the Orient, is the Taj Mahal The Taj is a dream in white marble. a perfected jewel as regards material and adjustment. The marble used appears to be even superior to that of Carrara. But even here no reproduction of the likeness of the dead, only verses from the Koran and floral ornamentation arranged to perfection of harmony. The Taj did cost its builder his throne. His son, on account of the millions that were spent, imprisoned him in the Fort of Agra so that he could see his Taj only from across the Jumna."

"In the park at Calcutta is the Victoria Memorial which competes with the Taj in size and material but not in beauty. I heard the pointed saying 'Taj Substitute'! In front of the Victoria Memorial stands the equestrian statue of the great Viceroy, Lord Curzon. Whatever one may think of Lord Curzon's politics, we shall not forget him as the first to advocate energetically the preservation of Indian works of art. We see his strong hand for example in Sikandra."

The Professor had to choose, for want of time lost due to a slight attack of cold in Bangalore, between going from Agra to Delhi or accepting an invitation from Tagore to Shanti-Niketan. He chose the latter. "The surpassing significance of Tagore to modern Indian culture came home to me already when I was in Calcutta. In a beautiful house the daughter sang the poems of Tagore. On the walls hang paintings of the Tagore School. He is for India, perhaps the same as what old Goethe was to Germany of his time. Like Goethe he is infinitely diligent. He works from early in the morning till night. Even his practical interest in hand-

work and technique is common with that of Goethe. His picture is known to all, his personal appearance, however, is very much more beautiful than his picture, a pure type of Aryan stock, with a lightness of the colour of the skin resembling that of an elephant's tusk. With his patriarchal beard he looks older than to that of his sixty-eight years. His English is like music. The evening on the upper terrace of his house next to his studio, in a bright moonlight is to me unforgettable. He spoke about Goethe, about the contrast between the people of India and other cultured people of Asia, which he thought was greater than that to those of Europe."

Attitude of India towards Germany. "Germany is admired. German firms, in spite of all difficulties, are preferred. All gifted students would prefer to study in Germany; the training is supposed to be superior to that in England. But they get a position in the Government service only then, or only then with ease, if they bring a Doctor title from Cambridge."

He reports about the political and economic condition of India. "England likes to keep India as a market for her own manufactured goods. All railway materials, all sorts of machines and apparatus must be ordered from England. Even cakes and match-sticks are of English origin. And this in spite of the fact that labour of all sorts is cheap in India... All the Indian professors with whom I spoke hope, without an exception, for a development towards a greater independence and for a dominion status." Among Indians Sommerfeld finds, that the "striving for an up-to-date and technical education is universal. Nothing sickens the Indians more than to think that the greater part of the budget goes to the military and the police and only ten per cent. goes for education." "The relation between the Indian professors and their English colleagues, as far as I have seen, is quite friendly."

The following recognition of India's past contribution and of its present scientific talents is very encouraging. "The scientific talents of Indians is extraordinary. Achievements in the most different fields of original investigations pour forth. India is, perhaps, to a much greater degree than we imagine, the mother of sciences. That our so-called Arabic numerals are really Indian, only transmitted by the Arabs, is well-established. But even the theorem of Pythagoras, which is the foundation for Greek geometry, it seems, is found enunciated in the Vedas. The knowledge of ancient Indians in Chemistry and their achievements in medicine are considerable. Asoka about 250 B. C. established hospitals. About technique, reference has already been made, namely, construction and handling of big pillars of stone, iron, etc. It showed itself particularly in the handling of iron and in a highly developed mining. If all the same one speaks of the treasures of India, one is greeted with a melancholy smile."

This last paragraph which is quoted below is touching and reflects not merely the Professor's own convictions but I believe that of millions of his countrymen, nay of the majority of thinking men all the world over. We are thankful to the Professor for the same. He says, "We wish the Indian people, from the depth of our heart, an improvement in their economical position and fulfilment of their political expectations, not out of any grudge against England, but from the conviction that the culture of mankind stands to win if a peculiarly gifted people, in their upper classes an Oriental people related to us, who in olden days were far advanced to ourselves, should enter into a cultural competition on an equal basis with the other nations and maintain their outlook of the world (Weltanschauung) speculative, transcendental and unmindful of immediate success, against the increasing materialism of the Occident"



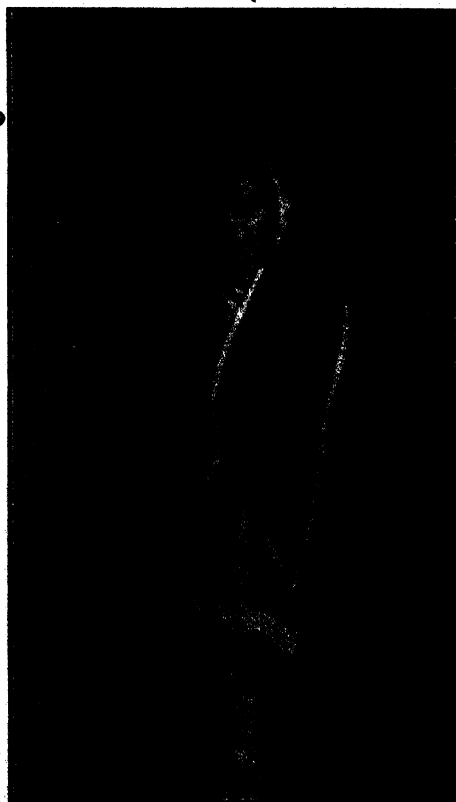
LADY VIDYAGAURI RAMANBHAI NILKANTHA is the wife of the late Sir Ramanbhai Mahipatram Nilkhantha, the well-known political leader of Gujarat. Herself one of the first lady graduates of her province, she takes an active interest in educational and social

President of the Ahmedabad Prarthana Samaj, the Gujarat College Musical and Dramatic Society, and the Secretary to Divalibai Girls' School, Bombay Presidency Women's Council (Ahmedabad Branch), Gujarat Ladies' Club, National Indian Association (Ahmedabad Branch), Victoria Jubilee Hospital for Women, Gujarat Vernacular Society, and a host of other



Lady Vidyagauri Ramanbhai Nilkantha

work and is devoting her energies to the cause of social reform. She is connected with almost all the educational and social institutions of her part of the country, among which only a few can be mentioned here. She is the President of the Gujarat Stri Mandal, Gujarat Sahitya Sabha (Ladies Section), Sharada Mandir (a Montessori school), the Vice-



Miss Binodini Ramanbhai Nilkantha



Miss Mandakini Pandit

institutions. In all her manifold activities she has always been setting a noble example of devotion to duty, kindly grace, high-mindedness and of all the best characteristics of a cultured Hindu lady.



Dr. Yamuna Desai

Her daughter Miss VINODINI RAMANBHAI NILKANTH B. A. is another young Hindu lady who has distinguished herself both in scholarship and literature. She is the author of a volume of short stories in her own language, called "Rasadwar", and has recently been awarded a scholarship for the study of Sociology and Education by the University of Michigan (U. S. A.)



Miss Ananda Bai

MISS MANDAKINI PANDIT, a fellow of the Gujarat College and a student of M. A. Class, organized and led the strike which the arrogant action of Mr. Finlay Shirraj, the Principal of Gujarat College, provoked. She remained firm to the end even under the threat of losing her fellowship.

Mrs. YAMUNA DESAI is a doctor and the wife of Mr. M. G. Desai, the editor of *Spark* and one of the accused in the Meerut conspiracy case. She took her M. B. B. S. degree from the University of Bombay; and went to England for advanced study in midwifery. She studied in the University of Edinburgh and passed the L. R. C. P. examination of

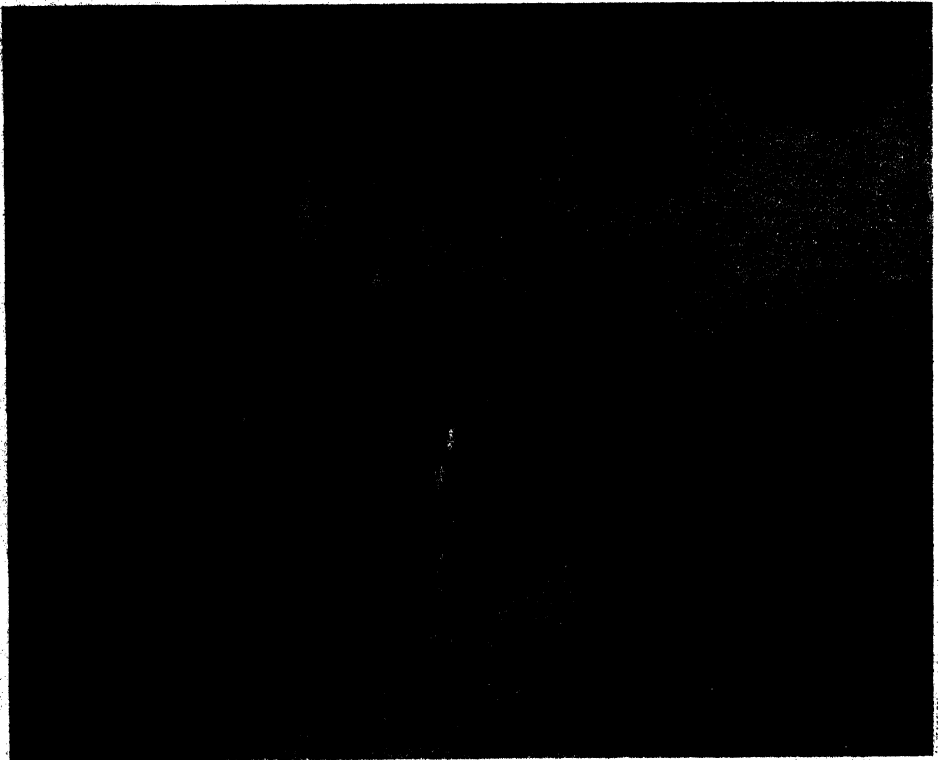
that university. She is one of the leading practitioners among the women doctors of Bombay, and has, after the arrest of her husband, taken upon herself the work which her husband had begun.

Miss ANANDA BAI has joined the Madras High Court as an advocate.

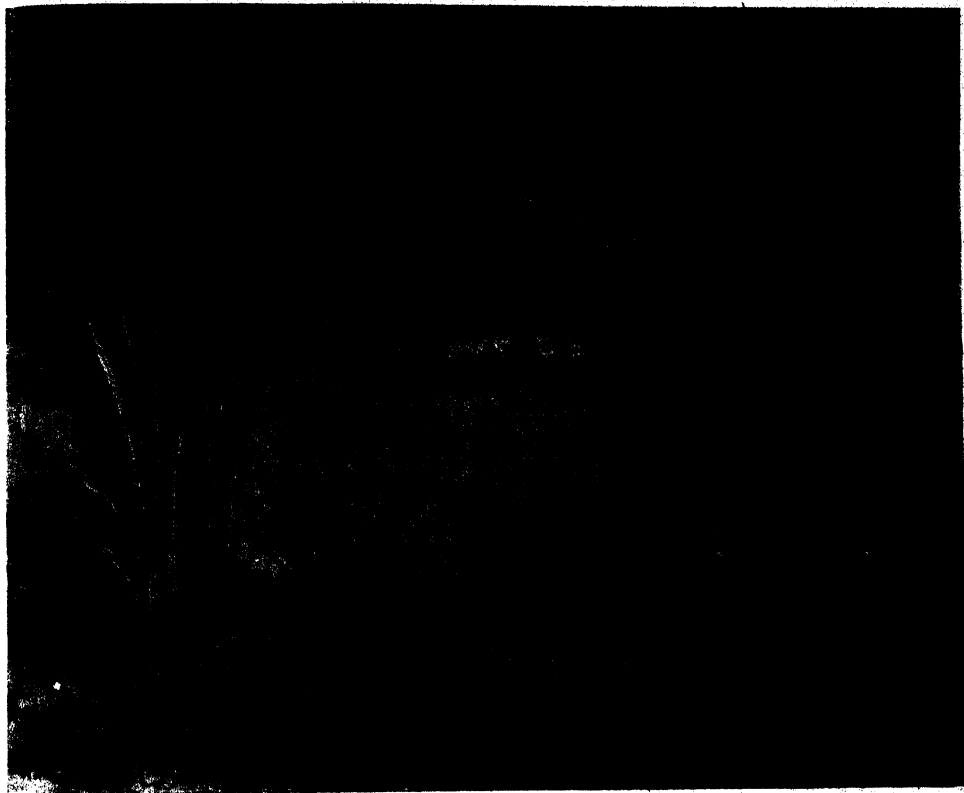
Some Bengali Landscapes by a French Artist

MADAME Andrée Karpelès who stayed for sometime at Santiniketan, Bolpur, has been showing some of the pictures she painted while in Bengal, at different exhibitions in Paris. They are all typical scenes of the countryside of westernmost Bengal, with whose character and

peculiarities she had an opportunity to get familiar during her stay in the Birbhum district. Her pictures when exhibited in the Galerie Billiet in Rue La Boétie gave an agreeable impression of the large and tranquil beauty of the face of Bengal to visitors trudging up the stairs from the crowd and the noise



The Pathway—by Mme Andrée Karpelès



A Bengali House —by Mme Andrée Karpelès

and the ceaseless rush of automobiles of the streets of Paris. Such, at any rate, is the impression of M. Paul Sentenac who writes enthusiastically of her work in the *Extreme-Asie*. "Coming out of the stuffy Underground only to find oneself in Place Saint-Augustin amidst an endless whirl of motor cars, motor-buses and tram-cars, in the air charged with the unpleasant smell of gas, tumbled about by the passengers in the compartment, jostled and elbowed by the crowd on the footpath, one comes at last upon the quiet decorations of the Galerie Billiet. A few steps up the staircase . . . and in a moment, one is transported to a part of Asia, in far away Bengal. Such a rapid sequence of contrasted scenes is only to be met with in dreams."

Madame Andrée Karpelès, says the same writer, to whom we owe this unexpected trip to Bengal, was naturally fitted to understand

and perfectly depict a scenery with so individual a character. Her large compositions, vigorous brush, and rich colouring is eminently suited to these wide plains.

She knows these regions of the Far East intimately and depicts them with truth. A canvas in the Billiet galleries, a Buddha in a temple, shows that she has felt all the mysterious charm of India. Though as M. Gustave Kahn, a penetrating critic and fine writer, says in his preface to the catalogue, she has brought with her from those lands "picturesque and vigorous figures, street-corners full of colour, crossed and recrossed by fakirs and ragged but joyful drummers, she has also illustrated with astonishingly sober and distinguished woodcuts, which are archaic at bottom but modern in design, some books stamped with the traditional as well as the new spirit of India, for, she has felt all the force, and

the brilliance, and the depth of the poetry of Rabindranath Tagore."

There is nothing conventional in the palette of this painter, who employs so rich yet just a coloration. Madame Karpelès has remained faithful to her nature and tempera-

ment in the midst of the artistic incertitudes of our epoch. And the substantial pictures which she has painted in Bengal will always remain a well-marked stage in the sincere work of this painter of the East.

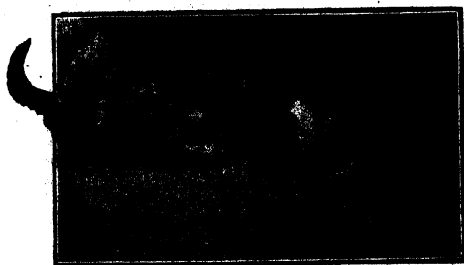


At the Well—by Mme Andrée Karpelès



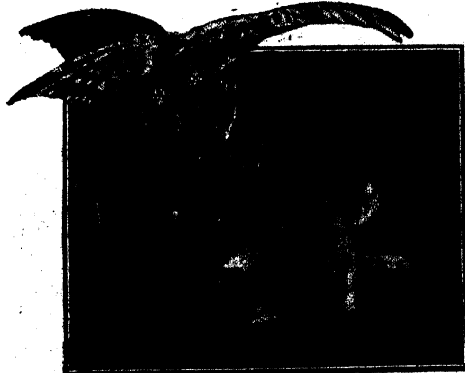
Why the Giant Lizards Perished

What would happen to civilization if the little garden lizard ever grew up to be the size of his ancient relative, the ichthyosaurus, and all the other insects and reptiles assumed the size of the monsters from whom they descended?



Imagine a Little Three-Inch Garden Lizard, Enlarged to the Size of a Dinosaur of Old, Chasing You through the Woods, and You Get the Effect of This Composite Photograph

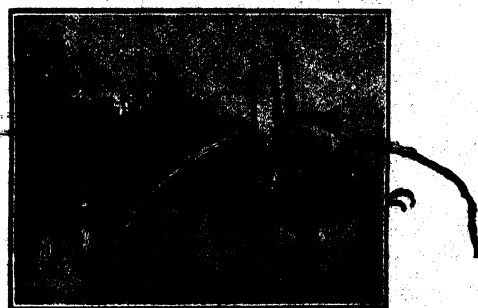
That is hardly apt to happen, for nature, millions of years ago, having discovered that the monsters were inefficient and in the process of evolution, finally came down to the ant as the highest type of insect development, and man as the



A Hawk Enlarged to the Proportions of an Ancient Flying Lizard

best of the mammals. From the beginning of time, the process of creating the world as we know it to-day has been one of unending experiment, nature discarding one form after another, of plants, insects and mammals, until she found the types best fitted to survive, and the proper balance to insure a food supply for all.

The problem of food supply is the chief reason why there is small chance that future evolution may ever go back toward the monsters of the past, just as it is the problem that some day will face the constantly growing human race. Once there was a dinosaur that grew to be 150 feet long, stood



Just a Little Water Beetle in His Native Element: But a Fearsome Monster When His Picture Is Enlarged to Giant Proportions and Overprinted on This Berlin Street Scene

twenty feet high at the shoulder, had a neck reach of thirty feet or more, and weighed, according to the best calculations, somewhere around thirty or forty tons. Even his little brother, the brontosaurus scaled around sixty feet from the tip of his nose to the tip of his tail, waddled along leaving yard-square footprints in his wake, and would have tipped the scale had scales been invented then, at 40,000 pounds which is half the capacity of a good-sized freight car.

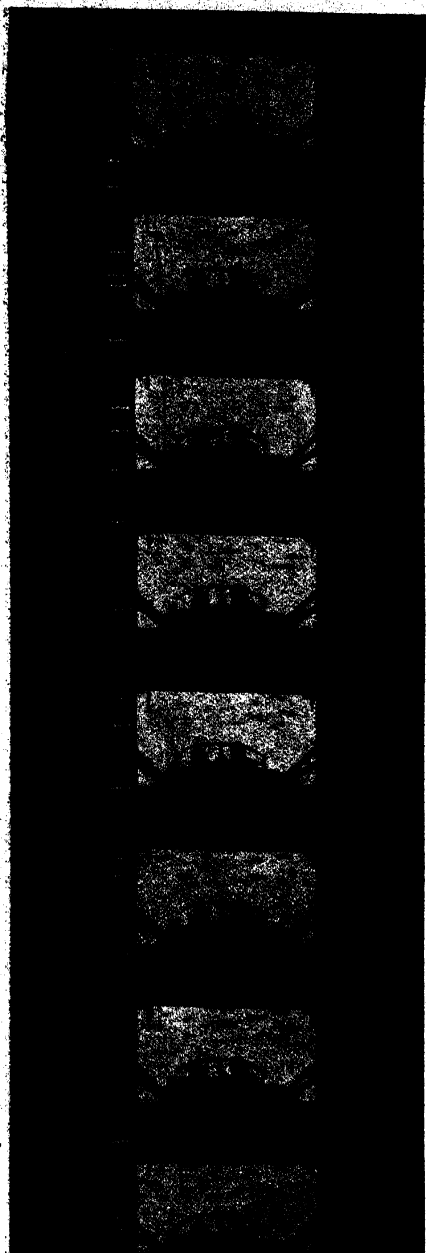
But the dinosaur and the brontosaurus, and the trachodon and the tyrannosaurus, the mammoth and all the rest of the strange beasts and reptiles that once roamed the earth and the air—for there were giant flying reptiles then—discovered one day they had eaten themselves out of house and home, so they laid themselves down and died.

Popular Mechanics

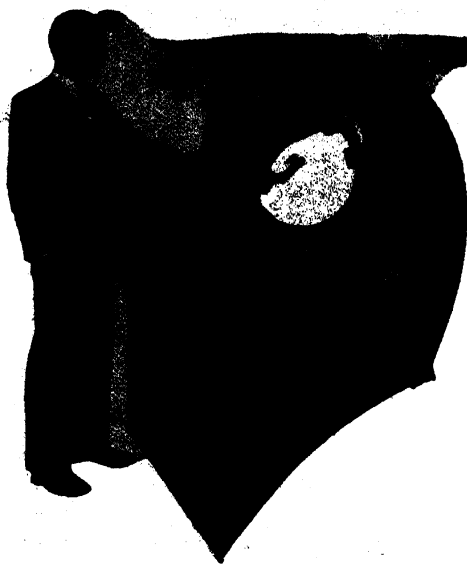
The Amazing Story of the "Talkies"

Hollywood is embarked on the greatest experiment of its career. Voice-culture establishments are springing up in every street to teach actors and actresses the proper way to speak. Enterprising radio engineers are coining money with recording apparatus that enables every actress to carry along a talking-machine record of her speaking voice to demonstrate to the director just how she sounds when recorded. And the producers are staging a wild race to build the best and most soundproof studio stage first.

Where it all is going to end none can predict. Recording a musical accompaniment for a standard film is one thing. Fitting the characters out with dialogue and slowing the action down to a speaking rate is another.



The shaded lines at the left of the picture form the sound track



One of the giant speakers placed behind the curtain to furnish the voice of the Vitaphone "Talkies"

Talking movies are not new; in fact, they were demonstrated years ago, but it was not until the fall of 1926 that the industry became vitally interested. Curiously enough the father of all talkies—the telephone—is the parent of the speaking movies, for, in their present form, they are a by-product of the telephone laboratory. Engineers of the Bell Telephone company were hunting ways to improve the telephone. As a result of their experiments they developed various side issues, which included the public-address system of huge loud speakers used to carry a speaker's voice to 50,000 or 100,000 people in a single audience; the electrical method of registering phonograph records; the orthophonic phonograph horn, and, finally, the talking movie.

How is a talking movie made?

Activity inside the stage is well-ordered.

The director calls for a rehearsal. The actors



An artiste singing for the talking film

go through their scene speak their lines distinctly carefully omitting the hiss of sibilants and tongue notes. Assistant directors, who formerly bellowed out commands for lights and camera, now glide softly on rubber-soled shoes. So do the property men, the camera-men and the electricians. If the rehearsal is done to the director's satisfaction, he signals an assistant director, who blows a sharp

mixer, a new figure in the film world, has his place. He has heard the voices of the players through a speaker just as they will register on the screen. He is an expert on voice culture.

Cost is indeed a decisive factor in the talkies. There is not only the terrific item of installing stages and equipment in studios but the wiring of theatres as well. Variety, the theatrical magazine,

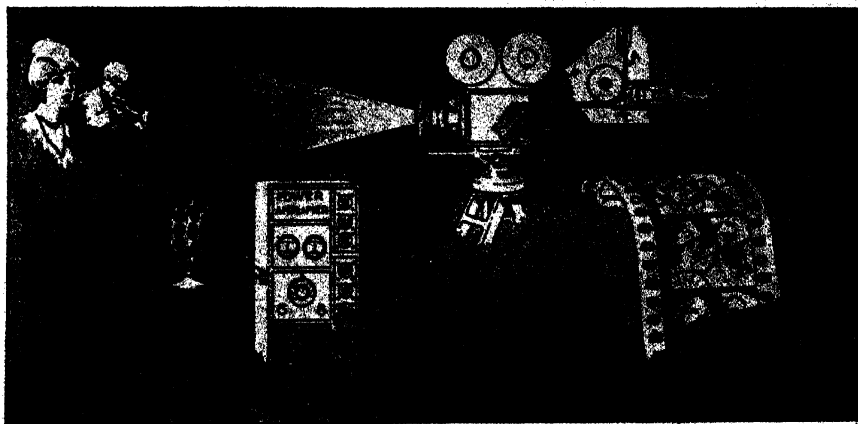


Diagram illustrating the mechanism for making talking films

blast on a whistle. Everything within sound of that whistle must maintain an absolute quiet until two blasts lift the spell, signaling the end of the scene. The director then talks through a hand telephone to the operator, who photographed the scene from inside the movable booth, and finds out whether a retake is required or the shots were all right. It is here that the monitor operator or

estimates that one-third of a billion dollars will be invested by motion-picture companies in these two divisions. Of this amount, \$200,000,000 will go into the wiring of playhouses and \$100,000,000 into studio installation, it is reported.

Popular Mechanics

Sedition Charge Against Dr. J. T. Sunderland's Book

DR. J. T. Sunderland, M.A., D.D., author of "The Spark in the World," "Travel and Life in Palestine," "The Origin and Character of the Bible," "Because Men are not Stones," "Oh to be Rich and Young," "Wealth, Beauty and Youth for All," "What is the Bible," "India, America and World Brotherhood," "The Cause of Famines in India," "Rising Japan," "Religion and Evolution" etc., etc., had his latest book "India in

raided the *Modern Review* office as well as the residence of Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, the editor of the *Modern Review* and seized forty-four copies of *India in Bondage*, three manuscript copies of the same and some correspondence. The search warrant also contained an order to arrest Sj. Sajani Kanta Das, B. Sc., Manager, Prabasi Press, the printer and publisher of the book, who was released on bail after arrest. He was charged with sedition (sec. 124-A. I. P. C.).

Dr. Sunderland is a well-known author in America and India. He has been famous as a writer on religious and other subjects and this charge of sedition against his book has created great sensation in India. This case will attract the attention of all India, being more or less an international affair. The author is an American subject and is not likely to be tried for any alleged violation of British-Indian law. It would be neither fair nor legal to pass any judgment on his latest book, the contents of which are *sub judice*, but one may perhaps introduce some of his other books to the public, so that they may know a little more of this much-talked-of American author in India.

NOT A BELIEVER IN OLD AGE

Dr. Sunderland is well-nigh ninety years of age ; but he does not believe in old age. He prescribes "Youth for All" in one of his most interesting books. He cites in this book the achievements of Cato, who learned Greek at eighty ; of Theophrastus, who began his Characters of Men at the age of ninety ; of Goethe, who completed Faust at eighty ; of Michael Angelo, whose genius was still great at eighty-three ; of Victor Hugo who was wonderfully active at eighty-three ; and of many others like Martineau, Palmerston and Linnaeus. Dr. Sunderland himself lives up to his standard of youthfulness and began his book "India in Bondage" when he was past four score years.

Dr. J. T. Sunderland, the Author of "India in Bondage : Her Right to Freedom."

"Bondage : her Right to Freedom," published in Calcutta towards the end of 1928. The book ran through its first edition very quickly and into a second edition by the second quarter of 1929.

On the 24th of May the Calcutta Police

A BELIEVER IN GOD BUT NOT IN INACTION

As a leader of the Unitarian Church Dr. Sunderland's faith in God is living, and in some of his books he has given such remarkable expression to his faith as would

Sunderland tells us the following tale in his book, "Because Men are not Stones":

Once when they were on a journey in the desert, a companion of Mohammed said to the Prophet, as they stopped at night: "I will not tie my camel, but will commit him to God." Replied the



Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee, editor, *Modern Review* whose residence was searched by the police in connection with "India in Bondage" Case

infect the strongest of unbelievers. But he has a different view of God's relation to man from that of the praying soul who devoutly leaves God to do everything for him. Dr.

Prophet: "Tie thy camel, and then commit him to God."

Says Dr. Sunderland:

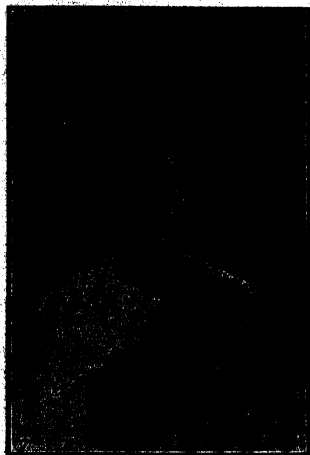
That was the true view of prayer, God is not our drudge. Prayer is not power whereby we can

secure the boon of idleness for ourselves. To ask God to do for us what we ought to do for ourselves is not to honour but to insult him.

Would that the religiously-minded in India took a lesson from the above.

NOT A BLIND FOLLOWER OF THE BIBLE

Though a devout Unitarian Christian Dr. Sunderland is outspoken where he considers the Bible to be *not infallible*. In his "Origin and Growth of the Bible" he criticizes many things in the Bible, such as items in the story of creation, the story of Jonah living for days within a whale, the story of Nebuchadnezzar eating grass like an ox for years,



S. Sajanikanta Das, the Printer and the Publisher of "India in Bondage," who has been prosecuted for sedition

etc. He also criticizes historical mistakes, scientific errors, exaggerations in the Bible and condemns its childish representations of God, its morally degrading representations of God, and its inculcation of what is wrong. Dr. J. T. Sunderland, in short, is no man to keep silent over anything that he considers false, unjust, degrading or immoral.

A HUMANIST AND LOVER OF PEACE

The most important elements in Dr. Sunderland's character and idealism are his humanism and love of justice and peace the world over.

He strongly condemns all institutions,

wherever found, which stand in the way of the realization of the ideal of world brotherhood. He does not spare his own country. He says :

I recall with shame that some years ago we, as a nation, forgot, for the time being, our own past history and the very foundation principle of our democracy—that "all just government derives its power from the consent of the governed" and following the evil example of the nations of Europe, we obtained a Colony, or rather dependency, in the Far East. Finding the people of the Philippine Islands struggling to free themselves from a tyrannical foreign power, instead of aiding them, we committed the crime of seizing their country, carrying on a cruel war to subdue them and have held them ever since as our subjects undoubtedly feeling ourselves more at liberty to do this because they were of a race different from our own.

He does not spare India. He asks :

How can she expect national unity; how can she hope to become a democracy or a government in any sense "of the people by the people" so long as these millions are robbed of their manhood and of the most elementary and fundamental rights of life? Their existence in her midst alienates from her the sympathy and regard of justice-loving men in all lands. The rights of these unfortunates (untouchables) must be restored to them if India is to be free or worthy of freedom. Happily the Indian people themselves are realizing this and are beginning to act in accordance with the realization.

Nor does he spare England. Says he :

Great Britain's past treatment of China in twice waging war against her for the purpose of forcing the opium trade upon her people, thus to gain revenue by their degradation and ruin, forms one of the darkest records of modern history.

Dr. Jabez Thomas Sunderland is no critic for the sake of criticism. He wants to purify the evil in modern human institutions, because he expects to realize thus the great ideal of world-wide human brotherhood. He declares it is no mere dream :

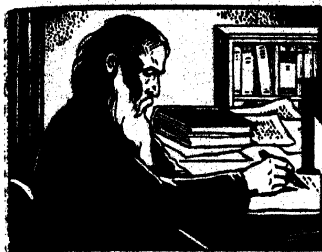
It is more than a dream, it is a vision from God, showing to men what ought to be realized what will be realized, because the ideals of men are the promises of God. As surely, then, as that God is God—in other words, as surely as that truth is stronger than error, as surely as the right is stronger than wrong, as surely as the love is stronger than hate; as surely as that good is stronger than evil; so surely must brotherhood wide as humanity, come.

* * * *

Come, clear the way, then, clear the way;
Blind creeds and kings have had their day.

Our hope is in heroic man,
Star-led, to build the world again.

To this event the ages ran;
Make way for Brotherhood; make way for Man.



NOTES

Rabindranath Tagore on the Philosophy of Leisure

Rabindranath Tagore discussed "The Philosophy of Leisure" at Vancouver before the National Council of Education, which was attended by delegates from Great Britain, India, Australia, New Zealand, France, Germany, Italy and Czechoslovakia. A correspondent of *The Statesman* has given some extracts from the Poet's first address.

"This modern age is riding on a tornado of rapidity, jealously competing with its own past every moment in speed and production," he said, discussing 'The Philosophy of Leisure.'

"We cannot stop its course, and should not, even if we could. Our only anxiety in regard to it is that we may forget that slow and mature productions of leisure are of immense value to man, for these only can give balance to a bloated atmosphere of infinity in a width of leisure, across which come invisible messengers of life and light, bringing their silent voices of creation. What gives us cause for anxiety is that the spirit of progress occupies a great deal more of our mind to-day than the deeper life process of our being, which requires depth of leisure for its sustenance."

By way of comment on the English saying that time is money, the Indian sage observed :

"The modern world does not allow itself time to evolve religion, to reconcile the conflicting elements of society. Creative ideals are suffering. We are spiritually slovenly. We say, time is money ; we should add that leisure is wealth : the wealth that is a creation of the human spirit, whose material may be money."

"Compressed and crowded time has its use when dealing with material things, but living truths must have for their significance a full accommodation of leisure. Cramped time produces deformities and degeneracy, and the mind constantly pursued by a frenzied haste develops chronic dyspepsia."

The Poet concluded by dwelling on the danger of having no time.

"Busy day and night exploring work which is non-human, solely for gains that are non-spiritual, his sense of human reality shrinks into utter insignificance in a world whose pride is in vastness and in which all manifestations are predetermined in details. He seeks the cradle of all that

is great in him in the lightless nursery of the dust and mocks himself with a sinister laugh, taking defiant pleasure in self-insult. He allows his freedom to ferment into frothy license, coarsens his soul into obscenity, smothers with marketable commodities the perspective, the detachment needed for the amplitude of his dignity, and thus obscured, he obscures the vision of his God. For he has no time."

The "Sari" and Indian Music in Rome

Writing to the *Statesman* from Rome, the Rev. G. Mackinnon, D. D. says :

"In Rome this winter the *sari* has been conspicuous. We have had one Calcutta lady who has taken a distinguished place in musical circles, Miss Addy. I attended her *debut*. Her Eastern costume was worn with a grace that elicited surprise and admiration from the short-frocked generation of Rome. Miss Addy captured her audience before she uttered a note. But her singing completed her triumph, and on all sides I heard India extolled. Her Italian songs, so clear and correct in their enunciation, were perhaps better understood by her hearers ; but her Indian melodies went to the heart."

Miss Addy is a Bengali Christian lady. That the *sari* is admired in Europe we can say from personal knowledge.

Amanullah Khan

Amanullah Khan has evidently given up all hope—at least for the present—of regaining the throne of Afghanistan. His future programme is not known. In him the Afghans have lost a progressive and enlightened ruler. The only things that can be said against him are that he ought to have hastened more slowly and that he need not have attempted to Westernize the costume of his people. But it is always easy to be wise after the event. What will remain on record in history is that he preferred the good of his country, as he understood it, to the throne of Afghanistan and the power

and pleasure which it might have brought him. For, he might have continued to be king if he had not been a reformer in practice. The Afghans—at least the effective majority of them—have shown that they do not deserve to have a king like him. Is a turn in the tide, bringing him back to the throne of Afghanistan, impossible?

Whether the present situation in that country is due entirely to Afghan fanaticism and superstition, exploited by the Mullahs and some usurpers, or whether there was also the hidden hand of foreigners pulling the string and supplying the sinews of war from behind the curtain, is more than any Indian journalist can say or conjecture.

"The Englishman" Quotes Scripture

In the course of its article on ex-King Amanullah Khan and the situation in Afghanistan *The Englishman* moralizes thus:—

The whole episode has been a striking instance of the mutability of human affairs. Amanullah Khan's fate and the success also of the reactionaries in Tibet afford striking evidence of the truth of the old Eastern adage anent pouring new wine into old bottles. Westerners may think that Afghanistan in scrapping the ex-King's reforms and reverting to a genuine system of Mullah rule has made a very bad choice. That, however, is for Afghans themselves to decide, and no Englishman has ever wished them anything but complete freedom of choice. The fate of the headlong reformer in Afghanistan has, however, a very potent lesson for the student of events in India. Those who throughout felt misgivings as to the pace with which Amanullah Khan was Westernizing his country will, it is to be hoped, give tangible expression to their misgivings if the pinchbeck Robespierres of India are allowed their way. There has been more than enough evidence already supplied from India to make the most ardent Constitution-maker pause in his work and be assailed with doubts as to the wisdom of any large Constitutional advance in the India of to-day.

New wine has been poured into old bottles in Japan, Turkey and Persia, among Eastern countries, without any disaster yet overtaking them. So in those lands the truth of the Eastern adage has still to be proved.

If an adage be true irrespective of circumstances, it must be true both in the East and in the West, no matter what the country of its origin may be. Whenever and wherever there is a political, social or industrial revolution, it may be said metaphorically that new wine has been poured into old bottles. In the nineteenth century there were radical political changes in

America and Japan and some other countries. The same century also witnessed the industrial revolution in the West and in Japan. During the last two decades most monarchies in Europe have toppled down and made room for republics. All these are very clear cases of pouring new wine into old bottles. Has the process produced any cataclysm in any or most or all of the countries concerned? Sweeping conclusions should not be drawn from single or a few instances.

The Anglo-Indian paper observes that it is for Afghans themselves to decide whether "in scrapping the ex-King's reforms and reverting to a genuine system of Mullah rule," they have "made a very bad choice." It adds that "no Englishman has ever wished them anything but complete freedom of choice." Such a profession was only to be expected in the circumstances. For, after making many efforts in the past to have a finger in the Afghan pie, Englishmen are for the present content to recognize that they have no power to deny the Afghans "complete freedom of choice" in the matter, and they lose nothing by not objecting to the Afghans' exercising such complete freedom of choice, as they (the Englishmen) are not masters of Afghanistan and as the Afghans have made a choice which will keep their country in a weak, backward and disorganized condition for an indefinite period of time. Imperialists naturally prefer a weak and disorganized neighbour to a strong and organized one.

The Anglo-Indian journal allows complete freedom of choice to the Afghans. But when it comes to giving such freedom to India, why "the pinchbeck Robespierres of India" are not to be "allowed their way"! Because, of course, any freedom of choice given to India would deprive her of the ineffable blessing of being indefinitely under the tutelage of her foreign masters and exploiters. These people must continue to 'be assailed' with doubts as to the wisdom of any large constitutional advance" in India so long as they can manage to remain masters of the situation.

Some parts of India have had the blessing of British rule for well-nigh two centuries, and no part has had it for a shorter period than the constitutional regime in Japan, during which it has become a first-class independent power under a well-ordered government. But India is still unfit for any large constitutional advance! Her children must not have any freedom of choice,

though Afghans may have the choice to give their country a blood bath and the blessing of anarchy.

The *Englishman* calls our advanced political workers "*pinchbeck* Robespierres". Would it be pleased if there were *real* Indian Robespierres? Its use of the name of that man of blood shows either its ignorance of history or its power of deliberate and unscrupulous misrepresentation; for no leading politician in India bears even the faintest superficial resemblance to Robespierre.

Chair of Sanskrit in Calcutta University

At first Prof. Surendranath Das Gupta had been selected for the Sir Asutosh Mukherji Professorship of Sanskrit in the Calcutta University. Subsequently, at the request of Prof. Bhagabat Kumar Goswami, Prof. Das Gupta withdrew his candidature. Prof. Goswami has now been appointed to the chair.

"Sufferers from 'Isolated Independence'"

It is a rather hard fate to be obliged to explain that a joke is a joke. We have been recently the victims of such bad luck.

In our last March number, page 396, we wrote:

"The following countries in the world suffer at present from the disastrous effects of isolated independence and are drafting petitions to be included within the British Empire:"

Then followed a list of fifty-three countries.

Last month an Indian gentleman asked us seriously whether we were correctly informed as to the fact of such petitions being drafted. We had to undergo the agony of telling him that our note was a joke.

Now an American gentleman, occupying a responsible official position, has written to us for information. He writes:

In the *Modern Review* for March, 1929, at page 396 under the head of "Sufferers from 'Isolated Independence,'" you state,

"The following countries in the world suffer at present from the disastrous effects of isolated independence and are drafting petitions for being included within the British Empire:"

The list which follows this statement is rather appalling, if your statement be taken literally. Will you kindly advise me as to the nature of the petitions which these countries are drafting and in what sense they are seeking to be included within the British Empire?

We have informed our correspondent that our statement was not meant to be taken literally.

Now a word as to the genesis of our joking propensity. Some of our politicians have seriously argued repeatedly that 'Dominion Status' within the British Empire is not only good so far as it goes (in which opinion we have always agreed), but that it is better than independence, which they call isolated independence. We are not of that opinion. So we wanted, by means of a joke, to suggest to independent countries in general that they ought to submit petitions to the king of England to be taken under the wings of his Empire in order to escape from the disadvantages of isolated independence.

We are sorry our joke was not quite transparent to all our readers.

Some American Impressions of India

Some cultured English and American ladies and gentlemen visited India during the last quarter of the last year and the first of this in connection with the Brahmo Samaj centenary celebrations. Returning to their homes, some of them have begun to publish their impressions of India. Some of these have come to our notice. As the *Modern Review* is not a religious periodical, we shall not generally reproduce any thing which relates particularly to religion.

Dr. Curtis W. Reese, on whom we wrote a Note in the February number, has an article on Brahmo celebrations in *Unity* of Chicago, the weekly which has been publishing serially Mahatma Gandhi's "Story of my Experiments with Truth." Here is a passage on the Bose Institute in Dr. Reese's article:

At 3 o'clock, a tea in honour of the foreign delegates was given by Sir and Lady J. C. Bose. Dr. Bose is well known throughout the world for his scientific achievements, including the measurements of the growth of plants. The Bose Institute is well equipped and offers opportunity for specialization in certain phases of science. On the lecture desk in the main hall is written: "For the Glory of India and for the Welfare of the World this Temple of Science is dedicated at the feet of God."

There is next a reference to the Bengal Social Service League.

On Saturday, the 26th, at 9 A. M. was held an exhibit of the Bengal Social Service League, organized and effectively directed by Dr. D. N. Maitra. After brief addresses by Dr. Drummond, Mr.

Parker of the Society of Friends, and myself, we examined the charts used by Dr. Maitra in health lectures through Bengal and elsewhere. *They would also do good in America, including the home-town of Katherine Mayo.*

The italics are ours.

Next comes a description of the "Parliament of Religions," which incidentally gives a glimpse of the writer's political views.

Sunday and Monday, the 27th and 28th, were the big days of the Celebration. The sessions were called the "Parliament of Religions" and held in the Senate Hall of the University of Calcutta. The Sunday sessions began at 8-30 A. M. and continued with noon intermission, until 5 o'clock. Rabindranath Tagore risked his health, which is none too good, in order to deliver a brief address, following which he departed to his Calcutta home. Dr. Drummond presided at the morning session, and a Hindu Pandit, in the afternoon. Many religions were represented on the programme. Both Dr. Southworth and I addressed the meetings. I suffered conflicting emotions. Being under a foreign flag, I felt a certain obligation of courtesy; but being a humanist, I felt the weight of 320,000,000 people in political slavery. With more than my usual restraint, in a portion of my address I dealt with religion in relation to liberty, and in closing enlarged the phrasing though not the content of Abraham Lincoln's statement that "No nation is good enough to rule another." I said, "No race or nation, whatever its colour or culture, is good enough or wise enough to rule another race or nation—and that means both England in India, and America in the Philippines." By the instant response from the large audience, I realized as I had not before what a mighty movement is stirring underneath the surface of Indian life. Upon resuming my seat, an old Indian gentleman who sat in a seat of honour on the platform, leaned over to me, and in clearly enunciated English said, "You spoke for our whole country, gave vent to the fire that burns in every soul." At the Monday session, an array of representatives of still other religious movements spoke from 4 to 7 P. M. By special arrangements made by the programme committee, I had the honour of delivering a second address, in which I outlined the pre-requisites of world peace, as inter-religious fellowship, inter-racial sympathy, and international patriotism.

Being a learned university man, in addition to being a humanist and theologian, Dr. Reese had to speak at the Calcutta University also.

At 3 o'clock I addressed the Department of Modern History of the University of Calcutta on the Programme for the Outlawry of War, including not only the recent Peace Pact, but in addition the codification of international law on the basis of Outlawry, and the affirmative jurisdiction of a world court.

There is also something about Ahmedabad and its students' strike, etc

At Ahmedabad, we attended a mass meeting of students who were on a strike that grew out of opposition to the Simon Commission, visited Gandhi's home, and the National University of which Gandhi is chancellor. Unfortunately, Gandhi was at

Karachi, but his secretary knew of our contemplated visit, and I had the rare satisfaction of receiving a small hank of yarn woven and spun by Gandhi himself. But as much as I prize this yarn, I will give it to anyone who will adequately finance *Unity* in a campaign to educate America on her opportunity, both culturally and commercially, in an India freed from foreign control.

This is followed by the writer's observations on Hindu-Moslem riots and Hindu-Moslem unity.

Dr. Lathrop and I addressed a Brahmo meeting in Bombay. While the meeting was in session, a throng of people came pouring down the street in the direction of the section where the Hindus and Mohammedans were rioting and where many had been killed and wounded. Their voices sounded above the clatter of the street, but I could not understand them. A few moments later came another throng. The meeting was all but broken up. Frankly, I was a bit frightened. But my fears were unfounded, for the throngs were made up of Hindus and Mohammedans marching together into the rioting section, singing, "Long Live Hindu-Moslem Unity." Not much longer can Hindus and Moslems be played off one against the other to the advantages of a foreign power.

In Madras Dr. Reese met Mrs. Besant.

In Madras where we had only the time between trains, I addressed one of the most interesting of the Samajes, and we were received by Annie Besant at the world head-quarters of the Theosophical Society. I asked Mrs. Besant what we could do in America for Indian liberty. She replied that we could give sympathetic understanding; that America's is the only opinion that Britain respects. She said she favoured Dominion Status for India interpreted as complete freedom within its own borders. This seems to be the opinion of many leading Indians. But unless granted soon and graciously, it had just as well not be granted at all, for every day of delay means wave upon wave added to the rolling tide of opinion favouring complete independence.

The writer concludes with an "amusing experience," as he calls it.

I cannot, however, refrain from relating one interesting and amusing experience that we had in Calcutta. We had invited a young Indian to dinner at the hotel. He was elegantly dressed in native attire. Upon entering the dining-room, the head waiter said, "That man cannot eat here in that dress." "In that case," I replied, "neither will we." I added that the rule seemed to me a very unreasonable one. Leaving the dining-room, we went to a restaurant-club near by. To add to the merriment, I was there told that I could not eat without my dinner suit. This fortunately removed some of the embarrassment from the hotel experience, and with a feeling partaking somewhat of triumph, we returned to the hotel, and ordered dinner served in a private room.

A British Impression of India

Mr. F. W. Monks was one of the British delegates to the Brahmo centenary celebrations.

It is reported in the London *Inquirer* that at a meeting of the General Assembly of Unitarian and Free Churches held in Manchester in April last,

Mr. F. W. Monks said he had recently been to India at the instance of the General Assembly. He wished to acknowledge publicly the welcome he had received not only in Calcutta but everywhere in India. But two things had impressed him : first, that the Indians were not good organizers, and secondly, that they had no idea of the value of congregational life. It was just here that the General Assembly might offer invaluable help by exchanging representatives with the Brahmo Samaj. He had attended services which seemed to him formal and lifeless.

Perhaps the services referred to were in English, which is not the mother-tongue of an Indian minister and congregation. So there cannot be much life and spontaneity in such services.

As for Indians being not good organizers, that is probably true in part. For, if we were a thoroughly organized people, the British would not be here to domineer over us. Moreover, in the past under British rule our organizing capacity decreased. But we hope to get organized.

Australian Rule and Native Races

Sydney, May 22.

Addressing the Presbyterian Assembly on Australian government of native races, Mr. Aubrey Williams said that it was a lamentable record of murder, cruelty, oppression. The grossest outrages on the natives went unpunished. Black and coloured races were regarded as vermin only deserving extermination.

—Free Press

We were under the impression that the extermination of aboriginal populations in different continents and islands by European Christian colonizers of various nationalities was a thing of the past. It is shocking to learn that it still continues.

Lala Lajpat Rai and Moslems at Hissar

In the very interesting autobiography of Lala Lajpat Rai which is being published serially in *The People*, we come across a pleasing account of his friendly relations with the Muhammadans of Hissar, where he practised as a lawyer for six years. Even then he was a staunch and active Arya Samajist, "used to go out frequently on Samaj work, and addressed meetings and raised funds, and did other work entrusted

to me by the leaders of the Samaj." But nevertheless, he enjoyed the friendship and confidence of the Mussalmans of the place. It is stated in the story of his life :

"I used also to write for the papers, and took interest in political affairs. In the interesting work of reading, a Mussalman, Mir Mohammad Hussain, an English clerk of the district, was my companion. As long as I was in Hissar, our relations were very intimate. I dined at his house several times and he dined at mine more frequently and borrowed books from me.

"During the three years of my stay in Hissar I was an elected member of the Municipal Committee and also its Honorary Secretary. The ward which I represented was inhabited principally by Mussalmans. When they went to the Deputy Commissioner to propose my name he tried to dissuade them. But they persisted and I was returned to the committee unopposed."

How did this friendly Hindu-Moslem attitude give place in subsequent years to strained relations? Does the conduct of the Deputy Commissioner referred to above furnish even a partial clue to the mystery?

Are Youth in East and West Irreligious?

Complaints are frequently heard in our country of the loss of religion on the part of the young. Such complaints and their causes are not confined to India. Dr. J. H. Lathrop, one of the delegates from America to the Brahmo Samaj centenary celebrations, speaking at Bangalore, said :

There seems to me to be a certain movement away from all religions on the part of a great many of your intelligent and scientifically trained young people of to-day, exactly as there is in America. If you should take the statistics with regard to America, you will find that slightly over half the inhabitants of the United States of America are to-day without any connection with any religious institution—Church or temple or whatever you call it. Perhaps, if you recognize it, you will be sending some missionaries over there to convert these heathens to some sort of religion. Why is it these people have no connection with any religion?

The speaker answered the question partly thus, as reported in *The Indian Messenger* :

In the first place, you will find the frivolous mind in quest of fleeting pleasure. It seems to me they are wasting their faculties that are God-given and that they are not getting out of their lives some of the deep satisfactions that they could get. But I want to talk to you of another group outside the churches, i. e., the young educated University graduates and the person who alone by himself is studying modern science and who somehow feels that after all what modern thought has to say rules out all religions that are primarily superstitious.

Unless I am very much mistaken, in my extensive

tour in India, I have come to the conclusion that there are a great many Indians in exactly the same frame of mind as that of the Americans. In other words, there is a great resemblance between the two peoples in this respect.

Having known many parents talking about the loss of religion on the part of the young, Dr. Lathrop says :

If anyone asked me how to find out whether men and women of a generation or period were religious or irreligious, my answer would be : "Find out whether a man, woman or child has anything that he or she regards as sacred or holy." When older people think their older holinesses are no

human nature been regarded as holy and as sacred as it is to-day.

We have in America, England and in India all sorts of child welfare movements, because we believe that every human life has a sacred right to co-opportunity, to develop all its powers on behalf of a full and satisfactory existence.

There is now in the United States an agitation set on foot to put an end to capital punishment. Because we find human life is held to-day sacred more than our forefathers believed.

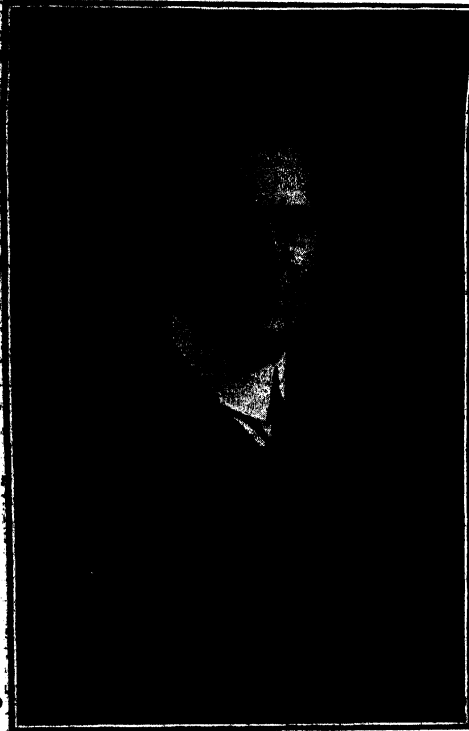
The relations between human beings are more sacred to-day than they were ever before.

Dr. Lathrop said many other things to suggest that the present age is not one of irreligion.

There never were more truthful persons than there are to-day. Because modern scientific training teaches that you cannot lie about a particle of matter in the laboratory and have your experiments come true ; you cannot lie about your mathematics and get a solution of your problem ; you cannot lie as a medical man and bring about a cure. Everywhere science has brought out the truth. We must have respect for the truthful character of these holy men.

The next thing is—the younger generation have come to regard human life as holy and sacred in the same way as the elders regarded a book, or man or stick or stone as holy, and with good-will. Some of your greater teachers living to-day have had to say : "Within the home, between husband and wife, father and mother and children ; or whether it is in the city or in the State or between nations, there is only one successful law of life—that means life and not death. That is the way to good-will. The prophet said, "Forgive your enemy : forgive him seventy times seven. If a man asks you to go a mile, go two." And out of your own religious literature, you gather the same truth. The only relationship upon which we can possibly stand and stand successfully has become increasingly sacred in the minds of the young people to-day.

Do not think they are irreligious. Ask yourself what are their sanctities. These sanctities may be a little finer than your own sanctity. I want to say to the young man or the young woman, "Because you have thrown off some of the old sanctities, you have not done with religion. Because you do not know what the word religion means,"



Dr. J. H. Lathrop

longer so regarded by the younger people and the younger people think they can no longer worship the same thing in the same manner as their forefathers, we cannot say that they are irreligious. I believe there are many things in life to-day that the younger people are regarding as sacred to a degree which their fathers and mothers and grandmothers also thought as sacred. And one of the first things we have to remember is that any man or woman that is going to regard it as sacred is a religious person.

Never before in the history of the world has

Rajpal's Assassin

Ilam Din, the assassin of M. Rajpal, has been sentenced to death by the sessions judge of Lahore. So long as capital punishment for murder remains the law of the land, there can be nothing particular to say regarding such sentences on offenders caught red-handed in the act. But Lahore papers note some deplorable facts in connection with the trial of this murderer. When Muslims of the same pecuniary position as Ilam Din or poorer than he are accused of ordinary murders,

public subscriptions are not generally raised for their defence. But in this case public subscriptions were raised, evidently because the misguided fanatic had murdered a Hindu from a so-called religious motive. This is to be regretted. Another fact which may have some significance is that the two Moslem assessors pronounced the man not guilty and the two non-Moslem assessors, guilty. It has also to be noted that a Moslem crowd, said to number about a thousand, gathered outside the judge's court, and shouted *Allah ho Akbar* by way of greeting the convict when he was removed from the court after pronouncement of judgment.

The murderer of Swami Shraddhananda was canonized as "Ghazi" by some Moslem publicists. A huge crowd snatched away this Ghazi's corpse from the police and gave him the honour of one of the biggest funeral processions in India. With reference to the murder of Swami Shraddhananda, a Moslem notable, who is said to occupy a high position, has written in his book, named *The Indian Moslems*, published by Adenne Publishers, 1 and 2 Windsor House, Victoria Street, London :

"His (Swami Shraddhananda's) was a far more formidable force than that of Gandhi's : not content with mastery of men's minds, but resolved to unman them so that they might succumb the more easily when he gave the signal to strike. But before his influence and insinuation had established a nightmare over our minds, there rose a man who knew how to strike the hidden foe. Abdur Rashid put a summary end to the Swami's career and propaganda, and if he was sentenced by the law for what in civil life is styled a crime, who will declare, when all the facts are unravelled, when the ramifications of Pan-Hinduism are revealed, that he did not render a service to those who desire to see the stable position established by the British in India maintained and preserved ?" (quoted in *Welfare*)

All these facts show a diseased mentality in a section—perhaps a large section, of the Muhammadan community. This should be combated in all possible ways by its sane, sober and thoughtful section. Critics of the prophet and scriptures of Islam, like the critics of other religious teachers and scriptures, are either serious critics or slanderers. Serious criticism has to be met with sober and serious replies. As for slanderers, they may be either treated with silent contempt, or, if necessary, refuted seriously or proceeded against in law-courts. Murder of a critic of either sort only produces the impression that there was some irrefutable truth in his criticism. Criticism cannot be suppressed. In India publication of criticism or slander of the prophet and scrip-

tures of the Mussalmans may possibly, though not probably, be stopped by the combined efforts of the British Government and of fanatical Moslems. But there are numerous works in English and other European languages, containing similar criticism or slander, which are in circulation and which cannot be proscribed and suppressed.

Hinduism and Christianity have been exposed for centuries to the fullest criticism and rankest slander. But their essential truths continue to shine as brightly as ever. There was a time when Christian heretics were persecuted and killed. But such treatment did no good to Christianity. Criticism has, however, done good.

Indian Aviators

Mr. P. M. Kabali, a full-fledged Indian aviator, is shortly to fly from England to India in an aeroplane poetically named the "Feather of the Dawn." He has had a hearty send-off from London with appropriate Indian ceremony. All Indians will wish him a swift and safe voyage.

Other young Indians are trying to take to aviation. *The Guardian* writes :

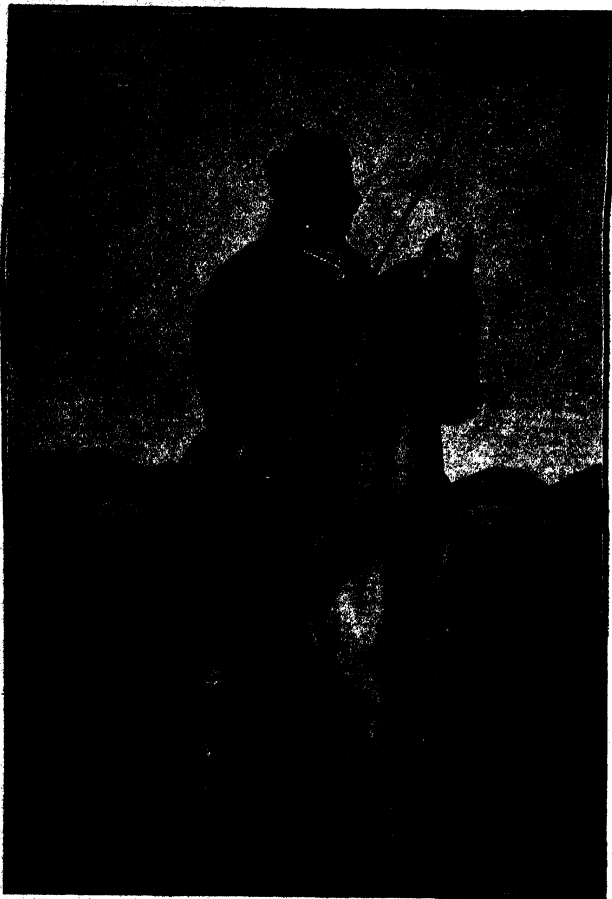


Mr. P. M. Kabali

Mr. J. P. Ganguli, a member of the Bengal Flying Club, has passed all his tests for an Air certificate and will shortly be sailing to England for further training to qualify for the commercial pilot's licence. He is the second Bengalee to have decided to take up such a career, Mr. B. K. Sinha being the first."

Birth Anniversary of Maharana Pratap Singh

The *Jayanti* or birth anniversary of Maharana Pratap Singh falls this year on the



Maharana Pratap Singh

10th June next according to the lunar year and day. In our last issue we gave the date as 6th May, which was a misreading

for 9th May, according to the solar year and day.

The anniversary will be celebrated in various provinces and States on the 10th June. We are glad to learn that H. H. the Maharana of Udaipur has promised to get a full-sized statue of Maharana Pratap Singh prepared and set up in a suitable spot. He has also promised to give all facilities to pilgrims to visit the battle field of Haldighat on the 10th June.

The anniversary of the great hero should be observed by all Indians irrespective of their political opinions or religious creed, as he fought for the freedom of his land and people.

Religious Hatred in Independent Countries

Religious hatred and rancour do no good either in dependent or in independent countries. There should be in all countries, not only outward religious toleration, but the inward spirit of tolerance as well.

Interested parties try to produce the impression in India, Britain, America and other lands that communal strife and strained relations between different religious communities and castes exist only in India, and India is therefore unfit for self-rule. But in times past Christians of opposite sects in independent countries indulged in mutual massacres and burning of their opponents. That is a well-known fact. There were laws prescribing capital punishment for heretical opinions. For instance, in answer to the question, "When was Unitarianism made a capital offence?" it is stated in the London *Inquirer* :

(a) If by Unitarianism is meant the denial of the Trinity, then it was first made a capital offence by the Emperor Constantine in 325 A. D., when at the conclusion of the Council of Nicaea he addressed the following edict to the bishops and the people :

"If any man be found to have concealed a copy of these books (the writings of Arius), and not to have instantly produced it, and thrown it into the fire, he shall be put to death. The moment he is convicted of this, he shall be subjected to capital punishment."

(b) In England the first enactment for the suppression of religious opinions was the statute for the burning of heretics (*de heretico comburendo*) of 1401, demanded by the clergy. The first man to be burned for anti-Trinitarian opinions, not by this statute, however, which was repealed in 1534 till 1554, but probably by royal writ, was a Flemish surgeon, George von Parris, who was burned to death at Smithfield in 1551. His heresy consisted in saying that God the Father was the only God, and Christ was not Very God.

(c) In Ireland the first person to suffer death for anti-Trinitarian opinions was Adam Duff O'Toole who was burned in Dublin in 1827.

(d) The last victim to be burnt at the stake in England for Unitarian opinions, was Edward Wightman, who was executed at Lichfield in 1611. "About this time (says Fuller) a Spanish Arian, being condemned to die, was, notwithstanding, suffered to linger on his life in Newgate, where he ended the same. Indeed, such burning of heretics much startled common people, pitying all in pain, and prone to asperse justice itself with cruelty, because of the novelty and hideousness of the punishment. Wherefore King James *politically* preferred that heretics hereafter, though condemned, should silently and privately waste themselves away in the prison, rather than to grace them and amuse others with the solemnity of a public execution, which in popular judgments usurped the honour of a persecution." The Act for the burning of heretics was not finally repealed till 1677.

In the histories of England which we have read it is not stated that in the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries England was ruled by the Chinese owing to the existence of legalized murderous religious hatred.

Germany, too, was not ruled by the Japanese in the 16th century, because of the existence of religious hatred there, as evidenced, for example, by some observations of Luther, quoted in the *Harvard Theological Review* for April, 1929.

"As for the Catholics he wished that there were more English kings to kill cardinals, and was pleased with a rumour that bishops had been executed in Denmark...He could afford to stop after having already expressed the hope that the princes would rise up, destroy the papal state, tear out the tongues of pope and cardinals, and nail them to the gallows like seals on a bull."

To the sectarians he was no milder. Against the Jews he belched forth a mass of suppurous irreconcilable recommendations.

Burn the synagogues, take away their books, including the Bible. They should be compelled to work, denied food and shelter, preferably banished. If they mention the name of God, report them to the magistrate or throw *Sandreck*

on them. Moses said that idolators should not be tolerated. If he were here he would be the first to burn their synagoguesI would rather be a sow than a Turkish emperor or a Jewish Messiah, for a sow fears neither hell nor the devil.

There was a time when we used occasionally to publish authentic instances of the cruel treatment of Roman Catholics, Jews, etc., in Britain, the British Empire, America, and other countries, to prove the hollowness of the argument that India is unfit for self-rule because of Hindu-Moslem riots. Many of these were brought together in *Towards Home Rule*, Part I. We have also repeatedly drawn attention to instances of violence done to Jews, Roman Catholics, Negroes, etc., in U. S. A. by the Ku Klux Klan and others. But as none are so blind and deaf as those who *will* not see and hear, we have ceased to compile such details. The winning of self-rule can alone prove our fitness for it.

British Indian Government's Drink Revenue

The latest annual report of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association, London, shows that the annual revenue of the nine provincial governments of India from the sale of drink now amounts to nearly £ 15,000,000, or twenty crores of rupees in round numbers ! It is an ominous fact that about one quarter of the total provincial revenues is dependent upon this degrading and destructive traffic, the proportion rising to as much as 33.3 per cent. in Madras and 34.4 per cent. in Bihar and Orissa.

In view of these figures it is hardly surprising that several of the provincial Governments who have announced that Prohibition is the goal of their policy find themselves confronted with serious financial difficulties in trying to give effect to it. These Governments, says the report, are now reaping what was sown by their predecessors in the days before excise was transferred to the control of the legislatures.

Whatever the result to the revenues, it is the bounden duty of the public and the temperance societies in India to make people total abstainers. It is only when Governments find revenues slipping from their hands that they will make a virtue of necessity and really go in for prohibition.

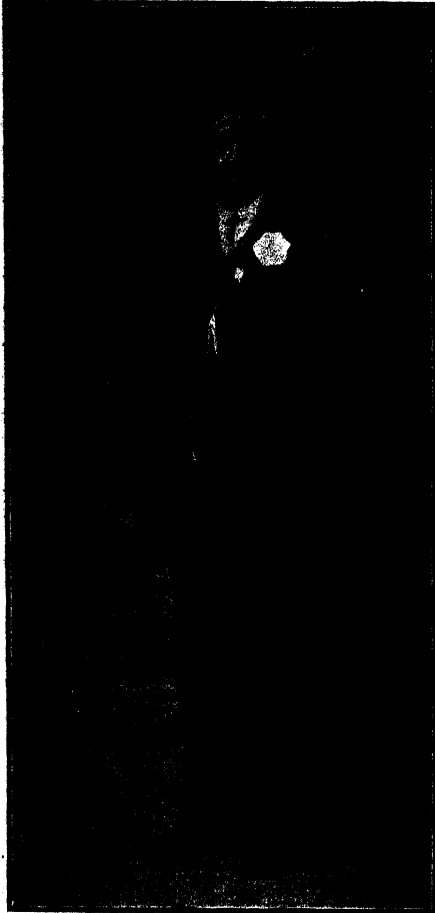
Reduction of Sentence on Dr. Rajeji

A Free Press message, dated Bombay, May 17, runs as follows :

The Appellate Bench of the Bombay High Court reduced to-day to a fine of Rs. 500 the sentence of six months' rigorous imprisonment imposed

on Dr. Raeji, President, Surat Hindu Sabha, by a First Class Magistrate and confirmed by the Sessions Judge. The charge against Dr. Raeji was for making a speech calculated to promote feelings of enmity and hatred between the Hindus and Mahomedans.

Though His Lordship held no ground has been made to interfere with the conviction, still Dr. Raeji had received great provocation and his life was being threatened. His Lordship, therefore, reduced the sentence as stated above.



Dr. Raeji

The speech referred to above was delivered sometime before the holding of the Hindu Mahasabha session at Surat. It was not the address which Dr. Raeji delivered as chairman of the Reception Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha. Not having

read the speech which has led to his conviction, we cannot say whether the sentence has been just. But one would be curious to know what punishment has been inflicted on those who provoked him and threatened to kill him. We have not heard that anybody was brought to trial or even warned for doing so. Perhaps it is not illegal to provoke or threaten the life of a Hindu.

President F. C. Southworth's Impressions of India

President F. C. Southworth of Meadville School, Chicago, is a distinguished American author and teacher who recently toured through India and has returned to his country. We are constantly told by interested Britishers and foreign hirelings like Miss Mayo that the intellectual classes in India do not care for social reform and for the welfare of the less favoured classes. Very different was the testimony borne by Dr. Southworth in an address delivered by him at Bangalore, as reported in the *Indian Messenger* :

I have not yet written a book on India in spite of the bad example set by our countrywoman [Miss Mayo]. But one thing I have seen since coming to India. In fact, a good many things that I have seen are sufficient to write not only books but many volumes including those that she never saw in India when she was here. It has been a wonderful experience to go from one city to another and see how keenly alive the people of India are upon questions of social reform. Not a single city that we have visited has failed to present abundant testimony of a growing, practical and efficient interest in the welfare of the less favoured classes of the community. I feel sure that the result of the awakening interest throughout the country is going to be increasingly manifest in the life of the New India.

In America, as in many other lands, India is known as a country which had a great past. Dr. Southworth referred to that fact and added :

Now coming to India as we do think of it as a land of great literature of the distant past and of the great prophets of the distant past, how great a discovery was it to learn that India is thrilling from centre to circumference with new ambition. We had the privilege, several weeks ago, in the city of Poona, of coming into a meeting of the Youth Conference held in the great pandal and of listening for a considerable time to some of the young men of India and a few of the young women of India unfolding the true ideals of the future of their country. In America we had never discovered the same kind of interest in the future of their country and the social welfare of their country that we found in these

young men and women. As we stood and looked into their faces we felt that we were looking into the faces of those by whom the new India was to be made. We also had the great privilege of attending a session of your National Congress, a privilege which we shall never forget. Tremendously impressive it was to us as Americans who had not known of the seething discontent, the presence of the new ambitions which were moving your country; and as I listened to the various orators there, I could not help wondering what Raja Ram Mohun Roy would have thought if he had been at that meeting. For it was in some ways an evidence of the high hopes that he had entertained and of the tremendous forces that he set in motion a hundred years ago.

Referring to the fact that Ram Mohun Roy had hoped that India would possibly become independent and would become the "enlightener of Asia," Dr. Southworth said: "I wish that the great prophet of India were alive to assume the position of leadership in this new era."

Oriental Government Security Life Assurance Company, Limited

It is an Indian Life Assurance Company, all the shares, with few exceptions, being held by Indians, and its operations being conducted by a Board of Directors mainly Indian and including some of the most influential gentlemen of their respective communities in Bombay.

"The Company was established in Bombay on 5th May, 1874, thus being the first Proprietary Indian Life Assurance Company, with the object of bringing to Indians of all classes and communities the benefits of Life Assurance hitherto not available, except to lives of the highest qualifications in education and social position, at rates of premium so favourable as compared with those charged by the first-class Foreign Companies operating in India at that time, that many people considered the Company was doomed to failure. Time has amply proved, however, the fallacy of such pessimistic prophecies of disaster.

"At the conclusion of 54 years of existence the Company finds itself, as it did at its commencement, in the leading position among Indian Life Assurance Companies, a position which shows no signs of being seriously assailed as is clear from the large and increasing number of persons coming forward for Life Assurance and the increasing number of Lives Assured who come back to the Company again and again to increase the amount of their assurances, showing how perfectly satisfied they are in every respect with the results of their Policies and the treatment that has been accorded by the Company."

It has achieved success by its efficient management, and is assured of still greater success in the future than it has achieved

in the past, if, as is expected, the same efficiency continues to be maintained.

Ancient Indian History at the Benares Hindu University

A good deal of change has been introduced during the last year into the curriculum of studies in Ancient Indian History and Culture of this University. According to our suggestion the curriculum has been modified so far as to include the study of practical subjects such as Epigraphy, Numismatics and Art and Architecture. The present curriculum offers the advantage of optional groups. Each candidate taking up Ancient Indian History and Culture for his M. A. examination has to be examined in four compulsory subjects:

- I. Indian History up to 319 A. D., including Pre-historic Culture.
- II. Indian History from 319 to 1203 A. D.
- III. Hindu Law and Social Institutions of India.
- IV. Administration and Political Theories.

In addition to these compulsory subjects the student has to take any two of the following optional groups:

- Group A. Religion and Philosophy:
 - Paper I Brahmana Religion and Philosophy.
 - Paper II Jaina and Bauddha Religion and Philosophy.
- Group B. Literature, Poetics and Dramaturgy:
 - Paper I Poetics and Dramaturgy.
 - " II Sanskrit Literature.
- Group C. Epigraphy:
 - Paper I Indian Inscriptions up to 319 A. D. including Kharoshthi.
 - " II North Indian Inscriptions, from 319 to 1200 A. D.
- Group D. Indian Palaeography:
 - Paper I The Evolution of Indian Alphabets.
 - " II Northern Indian Alphabets from 700 to 1300 A. D.
- Group E. Art and Architecture:
 - Paper I History of Indian Architecture.
 - " II History of Indian Art.
- Group F. Numismatics:
 - Paper I Origin and Metrology.
 - " II The Reformed Indian Currency.

This sub-division of the entire subject into four compulsory papers and six groups, each containing two optional papers, will be a great help for students who want to take up a vocational course. A graduate who wants to qualify himself as an Archaeologist, either for service in that department of British India or under one of the Indian States, may take up either Epigraphy or Palaeography or Architecture and Numismatics. Those who want to become Curators of Archaeological Museums may take up

Epigraphy with either Art and Architecture or Numismatics. Others who may want to qualify themselves for teaching Sanskrit and History may take up the first two groups.

Epigraphy, Art and Architecture, and Numismatics are taught for the most part in the Museums at Sarnath, near Benares, and Lucknow. Students in Art and Architecture will also be taken to Orissa, Calcutta, Patna, Nalanda, Bodh-Gaya, Khajuraho, Mathura, Kurukshetra, Lahore and Taxila, for which funds have been provided by the University.

So far as our information goes, no University in India possesses among its staff a greater practical archaeologist than Prof. R. D. Banerji of the Hindu University. And he is an authority in numismatics, if not in some other branches of archaeology also. Hence students who would earnestly follow his guidance would have a good education.

"History and Brahmanophobia"

Such is the title of an article in *The Week* by its former editor, Dr. H. C. E. Zacharias. It is a review of a German pamphlet of 106 pages, named "Politik und Religion in Indien," by Prof. H. W. Schomerus of Halle University, who, the reviewer says, is a leading Protestant Missiologist who has specialized in Indology. Dr. Zacharias calls the author a Brahmanophobe, because he ascribes many of the real or fancied disadvantages of India to the work and influence of the Brahmans. The reviewer's article should be read as a whole. We will extract only a few passages.

Like most Europeans the author weeps bitter tears about the multiplicity of petty States and their internecine wars and the prevailing Babel of tongues. Fancy, said he, between Kabul and Calcutta there were as many as ten kingdoms! Just fancy a distance of 2500 Km., as I found looking at the map. And in Europe? Also a line of 2500 Km., say from Helsingfors to Tirasa—how many sovereign countries are there, do you think? Ten, dear reader, exactly ten. And even if we take the same distance in another direction, say, from Warsaw to Madrid, we get six. In Europe; to-day. Has, one wonders, Prof. Schomerus ever wept with equal bitterness over such "dismemberment" of Europe? Has he discovered there too those cunning Brahmans, whose sole fault it is—or any other class of men corresponding to them? and if not, why not?

As regards the Babel of tongues, the reviewer writes:

In the same way our author goes hopelessly

astray, when he holds up to scorn India's multiplicity of languages. He mentions himself that nine of these languages are spoken by more than ten millions; but not only does he not draw the necessary conclusion from the total thus obtained (a total, not of 90, but of 257 millions!), but he equally fails to make the necessary comparison with Europe. Let me then make it for him and place side by side the number of people in the two continents speaking a language used as their mother-tongue by at least ten millions:

Western Hindi	97 millions—	German	65 millions
Bengali	49 "	English	48 "
Telugu	24 "	French	45 "
Marathi	19 "	Italian	41 "
Tamil	19 "	Polish	25 "
Punjabi	16 "	Spanish	21 "
Rajasthani	13 "	Rumanian	15 "
Kanarese	10 "	Dutch	10 "
Oriya	10 "	Serb	10 "
	257 "		280 "

Out of a total population of 320 millions and 360 millions respectively for India and Europe (I always leave out Russia) we find therefore that the nine principal languages in India are spoken by 80 p. c. of the total population, whilst in Europe by only 77 p. c.! Yet it is about the linguistic fragmentation of India that our Professor and others like him get excited!

The comparison with Europe is not inappropriate, as Prof. Schomerus has, on page 5 of his book,

admitted the age-long development in India, "of a cultural and religious, intellectual and social homogeneity, surmounting to a certain degree the barriers of race, language and caste, so that India, seen as a whole, does after all give the impression of unity and permits of being considered, as such with greater intrinsic right, than Europe."

After this comes the following concluding paragraph of the review:

That surely is a sufficient testimony: and one can but marvel, how people, admitting all such facts, can be illogical, as to draw utterly wrong and fanciful conclusions—as for instance the Brahmanophobe one we have been considering. For if India is culturally, socially, intellectually, one, it is so, because the Brahmans, as bringers and keepers of Hindu culture, have given it that unity; and if the author knew and cared a little more for India's struggle for self-determination, he would also know—over and above the two non-Brahman figures of Gandhi and Tagore—that this modern movement for emancipation too has been launched and is being sustained, mainly and overwhelmingly, by—Brahmans.

Tagore, by the by, is a Brahman, *not* a non-Brahman.

All British Parties' Apathy to Indian Aspirations

London, May 27

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu in discussing the General Election in an article in the "Manchester Guardian"

concludes by declaring that she is not British and is therefore incapable of appraising aright the full esoteric significance and the worth of British party labels and loyalties. "I am Indian and I am deeply, even tragically, aware that, however clear and keen be the cleavage between the political parties in England regarding Home and foreign politics, there is solid unanimity of attitude and opinion in their common apathy and opposition to all Indian aspirations, ideals and national freedom." —*Reuter*



Mrs. Sarojini Naidu

The Modern Review has repeatedly said what Mrs. Sarojini Naidu has written in the "Manchester Guardian" regarding the attitude of all British political parties towards India. In the last March number we wrote (page 391):

"...That India's well-being is not a party question in British politics, is, however, understood in India in a different sense...Indians think that no British party is interested in promoting India's welfare. What all British parties are bent upon is the safeguarding of British political and economic supremacy in India."

Scholarships for Indian Students in Munich University

Professor Dr. Kalidas Nag, Hon. Secretary, The Greater India Society, has received from Prof. Friedrich von Muller, President of the German Academy, a circular offering three scholarships to Indian students to enable them to study at the University of Munich. Prof. F. von Muller writes to him: "Our humble effort is nothing but a simple attempt—a modest beginning—towards the promotion of cultural relations between Germany and India."

As a bulletin of the Indian Information Bureau of Berlin reminds Indian students wishing to study in Germany, all teaching there is given through the medium of German. So those who do not know that language should either acquire a working knowledge of it here or in Germany. It requires four months to do so in Germany. So it is best to reach that country four months before the opening of a session.

The circular is printed below.

Munich Offers Three Scholarships to Indian Students.

Under the joint auspices of die Deutsche Akademie and die Deutsche Akademische Auslandsstelle of Munich, Germany, it has been arranged as an expression of our gratitude for the hospitality extended to Munich visitors to Indian Universities, that during the academic year of 1929-30, three scholarships—one for Medicine, one for Engineering and one for either Applied Chemistry or Physics—will be awarded to three Indian students to continue post-graduate studies in the University of Munich and the Higher Technical School (the Engineering College) of Munich.

The scholarships will be given in the form of free rooms in the Student's House and board.

The chosen candidates will have to pay their own travelling expenses from India or any other country to Munich. They will have to pay the regular tuition fees which will be for the Medical Faculty about 570 Marks or £28.—pounds sterling, for the Engineering Faculty about 340 Marks or £ 16-13.—pounds sterling, and for Applied Chemistry or Physics about 440 Marks or £21-10.—pounds sterling for a year. Furthermore they will have to bear all other necessary personal expenses.

An applicant for the scholarship must be a graduate of an Indian, British or American university in Medicine, Engineering, Chemistry or Physics. He should have some knowledge of the German language and must furnish at least one testimonial from a professor as to his scholarship and standing. *All Applications must be addressed to "Hauptstelle der Deutschen Akademie, Muenchen, Residenz, Germany" in time to reach us by the 15th of July, 1929.* The selection of successful candidates will be made by the 1st of August.

so that they will have ample time to arrange for their passage etc. to arrive in Munich by the 15th of October, to begin their regular work from the very beginning of the Winter Semester.

Die Deutsche Akademie Hauptstelle Residenz, Munich (Bavaria), Germany.

Indian States' Peoples' Conference

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani's presidential address to the second Indian States' Peoples' Conference, held at Bombay, was a very important pronouncement. He criticized the Butler Committee severely. Said he :

"In my humble opinion, gentlemen, the Butler Committee was bad in its origin, bad in the time chosen for its appointment, bad in its terms of reference, bad in its personnel and bad in its lines of inquiry, while its report is bad in its reasoning and bad in its conclusions."

He spoke with much warmth of the unjust treatment received by many ruling princes.

Mr. Chintamani summed up his own view in the following words :—

"I am for the Princes and for their treaty rights. But, if this were to mean the perpetual partitioning of the country, as it were, the destruction of its integrity, the continued existence of a third party in power backed by an army of occupation to encourage the Princes to render a Federated India impossible, then I would deem it my duty to say, "India First : Treaty Rights Afterwards."

He expressed himself in favour of a federal constitution for India, gave a tentative list of reforms that could not wait, pleaded for their immediate introduction in the Indian States and held up the ancient ideal of kingship before the Princes. Here is his list of reforms.

I.—A declaration of Fundamental Rights in the form of a Proclamation by the Ruling Prince recognizing the right of free speech, free press, free association, security of person and of property, and judicial trial.

[This includes the absolute cessation of banishment of people from states and the confiscation of property by the mere fiat of the Prince.]

II.—The abolition of *begar* or forced labour.

III.—The separation of judicial from executive functions, and an independent judiciary, the ruler retaining only the prerogative of pardon and mercy and never acting as a court of appeal.

IV.—Local Self-Government including village panchayats and rural and municipal boards with majorities of elected members and elected chairmen.

V.—Legislative Councils with majorities of elected members and with at least the same powers as are exercised by the councils in British India.

VI.—No law shall be passed except by the

VII.—The ruler's privy purse shall be absolutely separate from the state budget.

[It should be fixed at not more than 10 per cent. of the revenues in any state and in any circumstances, and any excess shall have to be voted by the Legislature.]

VIII.—Cabinet government presided over by the Ruling Prince.

[In the more advanced states there should be responsible government in the sense in which this term is understood. In other states representative government at the start, leading up to responsible government within a period of ten to fifteen years.]

IX.—Free elementary education to all subjects of the state of both sexes.

[An irreducible minimum of 10 per cent. of the revenues of the state should be spent on, education every year and in all circumstances.]

X.—An irreducible minimum of 10 per cent. of the revenues of the state to be spent upon public health and medical relief.

XI.—Economic survey to be followed by systematic measures of economic development both in rural and urban areas.

All-India Congress Committee Meeting

At the All-India Congress Committee meeting recently held in Bombay the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee wanted to propose that the Council party should be given freedom to accept office under certain conditions. But owing to the strongly expressed opposition in the country the proposal was not brought forward. This has been a wise course. Originally Non-co-operation included boycott of the Councils. When under Mr. Chittaranjan Das's lead Council-entry was decided upon, it was for the purpose of offering consistent and persistent opposition to the Government from within the Councils. But in practice the policy of consistent and persistent opposition has been whittled down to a sort of "responsive co-operation." Acceptance of office would have been a still further departure from the principle of Non-co-operation. We are not concerned in this note with the desirability or otherwise of acceptance of office. What we mean is that the office cannot be accepted consistently with the declared object of the Council-entry party.

The following resolution on the situation in East Africa, moved by Mr. U. K. Oz editor of the "Democrat," Kenya, and adopted *nem con.*, was timely and important :

"This A. I. C. C. congratulates the Indians of East Africa on their friendly and cordial relation with the East Africans and trusts that they will continue to maintain them and to treat the interests of the original inhabitants as superior to all other interests. The A. I. C. C. assures the Indians

community of Kenya of its full support in its struggle for the achievement of political and economic equality in East Africa.

Mr. Oza, in moving the resolution, said that Kenya was an agricultural country and that vast plots of agricultural land had been reserved for the white population. The Indians had been politically segregated.

Referring to the Hilton-Young Commission's report he pointed out that the majority of the Commission had stated that there should be a common electoral roll and a common franchise. Under the circumstances, the Kenya Indians wanted the support of the A. I. C. C. in their fight.

Regarding the Governor General's announcement relating to the extension of life of the Legislative Assembly, the Working Committee was empowered to deal with the matter after the reply to Pandit Motilal Nehru's telegram to His Excellency had been received and placed before the Committee. At the Working Committee meeting,

A heated discussion lasting over two hours centred round this point and several of the speakers are understood to have described the Viceroy's action as a breach of promise and a political move to checkmate the progress of the Congress. They took exception to it not so much for the policy underlying it as for its clear contradiction of the assurance given by His Excellency to Pandit Motilal Nehru through the President that the life of the Assembly would not be extended. It was on this assurance that Pandit Motilal dropped the adjournment motion which he was contemplating to move in the last session of the Assembly to discuss the question.

The All-India Congress Committee has adopted the following resolution moved by Mr. Sri Prakasa :

The Conference recommends to the A. I. C. C. that in the opinion of this Conference the great poverty and misery of the Indians are due to foreign exploitation in India with the economic structure of society which the alien rulers support and help, if the exploitation is continued. To remove the poverty and misery and ameliorate the condition of the Indian masses it is essential to make revolutionary changes in the present economic and social structure of the society and remove the gross inequalities."

With all efforts to minimize and ultimately put a stop to foreign exploitation we are in entire sympathy. That part of the resolution which relates to making revolutionary changes in the present economic structure of society and removing the gross inequalities, is a move towards socialism. No opinion can be pronounced on it unless what is aimed at is definitely stated in detail with the steps to be taken for the purpose.

By revolutionary changes in the social structure are obviously meant changes in Hindu society. Removal of untouchability, which is part of the Congress programme,

also relates to Hindu society. We do not in the least object to Congress' interesting itself in these communal matters. But what we wish to point out is that if Congress can deal with communal matters, there should not be any outcry on the part of any Congressmen when the Hindu Mahasabha does the same.

Mahatma Gandhi moved the following resolution :

"In view of the campaign of repression which the British Government are carrying on in all parts of the country, as evidenced by the conviction of Mr. Sambamurthi, a member of the Working Committee, and many other national workers, the wholesale arrests and barbarous treatment of the members of the All-India Congress Committee, and Labour leaders and workers now awaiting trial at Meerut, the unwarranted house searches and wanton confiscation of Pandit Sundarlal's 'History of British India', the All-India Congress Committee opines that the nation should be prepared for efficient resistance to such methods," and as it is clear that no nation-wide resistance is possible unless the whole Congress organization is reconstructed on a satisfactory basis, this Committee, therefore, calls upon the heads of provincial organizations to reorganize their respective provinces so as to fulfil the following minimum requirements :— The Provincial Congress organizations shall have (1) not less than one-quarter per cent. of the total population of the province as original members ; (2) not less than 50 per cent. of the districts represented by it. The district organizations shall have not less than one per cent. of the population as original members and not less than 50 per cent. of the tahsils represented by it. Tahsil organizations shall have not less than a quarter per cent. of its population as original members and not less than ten per cent. of the villages within the tahsils represented by it. Village organizations shall have not less than three per cent. of its population as original members. For the provinces of Bombay and Delhi, the original members shall not be less than three per cent. of their respective populations. For the province of Burma the Working Committee shall issue such instructions as may appear to it reasonable after consultation with the workers in that province. No provincial organization will be recognized by the Committee that does not satisfy the foregoing test within August 31 next. It will be open to the Working Committee to disaffiliate any organization that does not carry out the instructions issued from time to time by the All-India Congress Committee and the Working Committee."

A number of amendments were moved and some of them were accepted. These were that Delhi should be excluded from the operation of the clause relating to the enrolment of three per cent. population and Bombay's percentage should be decreased to one and a half. Agency tracts should be excluded from the computation of percentage. The resolution, with the accepted amendments, was passed by a majority.

The Meerut Trial

The trial at Meerut of 31 alleged conspirators has yet to begin. Remand after remand has been granted to the prosecution, and the latest information available to-day (May 29) is that on June 1, when it was said the trial would begin, there may be an application for a further remand.

The accused have been kept in jail since March last in practically the same conditions in which convicted criminals are kept. The heat at Meerut is intense. Sleeping indoors is a great trial, particularly for those who, like the majority of the accused, are not U. P. men. Mosquitoes abound in the jail and make life miserable. The food supplied is bad and insufficient. So the accused are really being punished before they have been tried. If this be inevitable under the law as it stands, the law should be changed.

There is no reason why the accused should not have been tried in a place where they could have the advantage of trial by jury and why they should not have been released on bail when they first applied for it. They could not possibly run away from India even if they wanted to, which we fancy they do not. Besides, they cannot, under present conditions, consult lawyers and friends freely and make adequate preparations for their defence.

The Government does not spend a few annas extra per head for the accused to enable them to maintain their health, and its officers have, it is reported, obliged a tuberculous patient among them to sleep with the rest. On the other hand, it is reported that one crore (ten million) of rupees has been sanctioned for the expenses of the prosecution, and that of the prosecuting counsel, Mr. Langford James alone has drawn Rs. 34,000 as one month's fees and has two bills outstanding amounting to Rs. 23,000 in the aggregate for the same period. All this, with his previously accumulated wealth, had not sufficed to enable him to live in such comfort at Meerut as could keep up his usual health and spirits. So, it is reported, he had to run up to the cool heights of Mussoorie. The alleged conspirators are human beings like the highest officers of Government and the prosecuting counsel. Their guilt has still to be established. Yet they have to lead a life worse than a dog's. And all those who have anything to do with their trial enjoy good sleep! Does it matter much after all to these unlucky men that the Viceroy is reported to be a good

Christian? Neither His Excellency nor other great servants of the King-Emperor are able to do anything for the accused. In order that a trial may not practically be something like denial of justice, prosecution and defence should have equal facilities.

The Whitley Commission

The personnel of the Whitley Commission which is to investigate and report on labour conditions in India, has been announced. The majority are Britishers, though the conditions to be reported on are those of India. Capital is over-represented and labour under-represented. Practically the only member who has a thorough knowledge of Indian labour conditions and problems is Mr. N. M. Joshi. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri is a good man, a cultured man, but not a labour expert. Moreover, he is believed to be partly under official hypnosis. Dewan Chamanlal is not a labour expert. He has enthusiasm of a sort, which sometimes runs away with him—as at the Jheria Trade Union Congress when he got it affiliated to the League against Imperialism (by way of protest against Mr. Johnston's arrest!), for which others have to suffer at Meerut. Mr. Kabiruddin Ahmed is an unconscious humorist who has been appointed a member evidently to keep his colleagues in a jolly mood.

The number of women labourers in India is not small. Therefore, there ought to have been at least one Indian lady member on the Commission. There are cultured Indian ladies who work among labourers of both sexes and have a thorough knowledge of labour conditions. One of them should and could have been appointed.

Legislation relating to trade disputes and the ordinance to ensure "public safety" should have been considered after the Whitley Commission had finished their labours. But as matters stand, Government has forestalled their decision on some subjects, or rather has practically shut these out from their consideration.

Extension of Life of Assembly

The Governor-General's statement in respect of the extension of the life of the Assembly is not as precise as his utterances generally are. That may be due to the fact that he does not think it politic to make

his reasons quite plain. And it is not merely the reasons that are left somewhat vague. It has not been definitely stated when the elections to the Assembly are to be held.

His Excellency is not in favour of holding the elections on the eve of the publication of the report of the Simon Commission. But neither does he say that the elections would be held after its publication. Evidently, he does not want the elections to be used by the Indian public as an opportunity for expressing their opinion either on the constitution and appointment of the Simon Commission or on its report. Probably what Lord Irwin intends is to confront the public with a "settled fact," that is to say, with a changed constitution for India, possibly framed by a predominantly Tory parliament after the presentation of the Simon Commission report. Possibly, therefore, His Lordship waits to see what sort of a parliament the new one is going to be. He would not naturally be sure now what to do if the Conservatives were to fall from power.

Public opinion in India has been pronounced on the Simon Commission. But as Government has managed to appoint some sort of Council Committees to co-operate with it, the strength of the Commission boycott movement has not been clearly perceived outside India. If an election could be held on the boycott issue, or on a platform including an emphatic condemnation of the Simon Commission Report after its publication, and if the majority of elected members were against the Commission or its report, then the trend of public opinion would be quite clearly realized both in India and abroad. Perhaps Lord Irwin wants to obviate such an unwelcome contingency.

It is probably anticipated that if the life of the present Assembly could be prolonged till after the new constitution had been given effect to, it would be possible by clever manipulation to make the majority of its members pass a vote of approval of that re-reformed constitution.

It may have been clear to the meanest official intelligence that owing to the repressive policy at present pursued, a new Assembly would contain more opposition members than the present one. This the bureaucracy cannot want.

The Jacobabad Murders

We have received a copy of the representation submitted by the President of the Sind Hindu Association to the Secretary, Home Department, Government of Bombay. It says, in part :

My Association looks with horror and indignation at the dastardly murders perpetrated upon the Hindus of Jacobabad on the night of the 23rd April by a Musalman who fired ten shots, killing five Hindus, among whom one was a woman of sixty years, and wounding five other Hindus. The ground for the murders was prepared by an inflammatory propaganda by certain Musalmans of Jacobabad who addressed public meetings exhorting their co-religionists to avenge the death of a certain Maulavi Hasan, who, it was suspected by them, was murdered by some Hindus. The local Muslim Sub-Inspector of Police made enquiries into the matter and came to the conclusion that it was a case of suicide and not murder. Neither the District Magistrate nor the D. S. P. took any steps to stop inflammatory speeches at public meetings against the Hindus. Timely action on his part, clothed as the D. M. is with summary powers under Sind Frontier Regulations, would have, my Association is convinced, prevented the tragedy of 23rd April. In a district where incendiary speeches lead to surprisingly quick action on the part of an easily excitable and ignorant Muslim population, any officer with some experience of the district would have taken immediate steps to nip the mischief in the bud. He would have bound down the mischief-makers at once.

The local authorities did nothing to arrest the mischief by instituting, at least, security proceedings against the prominent agitators, not to speak of prosecutions under Section 153-A.

There was the Police Home Inspector within a few yards of the street where the murderer fired the first shot. He stirred out after the fourth shot. He did not follow the murderer, as an armed Police Officer should have done, to kill or get killed.

There is a Police Chowki within a few yards of the scene of the murders. Nine-thirty at night is not the time for any policeman on duty to go to sleep. Yet no policeman came out of the Chowki to pursue the murderer.

The D. S. P. appeared on the scene forty-five minutes after the shooting. He did nothing to immediately surround the locality in which the murderer had disappeared after completing his nefarious work, nor did he seem to have taken any energetic steps that very night to trace the culprit.

All these allegations are very serious, and call for an immediate and searching inquiry. And, in any case, whether any or most or all of them be true or false, it is a fact that a number of persons have been killed. It is the bounden duty of the Bombay Government to do its very utmost to arrest the culprit and bring him to trial.

Bardoli Vindicated

The report of the special officers appointed by the Bombay Government, in consequence of the Satyagraha at Bardoli, to inquire into the enhancement of the land revenue in that taluqa, shows that the ryots were right in their contention and proves that the settlement officers were mistaken in their recommendations to the Government of Bombay. It is admitted in the report that the material gathered by the officers was not sufficient to warrant a general increase in rental rates and that the statistics upon which the Government relied had been carelessly compiled and were incorrect in a large number of cases. It is stated in the report that "they must be regarded as completely unreliable."

Bardoli has its lessons both for the people and the Government. The people have a fresh object lesson as to the efficacy of thoroughly non-violent resistance. The Government has a fresh proof, which it ought not to have required, that its officers are not infallible. All honour to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and his co-workers and the farmers and peasants of Bardoli.

The Greatest Anniversary

According to Buddhist tradition, the Buddha's birth, enlightenment and death took place in different years on the full-moon day of the Hindu lunar month of Vaisakha. So on that day every year Buddhists celebrate the great anniversary, and others join them on that sacred occasion. This year the Vaisakha full-moon day fell on May 23rd last.

The Buddha's last words were addressed to his disciple Ananda. They are :

"Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye a refuge to yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Hold fast as a refuge to the truth. Look not for refuge to any one besides yourselves. Work out your own salvation with diligence."

No teacher ever gave to his disciples a more inspiring lesson of self-help.

Misgovernment in Some Indian States

As a sample of the misrule prevailing in some Indian States *Swarajya* culls the following details from a booklet published by the Secretary of the Indian States' Peoples' Conference, relating to Navnagar, Prince Ranji's domain :

There is neither liberty of person nor security of property. The extent, however, to which these precious rights are violated can only be realized from one or two typical concrete instances. One Sheth Premchand Keshavji was a native of Navnagar possessing a fine bungalow. He was arrested and confined for a long period without any legal process and fined a lakh of rupees by executive order. His bungalow was made the State guest-house by the same authority. Vijubhai Motichand was an agricultural graduate with a passion for gardening. He spent thousands and created a rich and beautiful garden which was estimated, even by the State Officer, to have cost at least Rs. 45,000. But the Maharaja snatched the garden away for Rs. 5,000 in spite of the owner's refusal to accept the price. The dispossessed Motichand, we are told, took the loss so keenly to heart, that he developed consumption and died a broken and disappointed man. There is nothing like legislation in the State. The Maharaja's will is law in everything, and the administration is run by orders and circulars issued by him and his Secretaries without reference to any fixed or uniform principle. The tyranny of taxation in the State borders on the scandalous. There seems to be no limit except the ingenuity of the Ruler and his advisers governing taxation. Thus, in addition to all the taxes known to British India, we come across, in Navnagar, such a queer assortment of means for raising money as a wheel tax, a war loan tax, a ghee production tax, milk cattle tax, cattle sale tax, girl marriage tax, marriage party tax, re-marriage tax, raw sugar pot tax and vegetable produce tax. It is computed that no less than 60 per cent. of their incomes is paid to the State by the agriculturists in one shape or other by way of taxation. The very beggars are not exempt from the Ruler's levy.

"Red" Letters, etc.

"Red" letters continue to be received by all sorts and conditions of men, threatening their lives for all possible reasons on earth, it would seem. Telephonic messages of the same sort have also been received by some persons. In not a single instance has the writer of such a letter or the utterer of such a message been traced by the police of the places where these grim tricks have been played. That is perhaps because all this is not the work of real "Reds." For, if it were so, our police officers who can discover bombs, revolvers, cartridges and revolutionary correspondence in the obscurest nooks, would have been able to find out the authors of these pranks.

So far as we know or can recollect, in the course of the many years during which "Red" pamphlets and leaflets have been occasionally circulated, not a single factory of these interesting productions has been spotted. What is the reason?

Report of Inter-University Board, 1928-29

We find from the latest annual report of the Inter-University Board, India, that its work continued to be satisfactory during the year 1928-29. All the seventeen universities in India have renewed their membership for a second period of three years, and have made their annual contributions. The financial position of the board continues to be satisfactory.

British Altruism Again !

The Statesman would have the Indian public believe that the Whitley Labour Commission has been appointed and Englishmen have agreed to serve on it from entirely "friendly" and "selfless" motives. *Credat Judaeus.*

Writing on the Commission the Chowringhee paper says :

We would plead in this matter for a better understanding of the motives of the Government and of the British people. Were the latter acting in any selfish spirit they would neither attempt to develop industrialism in India nor offer it guidance from its own experience. Great Britain is an industrial country. It wants a market for its manufactured goods. It wants, beyond that, vast supplies of food and raw materials that it could draw from India in exchange for its own products. All its commercial interests point to the advantage of keeping India as an agricultural country or at best with its industries in a primitive condition. A terrible bogey to the Western peoples is the possibility of their markets being destroyed by the products of the cheaper-paid labour of the East. Personally we do not believe in that possibility, but to many millions in Europe and elsewhere the menace is real and affrighting. Yet it is in those circumstances that Englishmen come forward with their offer of assistance to India. There could not be an act more really friendly or more selfless. May it be hoped that that fact will be realized in India, that it will not be misinterpreted for petty political purposes, that it will be understood as what it is, the expression of a sincere desire to help the Indian people in the biggest problem that has confronted them for a century ?

The Anglo-Indian journal suppresses the fact that, except in the case of the cotton mills of the Bombay Presidency, Indian large scale industries are mostly in the hands of British capitalists. Therefore, the interests of all sections of the British people will not be served by keeping industries in India in a primitive condition. What British capitalist interests demand is that industrial conditions in India should be such as would facilitate the exploitation of India's resources by British capitalists and experts, not by Indian capitalis and experts so far as that can be managed. Labour in

Britain has become self-assertive and rebellious. British capitalists, therefore, require fresh fields. What better field can there be than India, where labour is cheap and illiterate, and has hitherto been absolutely unorganized, meek and submissive ? Who knows that it would not be one of the duties of the Whitley Commission to try to nip in the bud the rising spirit of independence of Indian labourers ?

The British are a powerful people. But they are not all-powerful. They have tried to make and keep India an agricultural country, which it never was in any pre-British historical period. The latest attempt in this direction was the Linlithgow Agricultural Commission. But the ruin of India's indigenous manufacturing industries has been followed by the birth of a new industrialism in spite of what the British people could do to prevent it. Therefore, Britain has to make a virtue of necessity. British capitalists want to develop industries in India not for the good of Indians but for their own advantage. If there is a British labour element in the Whitley Commission, that also may not be an unquestionable proof of British altruism. It is well known that India was made to accept and ratify the Washington hours of work convention limiting the daily and weekly period of work, before its acceptance and ratification by any of the principal manufacturing countries of the world. That was not because the hearts of the Western industrial philanthropists wept more for the Indian labourers than for their own labourers. The object was to limit the output of Indian factories as an offset against the cheapness of Indian labour. Similarly, the labour element in the Whitley Commission may try to make working conditions in India so expensive as to counterpoise or destroy the advantage of the cheapness of Indian labour. This may very well be done in the name of doing good to the labourers. We also want our workers to have sufficient food, clothing, air, light, recreation, protection against sun and rain, education, etc. But the standard should not be made so high as to cripple or destroy our industries, or to make factory life incomparably more attractive than village life. Working conditions in factories can be advantageous to Indian labour only if the factories can exist. There would be no philanthropy in improving them off the face of the earth.

We may be accused of not wanting any amelioration of the lot of our labourers. But such accusations are easily borne. We want to enable our workers to lead decent and healthy lives as well as to enable industries financed and managed by Indians to live and thrive.

The Revised Bengal Secondary Education Bill

The Bengal Secondary Education Bill, as revised by the Senate of the Calcutta University, provides that the Secondary Education Board shall have

"A President..... to be appointed by the Chancellor of the University of Calcutta after consideration of a name or names to be submitted to him by the Senate of the University of Calcutta".

The Board itself should have the power of choosing its President, at least after a few years. But if it be taken for granted that the University Chancellor should be the appointing authority, his choice should be restricted to a panel named by the Senate.

Another provision is that the Board shall consist, among others, of "four members, of whom one at least shall be a Muhammadan to be elected by the Senate of the University of Calcutta." There can be no objection to any competent cultured person of any faith being a member of the Board. What is objectionable is the introduction of the principle of communal representation in any representative body—particularly in an educational body. It is also to be noted that the Muhammadan community in Bengal has not established and does not maintain a quarter of the private educational institutions affiliated to or recognized by the Calcutta University;—the proportion is very much smaller. Two other provisions are open to objection for the same reasons. These are: Three members, of whom one shall be a Muhammadan, to be elected by the managing committees of Non-Government High Schools;.....

Four members, of whom one at least shall be a Headmaster and one at least a Muhammadan, to be elected by the graduate teachers of recognized High Schools for boys, excluding Government High Schools;.....

How many Mussalman and how many non-Mussalman graduate teachers are there in these schools?

The power of appointing inspecting, clerical and menial staffs for the Board is at first to be exercised (for two years, or less as the Bengal Legislative Council may determine). It is to be expected that the inspecting staff (and other staff) will be appointed for the full working periods of their lives. That

would mean that for the next 25 or 30 years the principal officers of the Board are to be Government nominees and appointees. Under the circumstances the Board cannot be expected to function as a reasonably independent body, particularly as its President is for all practical purposes to be a protege of the Government, the University Chancellor and the Governor of Bengal being the same person.

That the Board shall appoint a Committee, *which need not be confined to its members*, of which at least two-thirds of the members shall be women, to advise the Board in regard to the education of women, is a good feature of the Bill.

One of the powers of the Board according to the Bill is that it may,

Subject to the approval of the Senate and the Local Government, institute and control such examinations (other than the Matriculation Examination of the University of Calcutta) as it thinks fit; etc.

It is necessary to understand the full implications and possibilities of this clause.

It gives the Board the power, if it so chooses, to institute a rival examination to the university Matriculation. The Local Government may make the passing of this examination a qualification for Government service without attaching the same value to the Matriculation. The result in that case would be that the number of candidates for the Matriculation would fall off. Two serious consequences would be involved in such falling off. There would be a serious decrease in the fee income of the University, which would deprive it in part of its power to carry on its work. And, owing to the number of Matriculates declining, a much smaller number than now would go up to the higher and highest stages of collegiate and university education. That would be a blow to high education in Bengal.

Undoubtedly the institution of a rival to the Matriculation would require the approval of the Senate. But when such a rival examination is instituted, it might not be given out that it would be such, nor need it at first be given out that it, but not the Matriculation, would be made a qualifying examination for Government service. The method of driving the thin end of the wedge is well known to Government officials.

Moreover, the Senate as at present constituted is more an official than an elected non-official body. It may not, therefore

be impossible to institute with its consent an examination which is expressly declared to be parallel to the Matriculation, like the School Final Examination in some provinces.

For these reasons, before the Bengal Secondary Education Bill is passed the clause which we have just examined should be so amplified or modified as to obviate the dangers which we have pointed out.

Bengal Primary Education Bill

The form in which the Bengal Primary Education Bill has emerged from the hands of the Select Committee is not satisfactory. We are irreconcilably opposed to the levy of any education cess or tax in Bengal. More revenue is raised in Bengal than in any of the major provinces and Bengal possesses a larger population than any province. Yet this province gets for its expenses a smaller amount than any major province. If Bengal got the same proportion of the revenues raised here as any other major province gets—nay, if it got only the four crores which are obtained from jute and which are rightfully its very own, then it would be entirely unnecessary to raise any fresh revenue for making primary education in Bengal free and compulsory for all boys and girls.

The Central Primary Education Committee which the Bill sets up is needed for co-ordinating primary education in the different areas and for making the standards and subjects uniform in the different districts. The Select Committee would, however, give merely advisory powers to this body. But what is needed is that it should have controlling powers and determine the entire course of primary education in the province. It should not have less powers in the sphere of primary education than the Calcutta University has in the field of higher education and the proposed secondary education board would have in the sphere of secondary education.

In this Central Primary Education Committee, there should be an adequate proportion of women members. This is essential, if Bengal is to make progress.

Of the sixteen members of the Central Committee ten are to be elected by the District School Boards and six to be nominated by the Government. The proportion of nominated members is higher than it ought to be. Moreover, the total number of sixteen

and the number ten of elected members are insufficient for the adequate representation of all the districts.

It is a good suggestion that the District Boards, Union Boards and Panchayats should be allowed to choose their representatives from outside as well as from among themselves, so that persons having special knowledge of educational problems and local conditions may be elected.

Like the Central Education Committee, the District School Boards should have an adequate number of women members. This is indispensably necessary for the spread and improvement of girls' education in Bengal.

As in the Bengal Secondary Education Bill so in the Bengal Primary Education Bill the retrograde principle of communal representation has been introduced. In the latter it is provided that the President and Vice-President of a District School Board are to be elected from the religious community which forms the majority of the population of the district. Such a provision cannot be too strongly condemned. It would be sure in many cases to lead to the election of men of inferior education in preference to those of superior education.

Plague in India

It is about 34 years ago that in the last century plague appeared in India. Throughout this period, in not a single year has the whole of India been free from this scourge. No other country in the world—no other country at any rate which is under the rule of a civilized people, possesses this unenviable distinction.

The latest statistics of reported attacks and deaths from plague, given in the *Gazette of India* for May 25, are for the week ending the 4th May, which is a week in summer. They are given district by district and are summarized below for provinces and States.

Provinces or States	Attacks	Deaths
Bombay	125	67
Madras	7	4
Bihar and Orissa	148	114
Burma	13	15
Central Provinces	45	11
United Provinces	440	537
Punjab	118	69
Punjab States	34	24
Rajputana (imported case)	1	1
Hyderabad	2	1
Mysore State	23	6

Those provinces and States have not been mentioned above in which there were no cases during the week under report.

Insolvent Failure of a British Bank

Many readers will remember the failure of the firm of Arbuthnot & Co., bankers and merchants in Madras in the year 1906. Sir George Arbuthnot, the head of the firm, recently died at the age of 82. That is the occasion for recalling the fact. When in 1906 that firm, then the largest in Madras, suspended payment, Macfadyen, one of its partners in Britain, committed suicide. Sir George Arbuthnot was arrested. Investigation showed that the firm had been insolvent for months, if not years, but had nevertheless continued to accept deposits, all of which were swallowed up in the crash. Thousands of depositors were impoverished, many utterly ruined. Sir George Arbuthnot was tried for fraud and was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment.

There is no alchemy by which the faults of other peoples can be transmitted into the merits of our own people. If some Britishers are swindlers, that does not prove that all Indians are honest. But in order that unwarrantably discouraging conclusions may not be drawn from instances of fraud on the part of Indians, it is necessary to bear in mind that there are dishonest rogues even among high-placed foreigners.

Reviews in the League of Nations Library

The League of Nations News-sheet states that the Library of the League of Nations subscribes to 1,700 reviews of sixty-six countries. It would be interesting to know how many Indian-owned and Indian-edited reviews are "subscribed to" by the League. *The Modern Review* is not.

Preparatory Commission for Disarmament Conference

A new turn of events has been given to the whole question of limitation of armaments by the declaration made to the Commission by Mr. Gibson, representative of the Government of the United States of America. Mr. Gibson's concentration on reduction and on the scrapping of the word "limitation," his emphasis on the unprecedented opportunity opened up by the Kellogg Pact for advancing the cause of

disarmament, and his readiness to suggest various methods to achieve agreement, have given a fresh impetus to the whole movement.

The Commission, which is attended by 28 States including the United States of America, Turkey and Russia, spent the first few days in discussing its agenda. The President's suggestion was that the Commission should deal with some of the substantial points left unsettled in the first reading of their draft convention, to which there was added a proposal from Germany with regard to public and exchange of armaments information.

There were also on the provisional agenda the draft convention proposed at the last meeting by the Russian delegation, a Turkish proposal and a proposal from China.

The Russian draft convention proposed that, in the course of two years, land, naval and air forces should be reduced by one-half, by one-third, or by one-quarter, the largest reduction to be applied to States possessing forces over a certain level, and the smaller reductions to States possessing lower levels of strength.

The Turkish proposal was that a maximum should be fixed for the armed forces required by a State to provide for its legitimate defence against sudden aggression and that once the number were fixed in this way States with forces in excess of these requirements would have to reduce them within the limits fixed and States whose effectives were below the limits indicated would not be permitted to increase their number.

The proposal from China was that compulsory military service should be abolished.

Congress Contribution to Meerut Defence Fund

The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress has sanctioned Rs. 1,000 for the Meerut Defence Fund. The contribution is inadequate in view of the fact that the trial will last for a year, if longer, and heavy lawyers' fees will to be paid and other expenses incurred. The smallness of the Congress contribution be due either to the slenderness of resources or to inadequate realization of the gravity of the case and of its probable effects on the public life and public movements of the country, or to both reasons. Whatever the cause may be, the state of things is to be regretted.

Grish Chunder Ghose

Not many men of among the younger generation know the name and achievements of Grish Chunder Ghose. He was one of the earliest of our distinguished publicists—founder and first editor of the *Hindoo Patriot* and the *Bengalee*. The centenary of his birth falls on the 27th of this month. We hope it will be celebrated with due solemnity.

